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Gen. Smith's bold confession at his trial in Manila seems to have shocked the American people into a realization of the barbarities which, with their power and in their name, have for three years been committed in the Philippines.

Through his counsel, a colonel in the army, Gen. Smith admitted solemnly in the presence of the court martial—

That he had issued orders to Maj. Waller to kill the natives and burn their homes;

That he had issued orders to make Samar a howling wilderness;

That he had ordered all persons capable of bearing arms to be killed;

And that he had ordered this ruthless killing specifically to include boys above ten years of age.

This was no revelation. The war department had long been in possession of reports revealing a barbaric policy of extermination in the Philippines. But the President, and the Secretary of War, and Senator Lodge with his investigating committee which does anything but investigate, had suppressed the truth. When Gen. Miles characterized the war as having been conducted with "unusual severity," the Secretary of War rebuked him indignantly, not only denying that there had been severity, but insisting that the war had been conducted with marked humanity; and the President gave a sting to his war secretary's rebuke. When Senator Lodge was urged to investigate, and to throw the doors of the committee room open to other correspondents besides those of the three press associations which are committed to imperialism, he

made excuses. If Gen. Smith's blunt confession could have been suppressed it doubtless would have been, judging from the policy of suppression which has prevailed so long. But now that it is out, there are only two things to do. One is to treat the matter as brutal, unmilitary and unusual conduct on the part of an individual officer, and punish him accordingly. The other is to acknowledge frankly that he acted in harmony with the general American military policy in the islands and defend that policy as a necessity.

The first course indicated above cannot be pursued. For a time it was possible to attribute cruelties in the Philippines to individual soldiers, acting without authority and in defiance of order. This was done by both Secretary Root and Senator Lodge. But that time has now passed. With Gardner's report, the disclosures regarding the water torture, the testimony in the Waller case, the confession of Gen. Smith, the scores of letters from as many soldiers serving in different parts of the Philippines (all confirmed in character by these official disclosures), there is no longer room to doubt that the policy of "benevolent assimilation," which is only a euphemistic phrase for subjugate, has become a barbarous war of extermination. If any doubt were still possible it would be wholly removed by the pleas of army officers for the necessity in fighting "a savage foe" to be savage. This, evidently, is the plea upon which Gen. Smith relies. And it is the plea which, sooner or later, the Roosevelt administration must adopt unless it puts a new interpretation upon the McKinley policy of "benevolent assimilation."

There is neither sense nor fairness

in trying to fix the responsibility for cruelty and butchery in the Philippines upon individual officers and soldiers. The Chicago Tribune, a Republican paper, is right when it says:

The "boys in blue"—or in khaki, as the case may be—are not fighting on their own hook, but are carrying out the policy of the United States government. . . .

And Congressman Williams, of Mississippi, was right when on the floor of the House he endorsed the denunciations made by the Republican member from Pennsylvania, Mr. Sibley, but said:

I am a little afraid that he does not strike the evil in the right quarter. It is the system which should be struck at, not the man who unconsciously carries out the spirit of the system. Wherever there is a war of conquest against a weak and inferior colored people deeds of brutality naturally occur. The chief danger is not the injury to the weak race, but that the temptation to tyranny will react upon the strong race and make brutes of its soldiers. For that reason such wars should be avoided. .

Gen. Smith, Maj. Waller, and all the rest, from every private who has applied the water torture down to Funston, have been carrying out the policy of the American government. Doubtless the government would like to subjugate without torture, without devastation, without extermination, without the indiscriminate killing of men, women and children. But that cannot be done. Gen. Smith and his revolting confession, with all it implies, are the natural fruits of "benevolent assimilation." You cannot conquer a spirited people without resorting to torture and devastation, nor succeed until you exterminate them. Rome never could, Spain never did, Great Britain never has, the United States never can. If the policy of subjugation which McKinley bequeathed us is to be carried out, the horrible methods with which Gen.

Smith has shocked us must be endured.

Some attempts are being made to create an impression that these barbarities are in retaliation, the idea being that we must fight savages savagely. But we have no call to fight savages 10,000 miles from our borders, across a trackless ocean. They were leaving us alone; we had only to leave them alone. Much less have we such a call, when the indisputable fact is considered that these savages were our friends and would have continued so had not President McKinley wantonly made war upon them by proclaiming American sovereignty over their land. Even if we had a call to fight these distant savages, how should we excuse our own savagery? How could we justify ourselves for resorting to torture upon the plea that they have used torture? Torture is terrible to the body and mind of the tortured; but it is damning to the character of those who torture. Not merely do we harm these people when we torture them, we degrade ourselves. Moreover, they are not savages. In 1897, John Barrett, the American minister to Siam, wrote in the *North American Review*:

It is a mistake to suppose the Philippines are the home of barbarous, uncivilized tribes. Manila was the seat of colleges, observatories and technical schools before Chicago was founded; roads to all points of the compass had been constructed by the friars in Luzon before there was a paved street in the vicinity of the site of Franklin square in New York; and devoted padres had carried the gospel to the heart of the tropical jungle before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Except in wild portions of the interior and in distant unexplored islands, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants can read and write.

Furthermore, the Filipinos did not begin the barbarities against which it is now asserted that the Americans are retaliating. Throughout the early part of the war the testimony was unanimous that the Filipinos treated Americans kindly. It was not so unanimous that the Americans treated them kindly. Down as late as the period of the capture of Aguinaldo, a chivalrous spirit characterized

them. Even Funston has admitted that while laying his Pinkertonian trap for Aguinaldo, the latter, when he supposed that Funston was a prisoner in the hands of Filipino soldiers, provided hospitably for his wants. If the Filipinos have resorted to cruelties, they have a far better case than we, on the plea of retaliation, as Gen. Otis himself would probably testify if questioned closely.

In an article in *Gunton's Magazine*, Mr. Schurman, the head of President McKinley's first commission to the Philippines, has something important to say of the people whose flourishing and peaceful republic was ruthlessly destroyed by command of President McKinley in his proclamation of American sovereignty, promulgated six weeks before the outbreak of February, 1899. Among other important things Mr. Schurman writes:

The civilized and Christianized democracy of Luzon and the Visayas desire independence. They are fairly entitled to it, and, united as they now are, I think they might very soon be safely intrusted with it. In their educated men, as thorough gentlemen as one meets in Europe and America, this democracy of 6,500,000 Christians has its foreordained leaders.

When the true character of the Filipinos and of their assassinated republic come to be known, and the true history of the American war in the Philippines has been written, self-respecting Americans will blush for their country. Mr. Schurman is already contributing to this realization, and the atrocious behavior of the American invaders of the islands is helping him.

They are trying to prove before the Gen. Smith court-martial that a Filipino general ordered the use by his troops of poisoned spears. This is to justify the extermination, even down to children of ten, which Gen. Smith ordered in Samar. The evidence consists in testimony that the order is in the Filipino general's handwriting. Such evidence—especially at Manila, but more especially under the American military regime there, and most especially since the Funston exploit,—should be received

with great caution. It was upon a forged order, it will be remembered, a forged order purporting to have been signed by a Filipino general, that Funston obtained access to Aguinaldo and was enabled by kidnaping him to achieve a brigadier general's straps and pay. That forgery was perpetrated by American military men at Manila, and was so cleverly executed that it deceived even Aguinaldo. Why may not the poisoned spear order, also purporting to have been signed by a Filipino general, be likewise a clever forgery by American military men at Manila? Of course it is severe upon American military men to suspect them of so despicable a thing as forgery, but they themselves have invited the suspicion. Gen. Funston has publicly boasted of his share in one of these forgeries, and Gen. MacArthur is envious enough to claim the dubious honor. He says it was he, and not Funston, who put up the job on Aguinaldo. There may be a military difference between forging a paper in order to kidnap the leader of the Filipinos, and forging one in order to give them a bad name by way of excuse for torturing and slaughtering their people and turning their country into a howling wilderness. But forgery is forgery, and mere civilians must be excused if, failing to distinguish the difference, they are suspicious of Filipino military orders which might have been as easily forged by American military men at Manila as the one that confessedly and boastfully was so forged.

The speech of Senator Patterson, of Colorado, on the disgraceful exploit whereby the unsavory Funston won his commission as brigadier general, ought to be read far and wide. It is a calm arraignment, fortified with authorities, which reduces Funston to an irreducible minimum. The occasion of Senator Patterson's speech was an interview sent out by Funston, in which he said that President Roosevelt had approved heartily his New York Lotus club speech, and was very anxious to have

him go to Boston on the invitation of Senator Lodge and make the same speech there. This was the speech in which Funston excited the Lotus eaters to cheers by suggesting that American anti-imperialists ought to be hanged. He says now that the suggestion was wholly abstract—quite Pickwickian; but it certainly had in it much of the spirit of the hangman. In the interview which Senator Patterson took for his text, Funston defended his method of capturing Aguinaldo as being within the rules of honorable warfare. It was to that point that Senator Patterson mainly addressed his speech; and when he finished, Funston's military crime had been laid bare. The speech appears in full at page 3,550 of the Congressional Record of March 27.

Gen. Sir Robert Stewart, the British military officer in charge of the "commercial" shipments of mules from the British army station at New Orleans, on board British transports, to the seat of war in South Africa, seems to have the proper notion about the matter. In an interview with a Chicago paper this week, while a guest at the Auditorium Annex, he said:

Mules will continue to be shipped to South Africa as long as the almighty dollar rules America. England is not at all alarmed over the investigation at New Orleans. There is no denying that mules and horses are shipped to South Africa by our government, and it is nonsense to talk of stopping it.

Gen. Sir Robert Stewart is not very complimentary, but he apparently understands the weakness of the nation of whose people the British government buys mules and horses.

The Nebraska Independent, of Lincoln, propounds a question which it says its editor has asked—

a thousand times of single taxers, and while he stands ready to be convinced, not one of them ever attempted to make reply.

The Independent's single tax acquaintances must be exceptionally reticent, or else the Independent's editor is not quite so open to conviction

as he thinks. This is the question in substance, for the Independent does not put it in question form:

Since the community or population gives value to everything, why is it not right to tax all values given by the community to the full amount, if it is right to tax to the full amount the value given by the community to land?

The Independent is confused by elliptical forms of expression. In the first place, the phrase "to tax values," is simply a short cut for expressing the idea of taxing in proportion to values. Values themselves are not taxed. Men are taxed. Values are only a basis of tax measurement; the question being whether we shall tax men in proportion only to their land values or to their other values. Again, when it is said that the community gives value to land, but that individual producers give value to such things as houses and merchandise, what is meant and what is by all students of the subject readily understood, might be fully expressed like this: The community alone gives value to land, since the thing to which that value attaches exists without human production; but the community and the individual producer together give value to such things as merchandise and houses, since value could not attach to them unless individuals produced them, value having no faculty for attaching itself to impossible things. In the case of land, the only factor is the value-producing power—the community; hence it is proper to say that the community gives value to land. No other thought is involved. But in the case of such things as merchandise and houses, there are two factors,—the value-producing factor, which is the community; and the house- or merchandise- or other wealth-producing factor, which comprehends only the workers who bring forth those things. And inasmuch as the wealth-producing factor is the prime factor—it alone making it possible for merchandise values, house values and other wealth values to exist,—we may with entire propriety speak elliptically of such values

as labor values. That is the principal thought involved. Consequently we say "labor values" in contradistinction to "land values." The reason why it is right to tax in proportion to land values, and not in proportion to labor values, though neither would exist but for society, is that the owners of land values neither cause them nor produce the thing to which they attach, the values being caused by society, and the thing, the land, being a common inheritance; whereas the owners of labor values (unless they have by force or fraud or laws of privilege—which are in the last analysis chiefly laws fostering land monopoly—unjustly acquired them from the producers) do produce the class of things to which those values attach, and without their having done so values would to that extent not exist. In its nature a tax in proportion to land values is a tax on monopoly, while a tax in proportion to labor values is a tax on labor

In common thought, air and light are supposed to have no value, and are not regarded as commodities at all. We speak of land as a commodity and know that it has varying values according to locality. And so accustomed are we to regarding it as a commodity that there seems to be no incongruity of suggestion in the phrase "my land," or "your land," as there would be in "my sunlight" or "your sunlight," "my air," or "your air," though private property in air or sunlight is essentially no more absurd than private property in land, all being common gifts. Nevertheless, air and sunlight are in fact private property and are valuable, as occasional instances of ownership remind us. One instance was recently reported by a New York paper. An unusually low structure, the Speyer building, is to be erected at Pine and Nassau streets, New York. As soon as it became certain that this low building would be a permanency, the adjoining lot, theretofore of equal value, was sold for \$75,000 more than

its former price. The paper which reports the fact thus explains it:

That extra \$75,000 represented the value added to the plot by the fact that a permanent three-story building was to be put upon the Speyer parcel. In other words, the projectors of the tall office building were assured a plentiful supply of light and air for an indefinite period, and were willing to pay an extra \$75,000 for this assurance.

It was a veritable transaction in air and sunlight to the extent of \$75,000; and the owner of the other natural element, the land which controlled the use of sunlight and air at that point, got the money.

Mayor Schmitz, of San Francisco, is to be congratulated upon the success of his mode of dealing with street car strikes. When the street car managers started in to put armed detectives upon the cars the mayor interfered. As was told last week in these columns, he gave warning that neither side to the strike would be allowed to arm. Had he followed the usual course, the street car managers would have provoked riots by this time, as they usually do. But owing to the commendably impartial and order-promoting policy adopted by the mayor they were thwarted. The strike has been absolutely peaceable. No disorder whatever is reported. And the street car managers, hopeless of provoking riots which they could swear off upon the strikers, have come promptly to a reasonable settlement. The San Francisco mayor's action in this street car strike furnishes a precedent in the labor conflict which cannot safely be departed from hereafter anywhere in the country. The public official who in the future allows street car companies to arm will be held responsible by public opinion for any resulting disorder.

There is much that is comical about all the fuss and feathers over legal proceedings against the meat trust. These proceedings are for all the world like the slapsticks of the vaudeville stage, which make a great deal of noise but hurt no-

body. The members of the meat trust themselves are merry over it. They say that if the injunction holds against the loose combination which they have formed they will form one that is not loose, one like that of the steel trust. And, sure enough, they could find safety in that way. For the steel trust, the greatest and strongest of all the trusts, is regarded by the powers that be as legally invulnerable, because it consists of one corporation owning a majority of the stock in all the subsidiary corporations. It is not a trust; it is a stockholder. Here then is a case of now you see it and then you don't. If the meat trust is held together by what a witty writer describes as "a gentleman's agreement among hogs," it is unlawful; but if it is held together by the charter of a New Jersey corporation, it is lawful. Yet there is no difference except in form.

The outcome of the Kettle Hill assault upon the meat trust will probably be an injunction, followed by applause from party organs for the "anti-trust" administration, and later by the safe reorganization of the enjoined trust under the New Jersey corporation laws. The whole thing is a farce. No official attention is paid to the recent report of the Interstate Commerce commission, which traced the power of the meat trust to secret agreements with monopoly railroad corporations; nor to the tariff which shields it in another direction. Something of this kind is the true secret of all trust power. It rests upon special privileges, upon some sort of special legal protection. Were highway monopolies and the tariff on meats abolished, the people could whistle at meat trusts whether incorporated or not. The trust evil will never be suppressed until the people understand that trusts are effects, not causes, of monopoly. Competition cannot produce monopoly, but monopoly can destroy competition.

If a recent news dispatch from Washington reports the action of the

postal department truly, another dangerous advance has been made in the direction of irresponsible postal censorship. According to that dispatch a business firm of Wilkesbarre, Pa., had started an endless chain of letters for the advertisement of a fountain pen. On the surface there appears to have been nothing fraudulent in the enterprise. It was apparently a new but effective method of advertising. So effective did it prove that the post office at Wilkesbarre is said to have been choked with mail matter inclosing money for the firm. "The postal authorities," runs the dispatch, "do not seem to be certain yet whether they can stop the business on the ground that it is illegal, but investigation is being made on this point." Then comes the nub of the announcement: "Meanwhile the business is suspended!" So, if the report is true, the postal authorities at Washington, though not at all certain that this mail order business is illegal, put a stop to it, to the probable ruin of the business, until they can find out. Government by postal bureau promises to become as obnoxious as government by injunction.

All who remember the days of the greenback agitation, following close upon the civil war, will recall the name of Jesse Harper. Mr. Harper died on the 24th of last month at Danville, Ill., at the age of nearly 80 years. He had been an intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln, and was a Republican of prominence until the advent of the Greenback party. This was the first political movement after the war, of a social or industrial character. It is often thought of only as a financial movement with unsound principles and false ideals; but it was something more than a financial movement. Whether the remedies it proposed were true remedies or not, the Greenback party did aim to eradicate industrial ills and to bring about order and equity in society; and much of the sentiment against privilege that now exists may be traced to the agitation which it began. In the

most flourishing period of its career Jesse Harper stood high in its counsels. He was a man of intellectual ability and moral impulses, who thought of the rights of others rather than of comfort for himself; and his name deserves to be remembered as that of a pioneer in the American movement against plunder and privilege.

One of the men, great in his way, whose death is recorded this week, is J. Sterling Morton. He was a member, as secretary of agriculture, of President Cleveland's cabinet, though he will be longer and better known as the originator and patron of "Arbor day." Mr. Morton's character was distinctly intellectual. After once grasping an intellectual principle he clung to it with unyielding tenacity. Moral principles, however, as distinguished from ethical rules, did not seem to govern his thinking. Though a man of unchallenged probity in all his relations, the essential moral element in social problems did not appeal to him. He was not an idealist. And while a Democrat in politics, he was far from being a democratic Democrat. Closely affiliated as he was with the privileged classes of his time, and sensitively class-conscious, he defended the established order of things with vigor. His convictions were genuine and strong, and his methods were candid. No one ever doubted his sincerity, however much they may have questioned his conclusions.

FRANCHISE VALUES.

In profitable properties represented by shares on the stock market, there are two kinds of value. Though regarded as identical for ordinary business purposes, they are ethically and economically distinct. One is the value of services rendered; the other is the value of some monopoly power, secured by law, over the right to render services. In the former category are the values of plants, of good will, of operation, in a word, of all those things which the owners supply. In the latter category is the privilege, generally called a "franchise," conferred upon the owners by law to render those services, and which, either directly or indirectly, forbids their being rendered by others. For example: The value of street car tracks, of cars, of power houses, and of the human energy expended in operation, belongs in the former category; while the value of the right of way belongs in the latter. Values of the latter kind are known as "franchise" values. They are distinctively values which the owner does not earn, but which are conferred upon him at public loss simply as a legal privilege.

The following signed editorial regarding these franchise values is from the pen of one of the best equipped and best known observers and experts in that financial "sphere of influence" which bears the name of Wall street. He is the editor, and his business house (John Moody & Co., 35 Nassau street, New York) is the publisher, of "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities."—Editor of the Public.

As an example of the manner in which modern municipal franchises increase in commercial value take the electric lighting industry in New York city.

In 1898, the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of New York controlled practically the entire illuminating business of Manhattan Island. There existed, it is true, several small competing concerns, with limited franchises, but the figure they cut was small; the Edison company doing all the city lighting, and furnishing over 90 per cent. of the entire commercial demand. The capitalization of the Edison company consisted of \$6,500,000 in five per cent bonds and \$9,200,000 in stock, the latter paying six per cent. dividends.

The business of the company had been expanding rapidly for many years, and by the end of 1898 the company was earning about 11 per cent. on its capital stock beyond a liberal amount set aside each year to cover depreciation of plant.

About this time a new concern, called the New York Gas, Electric Light, Heat & Power company was formed by the so-called Brady-Whitney interests. The new company secured a liberal franchise and was incorporated with an authorized capital of \$36,000,000. At the same time a corporation called the Consolidated Telegraph & Electrical Subway company was formed. The latter company acquired certain franchises giving it the right to use many streets for the laying of electrical subways; and also to use for electric current the subways already laid along Broadway and other thoroughfares by the Metropolitan street railway for its underground electrical system. This subway company had at this time no other tangible property, however.

At this juncture the New York Gas & Electric Light, Heat & Power company began its campaign of consolidation. In December, 1898, it acquired the aforesaid Consolidated Telegraph & Electrical Subway company and five small electric lighting concerns.

In acquiring these six corporations it issued \$7,500,000 in first mortgage five per cent. bonds, running 50 years. It then acquired the entire capital stock of \$9,200,000 par value of the Edison company by issuing in exchange therefor \$21,000,000 in its own four per cent. bonds, secured as a purchase money mortgage on the stock itself. In acquiring this stock, it agreed to deposit with a trustee \$4,000,000 in cash, to be ultimately spent on the property. This cash was raised by issuing \$4,000,000 more of its first mortgage five per cent. bonds, making the total of the latter \$11,500,000.

The entire electric lighting industry on Manhattan was now consolidated, and properties which a few months before had had an outstanding capitalization in the aggregate of about \$19,700,000 now had securities outstanding as follows:

Edison company's old mortgages, \$6,500,000; underlying bonds of the smaller companies, \$1,150,000; New York Gas & Electric Light, Heat & Power company, five per cent. bonds, \$11,500,000; the same company's four per cent. purchase money bonds, issued for Edison stock, \$21,000,000; the same company's capital stock, all outstanding, \$36,000,000; total capitalization, \$76,150,000.

Here was an increase in capitalization (par value) in three or four months from \$19,700,000 to \$76,150,000, all of which, less the \$4,000,000 cash mentioned above, represented franchise value or inflation.

That it was practically all tangible franchise value and not the mere "inflation of expectancy" is shown by events which shortly followed.

In December, 1899, the Consolidated Gas company acquired the entire capital stock of the New York Gas & Electric Light, Heat & Power company by issuing in exchange therefor \$16,517,000 in par value or \$29,730,060 in market value, of its own stock. Thus the owners of the \$36,000,000 of the New York Gas & Electric stock (which had cost them nothing less than a year before) sold out for a cash equivalent of \$29,730,060. But the market value of this Consolidated Gas stock has since increased to \$37,163,000. The aggre-

gate market value of the bonds at the time of the exchange was about equal to their aggregate par value.

To-day the market value of the stock and bonds has increased in all about \$8,533,000, making the total market value of all the securities involved something like \$78,500,000 or an increase of \$54,800,000 over the amount of money which has actually been put in the property. This \$54,800,000 logically represents nothing else but the values of the franchises.

Yet this franchise value, represented by \$54,800,000 of securities out of a total of 78,500,000 (about 70 per cent.) is certainly a very valuable asset. These franchises have cost the company no cash, it is true. Neither has the city received any cash for them. Yet the company has in some way realized \$54,800,000 from them. In other words the company has practically capitalized them at \$54,800,000, and is earning and paying interest and liberal dividends on all these securities. The credit of the company is high and it could undoubtedly sell its business and franchises to-day for fully as much and possibly more than the \$78,500,000 at which it is financially valued.

The speculator, and the speculator only, benefits from this condition of things.

In the long run, no one else benefits, not even the legitimate investor.

The loss which the community sustains in this way is certain to react, sooner or later, on every class of investor; both the rich who invest their surplus wealth, and the poor who invest their labor or their brains. For, in the last analysis, the interests of the "investor class," so called, and the working class are identical. I cannot say this, however, of the purely speculative or gambler class, for they could not possibly live in their present power and glory were the interests of the rest of the community in no way encroached upon.

It cannot for one moment be contended by any frank and disinterested observer, either in or out of Wall street, that the situation is either equitable or healthful when a community presents, absolutely without compensation, a \$54,000,000 premi-

um to a \$24,000,000 corporation; and, after presenting it, complacently pays a large rate of interest on its present year after year; and, further, not only pays this interest without complaint, but as the years roll on sees its present grow in value like a snowball, and then calmly and without a murmur, pays interest on the increasing increment.

On precisely the same principle I might turn over a thousand dollars to a man who had no special claim on me for him to start a business with; and then, in order to induce him to keep the money, pay him six or eight per cent. interest per annum; and, feeling that possibly this was not a sufficient inducement, then give him an additional hundred dollars or so each year, paying interest on the increased amount at the same rate.

JOHN MOODY.

NEWS

Astonishment at the revelations of American atrocities in the Philippines, reported last week, which had then risen to a high degree, became intense when Gen. Smith's counsel, speaking for him before the court-martial at Manila, admitted that Smith had given the atrocious orders which Maj. Waller attributed to him, but which it was expected he would sweepingly deny. The hearings before the court-martial began on the 25th, instead of the 29th as at first announced. Gen. Lloyd Wheaton presided, and Col. Chas. A. Woodruff appeared as counsel for the defense. At the opening, Col. Woodruff announced his willingness to simplify the proceedings by admitting that most of the accusations were true. He said he was willing, in behalf of Gen. Smith, to admit that inasmuch as the country was hostile Gen. Smith did not want any prisoners, and that he had issued orders to Maj. Waller to kill all persons capable of bearing arms, fixing the age limit at 10 years because many boys of that age had borne arms against the American troops; and that he had ordered Maj. Waller also to burn the homes of the people and to make Samar "a howling wilderness."

Gen. Smith's confession is defended by some army officers both at home and in the islands; and the surrender on the 27th of Col. Guevarra, Filipino

commander in Samar, is referred to by them as a happy result of Gen. Smith's bloody orders. But the revolting disclosure was not received so complacently by the civil officials at Washington. "There is a good deal of nervousness," writes Walter Wellman, the well known Republican correspondent, in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 29th, "over the possible effect of the disclosures in the Philippines." Continuing he says:

At the cabinet meeting to-day the subject came up for informal discussion. What the President and his advisers fear is that Gen. Smith and all other accused officers and men who are under trial in the Philippines will be acquitted by the court-martial and that a cry will then go up in this country that the military tribunals have "whitewashed" guilty men. It was said to-day in the cabinet discussion that this would be worse than the present state of things, for it would indicate lack of confidence in the integrity of the army and in its courts of justice. Instead of a few accused officers being under the ban of public disapproval, the whole army would suffer indictment. . . . It was agreed that the best thing that could happen would be the conviction of Gen. Smith and his severe punishment. But all the indications are that he is to be acquitted, and that then the storm will break more fiercely than ever before.

The storm broke heavily in Congress on the 28th, when bitter denunciations of Gen. Smith's order were applauded not only by Democrats but also by Republicans. One of the speakers was Representative Williams, a Democrat, of Mississippi. The other was Representative Sibley, a Republican, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Sibley denounced Gen. Smith as "a disgrace not only to himself but to every man who wears the uniform of his country," and demanded his dishonorable discharge from the army upon his own confession. In the course of this speech Mr. Sibley said:

I have always defended the course of the administration in the Philippines and have been an expansionist. When I have heard statements made that we were cruel in the conduct of the war I have thought perhaps the partisan was speaking. But when I have read, as I have within the last 48 hours, that a general wearing the uniform of the army of the United States, one who stands under the shadow of our flag, issues orders, not to conciliate a province but to leave it a howling wilderness and to kill all above ten years of age, then it seems

to me that humanity must have marched backward for 18 centuries and that Herod again appears. I have heard of Timor and Tartar and of the Saracen scourge, but thank God it took 18 centuries after Calvary to produce a Gen. Smith. . . . A friend of mine said to me the other day: "You had better wait and hear his defense." There can be no defense for such orders. I hope the President will have the hardihood to order the dishonorable discharge of this man at once upon his own admissions. He ought never be permitted to stain the United States service. He is a disgrace to our civilization.

These revelations have reinvigorated the non-partisan anti-imperialist movement, and a committee of seven prominent men has been appointed to take all necessary steps to secure a full disclosure of the facts regarding the American occupation of the Philippines. In the language of the resolution, which was adopted at a meeting of representative anti-imperialists from different parts of the country, held at New York on the 29th, the duty of the committee is— to take all necessary steps to effect the full disclosure of the facts connected with the processes and executions in the Philippine islands and to appear in person and by counsel before the present Senate investigating committee and take such steps as may be calculated to secure complete publicity, and, further, to initiate such other action as may tend to vindicate the national character.

The committee consists of Carl Schurz, New York; Charles Francis Adams, Boston; Andrew Carnegie, New York; Wayne MacVeagh, Philadelphia; Herbert Welsh, Philadelphia; Edwin Burrill Smith, Chicago; and President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell university.

What specific steps this committee will take has not been divulged. But in expectation of its proposing, as has been suggested, that Moorfield Storey, of Boston, be allowed to represent the committee, as its counsel, before the Senate committee of investigation, leading members of this senatorial committee are reported from Washington as saying that Mr. Storey will not be admitted to the hearings. Commenting on this, the Washington correspondent of the Chicago Evening Post, a Republican paper, writes in the issue of the 3d:

If Moorfield Storey is denied the right to appear as the legal representative of the anti-Imperialist league a big fuss will be raised. The

closed sessions of the committee already have been the subject of unfavorable comment, notwithstanding the plea of "no room for outsiders," and if the rule is enforced against the attorney for the opposition the Republicans may as well prepare to hear a great deal about it during the campaign.

The necessity for some such voluntary committee as that named above with Mr. Schurz as its chairman, was made evident on the 30th by the action of the Senate investigating committee, which, on motion of Senator Beveridge, and by a strict party vote, refused the application of the minority of the committee for the examination of Aguinaldo, Pilar, Lopez and other Filipinos, and of Mr. Bray and two newspaper correspondents (see p. 39), on the ground that the Filipinos were formerly enemies in war, that Mr. Bray is a British subject, and that the newspaper correspondents are out of the country.

At the same session the committee refused, also by a strict party vote, to issue a summons by cable to Maj. Gardener, the civil governor of Tabayas, whose report has been for a time suppressed (p. 25) to appear before the committee and testify. Consequently a resolution was offered immediately in open Senate calling upon the secretary of war to order Maj. Gardener to come at once to Washington and testify, and this led to an acrimonious debate. The circumstances are reported by Walter Wellman, the Republican correspondent already quoted, in the Chicago Times-Herald (Republican) of May 1. Mr. Wellman writes:

The Republicans, on the defensive, and put in an awkward dilemma by the clever tactics of the Democrats, did not give a very creditable exhibition of skill. . . . Mr. Allison, the leader of the majority came forward with a speech of unwonted spirit, in which he let the cat out of the bag by declaring that the Republicans were not willing to "decorate" Maj. Gardener or pay him special honor by cabling him to come hither post haste. . . . Behind the scenes the Republican leaders had their heads together, and in sorrowful conference were trying to find a way out of their troubles. They have not found it, and they are, in fact, divided as to what is the best remedy. . . . One faction, led by Senator Allison, wanted to avoid calling Maj. Gardener as a witness and cut short the whole

wretched business by passing the appropriation bills and adjourning the session by June 15. . . . The other faction, composed of such men as Spooner, Aldrich and Platt, thought it would be cowardly to run away from the scandal.

From the British war in South Africa all news seems to have stopped. There are no reports either of fighting or of peace making, the whole situation being left where it was last week. But the same tendency to coincidences between this war and that of the Americans in the Philippines, which has been so notable a characteristic of the two wars, is again observable. Just as the party in power in the American Congress begins to exhibit signs of weakness over reports of American outrages in the Philippines, as reported above, so does the party in power in the British parliament begin to exhibit similar signs over British outrages in South Africa.

The excitement in the British parliament arose in connection with the forcible detention in South Africa, by the British, of Albert Cartwright, a British subject. Cartwright had been editor of the South African News, and having in the columns of this paper charged Lord Kitchener with ordering his officers to shoot all prisoners, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment for libel. After serving the term of his sentence, and designing to come to England, he was restrained by the British authorities and is still held in South Africa. The matter came before the House of Commons on the 24th, when Mr. Morley moved an adjournment in such manner that if carried it would amount to a censure of the ministry. In the debate Lord Stanley, financial secretary of the war office, who had served as chief press censor in South Africa, explained that the ministry did not think it desirable to increase the number of anti-British propagandists in England; to which Mr. Morley retorted that this was the most outrageous sentiment heard in the Commons since Simon de Montfort established parliament. Mr. Morley denounced the detention of Cartwright as illegal, unconstitutional and tyrannical. The debate was acrimonious, and several ministerialists manifested their sympathy with the opposition. Among them was Winston Churchill, who expressed a hope that the Commons would force the ministry to keep with-

in the limits of the constitution. The vote for adjournment was defeated—259 to 182. As the normal ministerial majority is in round numbers 130, this majority of only 77 is fairly regarded as indicating a growing feeling in the ministerial party in the Commons against further arbitrary methods on the part of the government.

The French parliamentary elections took place on the 27th, as was announced in these columns (vol. iv., p. 823) that they would; and it is believed that the ministry of Waldeck-Rousseau, which came in nearly three years ago (vol. ii., pp. 8, 9), will have a clear majority in the new chamber of deputies, to assemble on the 1st of June. The apportionment of deputies in France is one for each 100,000 inhabitants, and the number of deputies to be elected was 584. As a majority is necessary to elect, second elections must be held in districts where no candidate received a majority, and these number about 125. The second elections will be held on the 11th. Early news of the count, received on the 28th, gave the ministerialists 165 of the deputies elected, and the opposition 125. At that time the remaining districts were unaccounted for and no reports regarding them have been received since. Although the country at large sustains the old ministry, Paris does not. Not a single ministerialist deputy was elected from that city, from which there were four ministerialists in the chamber just dissolved. The Paris deputies-elect comprise 8 Nationalists, 6 anti-ministerialist Socialists, 4 anti-ministerialist Republicans, and 3 Conservatives. But the second elections may not leave the ministry wholly without support from Paris. One of the candidates to stand at the second elections there is M. Millerand, the Socialist member of the ministry, who failed to secure the necessary majority vote at the first balloting.

Russia appears to be in even greater stress than the reports of last week indicated. Owing to the strictness of the Russian censorship the facts are only just now reaching the outer world. They are divulged through private letters. In the south conflicts have occurred between the peasants and the police, and there are indications of extensive labor revolts. Bands aggregating 18,000 men are reported having sacked 80 estates at

Poltava and Kharkoff and destroyed what they could not carry off. The whole region is terrorized and landlords and stewards are fleeing. At Tula the soldiers refused to fire ball cartridge at the revolting peasants. Other instances indicating the sympathy of the troops with the insurrectionists are noted. Numerous attempts at the assassination of public officials have been made, and a number of desperate fights have taken place within the past eight weeks in which many persons have been killed. Moscow, Kief and St. Petersburg are given as among the places of their occurrence. Some of the reports suggest that a widespread revolutionary movement is on foot, which has penetrated into the army and affected officers as well as men, and that even sailors in the navy have come under its influence. Every class of Russian society except the highest nobility is suspected of being possessed by the spirit of revolution.

Whether in consequence of alarm inspired by these uprisings, or as an act of democratic statesmanship, the Czar has proposed to his ministers the abolition of the conscription laws. The majority of the ministers are said to have disapproved, arguing that it would be an invitation to rival nations to invade Russia. To this the Czar is credited with replying that history demonstrates the needlessness of conscription to make every Russian rise to resist invasion. As to aggressive war, none is needed; for he is opposed to that. No conclusion has yet been reached, but it is inferred that the conscription for 1903 will be postponed.

Concurrently with this report regarding conscriptions it is rumored that the Czar intends to issue a decree giving Russia a constitution in place of the present autocratic government, the principal feature of the proposed constitution to be a provision for a parliament and a responsible ministry.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Single Tax league of Missouri is making arrangements to erect a \$10,000 single tax building at the St. Louis world's fair.

—The semi-centennial celebration of the Western Unitarian conference is to be held in Chicago, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of May.

—Sol. Smith Russell, the famous American comedian, died at Washing-

ton on the 28th, at the age of 54. He had been an invalid for two years.

—The Ohio legislature on the 24th adopted a resolution submitting to popular vote the question of amending the state constitution so as to invest the governor with the veto power.

—On the 30th Secretary Long withdrew from his position in the cabinet as head of the navy department, and Congressman Moody, of Massachusetts, the new secretary, entered upon the duties of the office on the 1st.

—On the 28th the Chinese exclusion bill was passed by both Houses, and the President signed it on the 29th. It is the same as the previous law, except that it does not expire with the treaty, but is to remain in force subject only to future legislation by Congress.

—The submarine torpedo boat *Fulton*, on her way from New York to Washington by sea, made a ten-mile submarine trip down the Jersey coast on the 28th. The next day, while off the Delaware breakwater, an explosion, caused by an accumulation of gas generated by the storage battery, injured five of the men who composed the crew. One of them was an American naval lieutenant, another an Austrian naval lieutenant, two were engineers and one was a gunner.

—The San Francisco street car strike, on which we commented last week (p. 33), came to an end on the 26th, the victory being with the strikers. The tie-up was complete. Three thousand men were out, and all San Francisco was obliged to walk. The difficulty originated in an effort of the companies to crush a union. When the mayor had refused to allow either side to arm, the companies consented on the 22d to go into conference with their employes. Four days later the settlement was effected.

—The oleomargarine bill went to the president for his signature on the 28th. As it passed congress it imposes an annual tax of \$600 on manufacturers of oleomargarine, butterine and adulterated butter, and \$50 on manufacturers of renovated butter. In addition, it lays a tax of ten cents a pound on any of those commodities when artificially colored in imitation of butter, and a quarter of a cent a pound when not so colored. The commodities are subjected also to the police laws of any state into which they are transported.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE PHILIPPINE ATROCITIES.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (con. Dem.), Apr. 27.—Whatever the provocation received, there was no excuse for such an order from a general of the United States army. The admission that it was given is a shock to the American people.

The Ithaca (N. Y.) Democrat (Dem.), Apr. 24.—If these things constitute "marked humanity and magnanimity," then pan-

thers, ghouls and hyenas are the gentlest creatures on earth, and all should join with President Roosevelt in approving of "the conclusions of the secretary of war."

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.) Apr. 28.—What do the wildiers of a downtrodden race say to such "savages, Apaches and barbarians" as Smith and Waller? What do the vapors of high-flown talk about educating and elevating the Filipinos think of such exponents of advancement as the water-cure fiends?

Cleveland Citizen (Soc.), Apr. 26.—When one reads of the horrible tortures and massacres that the Filipinos were subjected to at the hands of our "Christian" soldiers, one cannot help but wonder whether Cortez and Pizarro and even the arch-fiend himself would not stand aghast at such monstrous crimes.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), Apr. 29.—Major Waller's acquittal is understood to have been on the ground that he obeyed the orders of Gen. Smith. There is a rumor that the latter will pass the responsibility to his superiors, who will find their refuge in orders which came directly from the war department. That is what the American public wants to know—where did the burn-and-kill policy originate?

Chicago Evening News (neut.), April 30.—He (Gen. Smith) can hardly explain to the satisfaction of Americans his orders for the killing of children over ten years of age, no matter what representations he makes, but he may succeed in showing that severity—to the point even of brutality—is itself an unavoidable measure of self-defense on the part of the army which invades the lands of alien and semicivilized peoples.

Chicago American (Dem.), Apr. 25.—If the horrible acts of a few savages in uniform have been falsely made to appear characteristic of the spirit of the army, it is right that the army should be vindicated by the truth being made known. If, on the other hand, these hideous torturings and murders and wanton burnings are . . . typical of the spirit in which our army deals with the natives—that should be made known. The whole truth, whatever the nature of that truth may be, must be laid before the American people.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Apr. 28.—The claim of a race of the right to be dominant, on the arrogant assumption of superiority and the endowment of destiny, is no better based than the old doctrine of the divine right of kings. And it leads to the same intolerance and tyranny with respect to other races as the king's claim with respect to a single people. There is no good promise to the world in it. There is no peace on earth and good will to men in it. And into what an incongruous position it has led our republic. We are waging a war of conquest. We are using the reconcentrado system. And we justify and have been practicing a warfare of extermination.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Apr. 29.—Gen. Smith may plead also that he understands Filipino nature better than it is understood in the United States, and that his orders, severe as they were and contrary to the rules of modern warfare, did what gentler means could not have done—that they crushed out rebellion in Samar. Samar has been pacified. The insurgent officers and soldiers have given up their arms and promised to be "good Indians." In 1637 Massachusetts and Connecticut soldiers slaughtered the Pequots without regard to age or sex. The tribe was exterminated, and there was peace in the land for 30 years. Gen. Smith may have had in mind this New England precedent.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Apr. 29.—Those who tell us that "war is war" and that we must not inquire too minutely into the methods pursued by an army operating among a half-civilized people are bound to defend not only the water cure and the slaughter of children, but the revival of the methods of the Spanish inquisition—the

rack, the wheel, the thumb-screw—and the total disregard of the restraints imposed by international law and humanity upon civilized warfare. What would the American people have said five years ago if Weyler had issued such an order as Gen. Smith admits having given to his subordinates? What would they have said if the Spanish authorities and newspapers had excused such an order on the miserable ground that "war is war"?

City and State (Ind.), Apr. 24.—The point which all who desire the Philippine iniquity to be exposed and stopped should now press is this: Open sessions on the part of the Philippine investigating committee. Senator Lodge claims that these sessions are absolutely free; but he is seriously in error in that assertion, for the following reasons: The three press associations which have a right to be present are the "Sun," the Publishers and the Associated—none other. These are all sympathetic to the administration's Philippine policy, and they have obstructed practically the egress of news in time for its prompt consumption by the press. They have given out what they wanted, but not all that a knowledge of vital truth required. In justice to the public there should be an adequate representation before the committee of the opposition press.

THE MEAT TRUST.

Kansas City World (Ind.), Apr. 28.—Congress can smash trusts by depriving them of the tariff protection which aids them to maintain monopolies and rob the consumer at will.

Albany Argus (Dem.), Apr. 28.—Let Congress put cattle, sheep, hogs, and all kinds of meats upon the free list. That will effectually reduce the price of meats, whether there is a meat trust or not.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Apr. 28.—A great many people are solving the beef trust problem to their entire satisfaction by abstaining from meat altogether. But it is difficult to find a substitute that is not also controlled by a trust.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Apr. 29.—The way to strike the trusts and abridge their power is to hit them through the tariff. . . . In the House the bill to repeal the tariff tax on meats and other necessities has been sent to slumber in the ways and means committee, and it is proclaimed that the tariff must not be meddled with, even its most obnoxious parts, else there will be a demand for a general revision.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Apr. 29.—If President Roosevelt is sincere in his desire to get meat prices lower, why doesn't he proceed about it in the proper way, and urge his Republican Congress to take off the meat duties? With these removed there would be no more cry of high prices, for the influx of Mexican and Canadian cattle would force the trust to deal fairly with the people and be content with a legitimate profit.

Chicago American (Dem.), Apr. 26.—The people and press are uniting in the demand that congress shall repeal the duties which give the food trust protection against competition. A bill simply providing that beef, veal, mutton and pork, the staples controlled by the food trust, shall be placed upon the free list is what the situation requires. Such a bill would aim straight at the bull's-eye and hit it. No member of congress who is not either a tool of the trusts or more concerned about the gains of some selfish local interest than he is for the rights of the whole people of the United States would oppose it.

Boston Traveler (Ind.), Apr. 26.—Crush the food trust through the tariff, is the voice of the American people to-day, and if the Republicans in congress refuse to listen, a Democratic congress will be elected next November, and in three years more a Democratic president will sit in the White House. . . . What is needed, and what we must have, is simply this: A bill provid-

ing that the duties on beef, veal, pork and mutton shall be placed absolutely on the free list. The Traveler recommended this in an editorial weeks ago, and we are glad to see that the press all over the country has taken it up and are uniting in the demand that congress shall repeal these duties. This is the only solution of the question. Open our markets to the free importation of meat products of Canada, South America and Mexico, and it will wipe the food trusts out of existence and establish trade equilibrium.

DAVID B. HILL.

Anoka (Minn.) Free Press (Dem.), Apr. 24.—In his plea for Democratic harmony David B. Hill makes himself misunderstood. What is it he wants united? Hill is a protectionist, a gold bug, a national bank agitator and an imperialist—surely he cannot expect the democrats to come over and unite with him and his allies, the Republicans, on these issues.

BRITISH TAXATION.

The London Speaker (Lib.), Apr. 19.—A most serious feature of the tax on grain and flour is the number of subsidiary articles which have been placed on the customs list. There are said to be some 400 animal and human foods, raw or manufactured, which will be swept out of free trade into the net of a protective tariff. . . . Landowners in the corn-growing counties of the east of England, in Hampshire and Wiltshire, will pocket a good deal of money.

The London New Age (Rad.), Apr. 17.—Of the deficit of £41,000,000, but £5,000,000 are to be provided by new taxation. Of the remainder, £4,000,000 come through the suspension of the sinking fund, and £32,000,000 are to be obtained by loan. This is a cowardly budget. It will be said that it is only fair that posterity should pay, since posterity will benefit. That is a coward's argument, because nobody believes that posterity will benefit. Least of all do those who use the argument believe it to be true. What but a cowardly government moreover would raise £2,500,000 from the well-to-do, and £2,500,000 by a bread tax, which must fall with particular severity upon the ill-to-do? Who can say that that is a fair division of burden? Though why talk of fair division, when to those who have the most elementary knowledge of political economy it is clear that ultimately the whole burden must fall upon the workers as distinguished from the drones of society?

THE LAND QUESTION.

East Oregonian (Dem.), Pendleton, Ore., Jan. 22.—At this time, railroad men are taking of the influx that is coming, and various regions are making preparations for the reception of the homeseekers. That is right. It will be good for any locality to have people of good character come in to assist in the wonderful work of upbuilding the West, and reclaiming areas now practically unproductive. To the student of economics, however, it will be apparent that the expense of doing all this immigration bureau work will fall upon those who receive the least benefit, while those who are helped the most will do the least. Who will be the most benefitted? Surely, no one will deny that it is the land owners. They will be benefited because they need do nothing excepting sit down and wait for the incoming army of home seekers.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 35 of that publication.

Washington, Apr. 21-26, 1902.

Senate.

Before proceeding with the Philippine bill on the 21st, the senate disposed of the river and harbor appropriation bill. There was no debate, but many amendments were

adopted (pp. 4721-4731) and finally the bill was passed. Consideration of the Philippine bill being then resumed (p. 4731), Mr. Teller offered a resolution (p. 4732) on the operation of the section laws of the Philippines against local newspapers, and he and Mr. Bacon, in controversy with Mr. Lodge, occupied the remainder of the day. When the Philippine bill was taken up again on the 22d, Mr. Rawlins (p. 4731) discussed it, continuing his speech on the 23d (p. 4854) and concluding it on the 24th (p. 4867), on which day little else, except private business was transacted. Mr. McCumber informally discussed the question of food adulteration during the morning hour on the 25th (p. 4942), with Senate bill No. 3342 as his text, and in the afternoon Mr. Carmack began speaking on the Philippines bill (p. 4951), concluding on the 26th (p. 5006). Prior to the resumption of this measure on that day, Mr. Jones offered a resolution (p. 4996) for an investigation into the question of the ownership by the American sugar trust of the Cuban sugar crop, which was adopted. Some discussion arose (p. 5003) over the action of the House on the Senate's amendments to the oleomargarine bill, but definite action was not taken.

House.

No business of general interest was transacted on the 21st, but while the West Point Academy appropriation bill was under consideration, the Negro question and the Boer question were discussed. In connection with the latter, a letter from Peter Van Vlissingen to the President on the subject of the British supply station at Chalmette was read. It appears at p. 4762 in the Record in full. At page 4753 there is a letter on the same subject from the sheriff of the county in which Chalmette lies. The West Point appropriation bill being still under consideration on the 22d, Mr. Feeley (p. 4906) spoke on the British army supply camps, introducing a published statement regarding them made by the British general, Sir Robert Stewart. On the 23d the House went into committee of the whole (pp. 4858-4927) on the Senate amendments to the oleomargarine bill (House bill No. 9206), confining its deliberations to this subject (except for interruptions of no general interest), until the 24th, when it reported recommendations. These were at once adopted by the House, which thereupon resolved itself again into committee of the whole for the consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill (p. 4927). After disposing of the private calendar on the 25th, consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill was resumed, but not completed, and the 26th was devoted chiefly to memorial speeches on the late Representative Stokes, of South Carolina.

Record Notes.—Speeches by the following named congressmen on the following subjects respectively are reported at the pages indicated: Representatives Roberts (p. 4695), Richardson (p. 4698), Stevens (4704), Fordney (p. 4712), Zenor (p. 4768), Jones (4821), Littlefield (p. 4829), Gillett (p. 4834), Aplin (p. 4837), Gardner (p. 4838), Smith (p. 4887), Kitchin (p. 4973) and Tawney (p. 4976), on Cuban reciprocity; Representative Selby (p. 4715), on Cuban annexation (containing text of Ostend manifesto and treaty of Paris of 1898); Representative Dalzell (p. 4702), against interference with tariff protection; Representative Broussard (p. 4762), on the Philippine policy; Representative Ryan (p. 4776), on Chinese exclusion; Representatives Kitchin (p. 4833) and Gilbert (p. 4839), on the Negro question; Representative Feeley (p. 4885), on postal appropriations; and Senator Elkins (p. 4769) on ship subsidies.

MISCELLANY

MALEVOLENT ASSIMILATION.

For The Public.

Bind and torture, burn and slay,
In the old barbaric way.
Stamp their rice crops in the mud,
Drench their ruined fields in blood,
Drive and starve and concentrate.
Still they won't assimilate.

Shoot your prisoners at a guess,
Make a howling wilderness,
Butcher children, women, men—
Every native over ten—

All you meet with, small and great.
Shall the dead assimilate?

Be ye not of God afraid;
Learn the inquisition's trade;
Reproduce, from history's page,
Tortures of the middle age;
Copy hell, and—this saith Fate,
"Hatred shall assimilate."

Yea, by Him who seeth all,
Though in holocausts they fall,
Till their last defender die,
Till their last home light the sky,
Rendering you hate for hate,
They shall be at Freedom's gate.

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

THE "AVERAGE NEWSPAPER." For The Public.

I suggested to the manager of a certain metropolitan daily that the press might take its occupation a little more seriously and here and there indulge us with literature of a graver class. But he told me I knew nothing about the practical exigencies of the trade, and proceeded cynically to describe the situation.

An average newspaper is edited for average men. The average man is an idiot. Therefore, the paper must be edited for idiots. Therefore the paper must be idiotic. The people would not appreciate a good thing if it was given them. They do not know ps from qs in literature, or care whether a t is crossed or not. They would rather read evil than virtue. They would rather read the writings of a fool than of a philosopher. They would prefer sensation and depravity to the passive epics of our casual and exemplary experience. They prefer the unclean to the clean. They prefer the coarse to the fine. They would rather their editors used bad English than good. They would resent serious discussion. They would rather have you lie than tell the truth. They expect to be flattered. They rejoice when their confidence is abused. They would rather be swindled than get what they pay for. They are an ill-clothed and rather ill-grained lot, and are not to be encouraged by editorial diversions into areas of free and honest controversy. These are the people. They are to be grudged all their aspirations. They are always to be taken at shortest measure. They are the eccentric and erratic fry for whom we edit papers. If our papers are feeble and dishonest, do not blame us. Blame the people. We give the people the sort of paper they wish. If you think our paper is below the standard you would set for us, refer it to the people. When the people demand a better article we will furnish it. We are not inventors.

We are purveyors. We do not speculate. We fill orders. We reflect the pleasure of the people. We are up and down, right and left with the people. Their concern is ours. You do not suppose we produce a paper for any abstract reason, or because we are interested in some unpopular cause? We are in the business for its results. We produce a newspaper for the same reason that you make shoes and run a saloon. We have laid in a stock of spirits, and we deck up our little lunch counter, and we strive to make things as pleasant as we can for the fellows who happen in and loaf around our bar. You do not mean to argue that we should try on any of the fancy and expensive virtues? There are fools enough in the world for that service. Look at the reform fools everywhere who spend their last cent for their faith. We do not presume or pretend to educate the people. They do not go to school to us. We keep up with their humors, tickle their passions, concede any sort of favor to their palate, and conform to their average habits. If we did not produce for them the goods they demand they would desert. Now, as such are the conditions on both sides, how can you seem surprised and upon what ground can you complain? The people are not to us the dear people. Nor are we to them anything significant or exalted. Our relations are all on the ground, without any admixture of mysteries, refinements or sophistries. Not one ingredient that should not be there is permitted in the solution. We are not doing the people up at so much per head. Nor are they doing us up by getting from us what they do not deserve. Their pennies in the lump make us solid with the advertiser. The advertiser is the man we play for. For him we would slave or die. For him we would go to the stake. For him we would lie, steal, or beg. For the advertiser is our water of life. But to get him we must play fortunes to the pennies. And to get the pennies we must keep scrupulously free of all heterodoxy. We must steer our craft along that rather delicate line which offends neither Sunday school nor brothel, neither the high nor low, neither the quick nor halt, of the social order. Tact gives us the pennies. To be penny wise here is to be pound solid. The pennies give us the advertiser. The advertiser brings bloom to our desert. Now you have my facts. Who can escape facts?

HORACE TRAUBEL.

AN ARMY OF UNSUITABLES.

The recent enlistments in Cedar Rapids for the United States army have given several people cause to make a new and deeper study of the reasons that cause men to enlist, and the general conclusion is that vanity rather than patriotism, and lack of information rather than education on the subject, is responsible for the enlistment of a lot of boys who would gladly serve five years each even on a stone pile and under the orders of their fathers, to be released from the oaths that they have taken.

These boys are altogether unfit for the life of the soldier in any country and under the best of conditions, and to send them to the Philippines is to inflict on 30 of every 100 of them the death penalty for their folly and not for any crime that they have committed. If they were farmer boys, if they had worked in foundries, machine shops, at anything that would have toughened their muscles, the case would have been somewhat different. The majority of them are of the class who never did what might be called a hard day's work. They have carried no loads heavier than their school books. They have had no style of living except on beds of the best kind, in easy chairs, at the tables presided over by their mothers, and in hammocks with companions for solace. Compelled to prepare a meal for themselves they might as well consume the material raw, and compelled to make their own quarters they might with as good effect sleep on the ground with the sky for a covering. They are totally unfit for the life to which they have been assigned by the government and there should be some one in the war department with enough courage to tell the truth and to say that if soldiers are needed the government has the right to call for soldiers and the right to command that the call be obeyed.

These boys have seen the Iowa national guard in camp. They have been made aware that feather-headed girls and women flock about the camp to do homage to epaulettes, leg stripes, swords, rifles, brass buttons, and gray slouch hats, worn with a "who cares a rap" air. These boys are close observers of these things and do not appreciate having their company pay attention to blue clothes and a swagger gait. Shallow as this reasoning may appear to the men who have forgotten that they were boys, that there was a time when a smile meant

more to them than the possession of a section of Iowa land, and that they would leave their mothers to split the kindling and do all the chores for the blessed privilege of bestowing five cents' worth of gum drops on some girl and enjoying her society until the gum drops had been consumed, this is the potent reasoning that has made soldiers of many boys who should at this time be at home spading the gardens and making preparations to assist their mothers in the cultivation of flowers about the lawn.

Now that it is too late for them the boys have seen the awful error they have committed, have arrived at the conclusion that their fathers had some sense when they advised them to stay at home, and know that a great deal of money will have to be spent and a great deal of worry undergone to secure their release. That a great many of them forged the names of their fathers to their papers seemed a light matter, for they believed that their fathers would not prosecute. It is a different matter now and they would even rather be in jail. One lad writes home that on the occasion of the visit of the wife of a petty officer to the camp a troop of "cavalry" was ordered out for her edification. This cavalry consisted of a lot of callow boys who might have ridden well broken broom sticks or hobby horses, but they were given barbarous bronchos, fresh from the reservation, and with all the instincts of the heathendom of horse flesh in their minds. As a result eight of the troop were seriously hurt. One had a broken leg, another a broken arm, several had broken ribs and the others were sent to the hospital for various reasons. But the wife of the officer had a perfectly lovely time—almost as entertaining as any ever enjoyed by the dames of Rome when newly-caught Christians were fed to the lions of the royal menagerie for their entertainment. Thus they have been cajoled into the army by the blandishments of feather-headed girls to encounter more of the same thing in the personality of some of these girls who have realized their fondest ambitions and have married men allowed by law to wear shoulder straps and real swords.

If the United States has any cause in the Philippines that should appeal to the patriotism of the country it is strange that men of mature years do not enlist. It is strange that men able and educated to form opinions of their own are not wanted. It is

strange that a great nation will dodge like a coward from incurring the liability of pensions if there is any holy cause of liberty and right at stake. But the men of mature years and sound judgment might not believe all that might be told them, and they might form conclusions of their own as to the propriety of the movement. While they would yield loyal obedience under arms they might be able to tell the truth and in a convincing way on their return home and they might interfere with the plans of the army pets and poodles in the field. They are not wanted. The callow boys of the nation, who have had experience with nothing more effective than sling-shots and air guns, are to be weighted with haversacks and Kraag-Jorgensens and sent against a mature and crafty enemy, with all the advantages of knowledge of the jungles, familiarity with the resources of the country and fitness for the climate on their side. The case is one that calls for correction and the press of the country should have the hardihood and honesty to tell the truth. If men are wanted, then send men. The United States is cowardly to send these striplings to death for the sole reason that they have no heirs to demand pensions for the sacrifice.—Cedar Rapids Evening Gazette, of April 9.

THE UNEARNED INCREMENT IN BUSINESS.

The following articles, one from a leading Western and the other from a leading Eastern financial publication, are significant of a growing recognition in financial circles of essential economic, business and moral differences between investments in monopoly values and in legitimate capital values.

WHERE THE BLAME ACTUALLY RESTS.

Editorial in the August, 1901, issue of Finance, "a review of the financial, industrial and development interests of the great West," published in St. Louis.

Some little time ago the United States Investor, of Boston, one of the greatest financial journals in the world, in considering editorially the cause of what are commonly called periods of bad times, said:

The speculative advance in land values alone explains the period of bad trade which regularly succeeds a period of good trade throughout the industrial world. As already stated, this advance in rents is not brought about by the will of land owners, who are no more responsible for it than other people. It is none the less of the nature of a lockout against capital and labor. And in these days of rapid material progress it produces results more disastrous than were possible in quieter and less

progressive times. If our perceptions were not dulled by familiarity, how astonishing and unnatural it would seem that many thousands of willing workers, able and anxious to produce wealth, should remain in enforced idleness. These men desire wealth. The earth is full of it. The price to be paid for it is labor. These men are offering the price, but there is no opportunity for them to satisfy their wants. When many thousands of men of all trades and occupations are seeking work, and cannot find any, it is certain that the ultimate cause can only be that labor is shut off from land somewhere. It may be on the other side of the earth. It may be in Europe, or in the United States, or both. Somewhere the first check has been given to production by speculative advance in land values, and the effect, a check in demand, has propagated similar checks in a thousand occupations, till the final result is felt in widespread depression, commercial failures, and involuntary idleness. It is said that 1,000,000 work people are constantly out of work in this nation, even in moderately good times. These involuntary idlers produce no wealth. Their enforced idleness entails a greater loss on the nation than the cost of a huge standing army. It is not necessary to suppose that were every obstacle removed which prevents free access to land, these idlers would all become miners or herdsmen, or farmers; but it can hardly be doubted that a sufficient number of them would do so to give employment to others and to create a demand for more. And their employment would not fail to bring advantage and profit to every merchant, manufacturer and tradesman in the nation. A correct view of the causes which produce alternate periods of good and bad trade is of interest, not only theoretically, but materially and financially, to every investor, to every capitalist, and to every workman in the nation. Apart from any theory or theories, it is clear and undeniable that throughout the industrial world speculative advance in rent or land values invariably precedes a season of commercial depression. That the former is the main, invariable cause of the latter is scarcely less clear, and is the only rational conclusion that can be drawn.

To this concise statement the American Land and Title Register the recognized land speculators' representative, replied editorially as follows:

While the above is very well as far as it goes, it clearly does not cover the whole ground. It is during the "speculative advance in land values" that banks loan out their funds as far and often beyond what good judgment would warrant. There always comes an end to expansion. An elastic rubber band can stretch only so far without breaking. At the height of the expansion there is always someone to sound the alarm. Then begins the scramble to get under cover. The banks aid the crisis by refusing loans to-day that they would have taken yesterday. Loans on call are called. Money is refused on good realty security, and the banker who thinks he is doing everything possible to make his position secure is really doing everything possible to bring down the financial temple about his ears. If he be making himself secure, he is doing it at the expense of some brother banker, and his every act breeds alarm and distrust. Then follows the panic; and the long period

of clearing away the wreckage. The only way these periodical panics can be avoided is for either the government to issue all money, and thus be in a position to checkmate a stringency by increased issues, or for the bankers themselves to have a central controlling body which shall supervise the conditions at large and prevent overloaning, or at least take a position where the public can be assured that realty collateral shall be good for loans to some extent at all times and under all circumstances. It is too much power for any class of men to possess to be able to say to those who have made large investments in real estate: "We did loan to you on this security, but we cannot do so any more." Such action demonetizes property, and wherever it has occurred holders of "the best security in the world" have suffered loss and often been brought to bankruptcy. It is only when realty is largely refused as collateral that industries collapse and the contingent of idlers becomes noticeably large. This is because most industries rest on products of the soil, and when banks show that they are afraid to trust to these for indemnification, it is not to be expected others will have much confidence in land. When a bank refuses realty collateral and says: "We would prefer your note with one other good name," it means simply that the bank requires extraordinary security. A man's all is pledged to his "paper," all he possesses and all that he may possess in future; and when two or three personalities are required to a loan, it is making the loan about as safe as anything subinary can be made.

The statement of the case by the United States Investor is somewhat bald, and indeed little attempt was made to make it analytical, the subject being too comprehensive for editorial treatment in that manner, but its premises are none the less sound, while those of our respected contemporary, the Register, are on the shifting sands and the panaceas that it suggests are childish. It has become a custom with those who uphold land speculations to charge the bursting of the land booms, and the periodical collapses of business generally, to the banks, but when we consider the subject from the standpoint of true banking the charge is unjust and cannot be maintained. Land speculation does shut out capital and labor and therefore it hurts banking in the end, notwithstanding that banks may transact a considerable amount of business with land speculators and opportunity monopolizers while there is what is called an active realty market.

The Register, by its own admissions, where it states that "It is only when realty is largely refused as collateral that industries collapse and the contingent of idlers becomes noticeably large," tends to prove the correctness of the assertion that land speculation shuts out capital and labor. Banks want to make

loans. They always desire to make loans. It is in loans that the profits of banking entirely lie. When they decline to make loans upon the basis of a certain location value claimed, it is because they know that the valuation is speculative and prohibitory. They decline to furnish capital through the medium of loans, and since labor is not permitted to apply itself by itself to the speculatively held opportunity, or in any way, without first paying the tribute, capital and labor are locked out. Capital is idle, labor is idle, the production of wealth is stopped, though both capital and labor may be anxious to go on with the work.

Land speculation demands from capital and from labor a tribute of all that the speculator thinks these can stand. Upon what grounds this tribute is levied has never been made clear upon any economic basis, refuge being usually taken to precedent, and to the confusion of what is actual capital and what is merely inert or predatory monopolization. When speculation has run its length and seeks to enforce a tribute from capital and labor which these cannot bear, then comes the collapse. To offer as a panacea for these disturbances, these periods of "hard times," the idea of banks continuing to loan money to land speculators upon the increasing valuations which the speculators put upon their holdings is simply inane. There would be no limit to their demands short of all the wealth in the country. Banks are supposed to loan upon actual value, carefully scrutinized and considered. When this value is in a location the amount of the value must be determined by the amount of returns it will yield to the economic factors capital and labor, by the legitimate market demand for the location. When the speculative value far exceeds this natural basis, and to neither of these values, by the way, does the speculator contribute anything, banks certainly cannot be expected to loan on the former. Banks cannot be blamed for scaling down these loans. Indeed, all that the banks can be charged with is an already too great leniency with them.

For the government to issue unlimited money to "tide over" these disastrous periods brought on by land speculation and opportunity monopolization would not only upset legitimate banking and assist in defrauding capital and labor, but would logically lead to the same end as the

proposed unlimited loaning by banks upon speculative valuations. Just so fast as the loans were made and the emergency money was set loose, so the speculative valuations would go mounting upward.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEW WEALTH.

An article in the issue of April 19 of the United States Investor, published in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco.

Ground Rent as a Means of Diverting Wealth from Labor and Capital.

This nation is enormously richer than it was even ten years ago, but the masses of the people are no richer, and the struggle for existence is harder. They create more wealth every year, but it is spirited away from them. What becomes of it? The answer is clear and positive. It goes chiefly to increased ground rent. In every progressive community, in every land where wealth is increasing, the bulk of the increase goes to rents. This economic fact is not generally considered, but it is becoming recognized more and more every year. Years ago Prof. Cairnes pointed out this important fact when speaking of the tremendous increase in the wealth of the English nation. He said: This enormous increase in the wealth of the nation has gone neither to capital nor to labor nor yet to the public at large, but to swell a fund ever growing, even while its proprietors sleep, the rent roll of the owners of the soil."

In this country, our yearly production of wealth is almost inconceivable, and one-third of it goes to increase

The Rental Value of Land.

This is a natural economic law which all the socialists and all the governments on earth are powerless to destroy. This law operates automatically, silently, and is therefore little observed and likely to be overlooked by those who do not look beneath the surface of things and inquire into causes. The amount of increase in land values every year would be incredible if it were not made evident beyond contradiction by plain figures in public documents. In this city of Boston the assessed value of land exclusive of buildings has increased 40 per cent. during the last ten years. In other cities it has probably increased at an even greater rate. In 1891, the land in Boston was taxed on a valuation of

\$381,299,825. During the next ten years, up to 1901, the assessed value has increased by \$165,946,775, making the taxable value in that year, \$547,246,600.

Be it observed that this is the assessed value of land alone, not including one dollar of improvements. The increased value of buildings and improvements has been made by the outlay and enterprise of the land owners, but the owners did not create a single dollar of the increased land values. This increase in value of \$165,946,775 in ten years has been made by the people who live in Boston and those who visit and trade and do business in Boston. Every man who walks the streets helps to create this land value. The landlord, as landlord, creates not a cent of it. It is

Purely a Commercial Product

but it is increasing every year. The increase in one year, 1901, compared with 1900, was \$14,313,100. During the same year the increase in the assessed value of buildings was \$8,235,700, something over half as much as the increased value in land. The eight million dollars' increase in value of buildings was made by the will and energy of the owners, and resulted from the combined agency of capital and labor. But the fourteen million dollars' increase in land values did not depend on the will of the owners at all. It did not cost them one thought, or one effort, or a single cent of outlay. The value went on increasing while they slept. It is purely an increased value presented by the community to private individuals.

This private appropriation of public wealth has been established by long custom and is sanctioned by statute law, and prevails in almost all civilized communities. We have adopted this custom in this nation in imitation of the old nations of Europe. If it did not prevail in this country, and if the commercial wealth in land values which the community as a whole, has alone produced, were not appropriated by private individuals the city of Boston would not need to raise a dollar of other taxation. Its ground rents alone greatly exceed its national, state and municipal taxes. The same conditions exist in every city throughout the union. Throughout the nation the aggregate ground rents greatly exceed and are probably more than double the entire revenues of every description.

And year by year a larger and larger amount of the wealth production of the nation goes to increase land values. When the question is asked, What becomes of the tremendous amount of wealth produced every year by

American Labor and Capital?

the answer must present as its principal item the diversion of one-third of it to increase ground rents, which have not been earned by their beneficiaries. No solution of the wealth problem can be even approximately correct which overlooks this important fact. Men who bother their heads to account for the distribution of such wealth, and talk as if it went to improve the condition of laborers and producers, are far at sea. The yearly increase in wealth production does not greatly benefit either capital or labor. Mr. Carnegie, to the contrary, notwithstanding. It goes chiefly to increase the appropriations of privilege, and chief of all, the legal privilege of the ownership of the soil. In the city of Boston is one property which a hundred years ago was worth less than \$100,000, and the improvements were worth more than the site. To-day the site value alone is estimated to be worth \$1,500,000. Not a dollar of this wealth has been produced by the owners. It is a free gift presented to them by the people of Boston, and every year thousands of dollars are added to the unearned increment.

Many thousands of similar properties in all the cities of the nation furnish the key by which the true answer can be given to the question, Where does the wealth go to? Ground rent and similar legal privileges, like a huge sponge, absorb more than one-third of it, and capital and labor scramble for the rest. A solution of the problem of wealth distribution would be approximately correct which estimated that of all the wealth produced by the nation one-third goes to labor, one-third to capital and one-third to privilege. There can be no marked and permanent improvement in the material condition of the masses of the people till due consideration is given to this great diversion of wealth to individuals who have not earned it.

THE LAND QUESTION IN GERMANY.

The following letter from one of the ablest and most active land reformers of Germany, Mr. Adolph Damaschke, was written for and read at the recent Jefferson

Day celebration of the Manhattan Single Tax club of New York city:

Berlin, April 1, 1902.

"We are in the thick of the fight here, but the movement goes surely onward.

The new civil code which passed into effect January 1, giving a unity of civil legislation for the entire German empire, brings us a new law which is of great help to us. This is the so-called "Erbbaurecht," a statute which empowers the communities to become land owners and to give their land in leasehold of from 80 to 100 years, or a ground rent. From this new law we hope to see in time something like a genuine "single tax" arise. For if the communities find the experiment advantageous and continue buying more and more land, with a sinking fund for the purpose, we hope that in time the ground rent will prove to be sufficient revenue for the purpose of the government of the communities. The cities of Halle, Leipzig and Frankfort on Main have already made a beginning with the enforcement of this law, and in Frankfort 700 houses are built or are in process of building on land owned in this way by the city.

Another line of work for us is a reform of the land and building tax, so that the land shall be taxed, not on the income it brings, but on its true market value. The late Herr von Miquel, Prussia's most capable Minister of Finance, who at heart was a good single taxer, made it possible for the city governments to adopt this method of taxation if they so desired, and to the energetic work of our party is due the fact that to-day 53 Prussian towns assess their land according to the new valuation. It is true that the tax as now taken is very small. Kiel, for instance, takes only $4\frac{1}{4}$ marks to the thousand of the market value, but it is a step in the right direction.

Much depends for us on the ultimate success of the single tax experiment now being made in Kiautschou, by the naval office, with the express consent of the emperor. The German colony in China is a true single tax community, which taxes lands six per cent. of the market value, and demands no other taxes whatever. Every three years a new valuation of the land is made, and the tax raised accordingly. In every land transaction $33\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the profit accruing from increased value, the "unearned increment," goes to the government.

Naturally all advocates of legalized monopoly are bitter against this ex-

periment and prophesy fearful things for the young colony. But the reports from Kiautschou state that all classes of the population—traders, merchants, artisans, workers of all descriptions—are exceedingly well satisfied with a condition of things which frees industry and thrift from every possible hampering burden of taxation, and which entirely does away with all possibility of speculation in land.

Our league here grows slowly but surely. Of late we have laid much value on winning organizations of workers as cooperative members, and in this way have won a membership roll of 102,000. The movement gains ground in other countries of Germanic race. In Denmark a "Henry George association" has been started by a young Danish lawyer, who first heard of the new truth through us.

Von Miquel once told us: "Become a power, and the government will put no obstacles in your way." It is a hard and unceasing struggle to become a power against the overweight of capitalistic interests, which control that mighty weapon, the press; but the truth forces its way through, towards the winning of physical and mental well being for our nation, in the only way possible, the gaining of honest reward for honest labor. We look with encouragement on the work of our comrades in faith in America, and every news of success that comes from the home of Henry George fills us with new vigor and enthusiasm.

Mr. Damaschke's letter is commented upon as follows by Henry George, Jr.:

It will be noticed from this letter that progress of land reform in Germany is along two lines. One of these is by the gradual substitution of municipalities for private owners through purchase and leasing on long terms to users. The weakness of this is twofold. First, the payment for land so taken is an injustice to the general community who must pay the purchase price, yet the members of which have equal natural right to such land with the so-called owners. Second, the leasing of land by the municipality is cumbersome and, when long terms are involved, only partly effective.

The better policy for the government to pursue respecting land is that indicated by the other line of movement spoken of by Mr. Damaschke, the taxation of ground values, that is, of land according to its true selling value, and irrespective of improvements. This tax now is very small, but if increased until the selling value of land were absorbed, the full princi-

ple of public ownership of land would be observed in effect, while present private titles would be undisturbed and the government would not be burdened with the trouble of management.

LAND REFORM IN NEW ZEALAND.

George Fowlds, a prominent business man of Auckland, N. Z., also president of the National Single Tax league of New Zealand and a member of the New Zealand parliament, contributes the following:

The first New Zealand land value tax was introduced by Sir George Grey in 1879. The act imposed a tax of one half-penny in the pound on the unimproved value, with periodical revaluation. The capitalist class quickly realized that this meant a serious check to the land traffic to which most of them owed their wealth. They at once proposed a property tax of one penny in the pound in place of it, and supported their proposal by plausible appeals to the ignorance and cupidity of the people, on the hardship of taxing the land and exempting the rich man's wealth in houses, goods, money, carriages, wines, pictures, etc., etc. The thoughtless people applauded this argument and Sir George Grey's government was promptly overthrown and the tax repealed. The property tax took its place with the result that a period of depression set in which lasted for ten years. Thousands of our best workers left the colony and financial disaster and distress were universal. Then it was recognized that a great mistake had been made and the capitalist party was driven from power. Hon. John Ballance became premier in January, 1891. The obnoxious property tax was then abolished, and our present land tax of one penny in the pound was firmly established. An addition of an eighth of a penny per pound to the tax is made on every additional £5,000 after the first £5,000, up to £40,000, and increasing up to two pence extra (i. e. three pence in the pound) when the value reaches £210,000 or upwards. An exemption of £500 is allowed to all owners whose total land value does not exceed £1,500. This exempts the bulk of the small landowners, and only about 13,000 out of 90,000 actually pay land tax.

The next great step was made in 1896, when our "rating on unimproved value act" became law. It is an optional measure which can be brought into operation by the vote of a majority of the rate payers of any local rating body. The act provides that on receipt of a demand signed by 15 per cent. of the local rate payers the

municipal authorities must take a poll on the proposal, and in this way up to last July it has been voluntarily adopted by 17 boroughs, nine counties, seven road districts and one town district. In August last the proposal was defeated in Auckland by more than two to one (1697 against 753). This was a great disappointment certainly, but it was mainly due to the fact that our single tax propaganda had so alarmed the privileged classes that they forced the contest solely on the straight single tax issue. The papers all united in denouncing it as "single tax" and simply vied with each other in misrepresentation and abuse. Only three months later it was put to the vote in Wellington, the capital city of the colony, with the exactly opposite result, being carried by more than two to one (1,261 against 591), but in Wellington the newspapers did not indulge in the unreasonable abuse and vituperation which disgraced Auckland papers. A number of other places have adopted the reform since July, and it is being constantly brought forward all over the colony. In the important county of Southland a demand for a poll has been signed by over 800 persons, and the polling is to take place next month. [This letter was written in February and the result of the vote is not yet reported in the United States. Editor Public.] Many of the country papers are now advocating the measure, and if it should be carried in Southland (which seems highly probable) it is expected that the government will bring in a bill to make it universal, instead of only local and optional as at present. The act provides that the rate shall be so adjusted as to produce as much revenue as under the old system, and that it shall be levied on the capital or gross value of the property after deducting the value of all improvements thereon. The term "improvements" "includes houses and buildings, fencing, planting, draining, clearing from timber, scrub or fern, laying down in grass or pasture, and any other improvements whatsoever on land, in so far as the benefit thereof is unexhausted at the time of valuation."

It is evident that taking this as the basis of revenue for any city or borough, means the actual adoption of single tax for all municipal or local taxation, and as it is equally evident that every argument for its adoption for local purposes is also cogent when applied to the question of revenue for national purposes, it is easy to understand the determined opposi-

tion of the financial institutions and the monopolists generally.

We have, therefore, every reason to be satisfied with the steady progress that the reform is making, and to feel confident that ere long this municipal and local form of single tax will be law throughout the colony. We shall then be ready for the next steps towards national single tax in the shape of another penny in the pound and abolition of the £500 exemption—recouping the people by an equivalent reduction of customs duties.

THE CAUSE OF LAND VALUES.

Extract from the expert real estate article in the New York Herald of April 6, 1902.

The value of real estate lies in the presence of the multitude, for the fundamental reason that the congregating of men means the effecting of economies. Inasmuch as the use of ground is necessary for establishing the business interests and the means of communication by which these economies are secured, as well as because one can only take advantage of the public demand for goods or for services by the use of ground in some way, the owner of the ground can reap the benefit of these things in rent.

Whatever, therefore, increases the facility of communication in a city increases its advantages to business men and is promptly reflected in the rental value—and, of course, the selling value—of its real estate. It is not difficult to see how the improving of all sorts of transit systems in New York is a favorable factor for the real property of the city as a whole, as well as for the particular localities immediately affected.

THE SIN OF DESIRING SPECIAL PRIVILEGES.

If we cannot think of any good thing in the life to come under the monopoly of one man or one group of men, must not the same feeling prevail as to the possession and enjoyment of good things here on earth? I cannot look with unconcern upon the tendency which prevails to-day to place before our young men and women the ambition to rise in the world at the expense of their fellows. I cannot think that it is the best thing we can do for the real life of our sons and daughters to center their whole thought and efforts upon the idea of "getting ahead." I dare to say that it is a crime against the human soul blacker and more terrible than any for which death is made the penalty by common law to create in the minds of human beings on the

very threshold of their years the impression that it is a wise or a good thing to gain and hold opportunities or privileges in this world to which thousands and millions of their fellows can never hope to aspire. To be willing to rise while others are sinking in the mire, to be willing to have an eminence which is attained by standing upon a pyramid of struggling human bodies, to be contented to have and enjoy while others starve, to be satisfied to prosper while any earnest, honest toiler plods on toward the goal of despair and death, betrays a moral sense which the beasts of the field put to shame.—William Thurston Brown.

This little story is declared to be true, and we very much hope it is. It relates to Jacob Grimm and runs:

One of his prettiest tales ends with the words: "Whoever refuses to believe this story owes me a thaler."

One winter morning a little Jewish girl rang the doorbell and asked if Herr Prof. Jacob Grimm was at home. When informed that he was not, she said, politely:

"Will you please hand him this thaler when he returns?"

The servant took the coin, glanced at it curiously, and inquired who sent it, and what it was for.

"I owe him the money myself," said the little girl.

"Why? For what?"

"Because I don't believe the story about the wolf."—The Book Lover.

The Lady—Shame! Shame! Do you know what you are doing when you destroy that poor bird's eggs?

The Boy—Yes, ma'am. I am preventing a lot of innocents from coming into the world to be slaughtered for women's hats.—Chicago Daily News.

During the rush hour yesterday afternoon a dignified man entered a well-filled Market street car and tried to work his way in to secure a strap to hang from, but the conductor, who was collecting fares, blocked his progress.

"Step lively, there!" said the passenger.

"Were you speakin' to me?" asked the conductor, elevating his eyebrows.

"Certainly," replied the passenger. "Step forward, so we can get inside. Plenty of room up front!"

"If you will attend to your business I will attend to mine," snapped the conductor.

"If you can't take your own medicine better than that you had better try

taking the car ahead," answered the passenger. The conductor's reply was lost in the laughter of the passengers.—Philadelphia Telegraph.

"It's a small village."

"So small they call a shop a store?"

"Oh, smaller than that. They call a store an emporium."—N. Y. Sun.

First Office Boy—De boss told me I should save at least half what I earned!

Second Office Boy—Wot did you tell him?

First Office Boy—Told him dat would be at least four times me salary!—Puck.

First Driver—'Ello, Bill, where's Joe?

Second Driver—Joe? Oh, 'e's dead! "Dead, is he? Just like Joe!"—Moonshine.

BOOK NOTICES.

"The Octopus, A Story of California." By Frank Norris. (Doubleday, Page & Co., N. Y. Price, \$1.50.) "The Epic of the Wheat" is to include "The Octopus," the subject of our present notice, and later "The Pit, A Story of Chicago," and "The Wolf, A Story of Europe." If this "Trilogy," when completed, sustains the power of the first volume, it will place our American author in the front rank with writers of the great novels which have touched the deepest problems of human life. "The Octopus," dealing with the war between the wheat grower and the railroad trust in California, is one of the strongest works of fiction recently published, although it appears not to have attracted as wide attention from reviewers as its literary style deserves—the fearless arraignment of the great railroad powers possibly laying some restraint on writers for the conservative press. The author of "The Epic of the Wheat" is a poet in the conception of his plan and in his vivid coloring of the scenes presented with photographic clearness to the eye of the reader. His delineations of character are equally vivid and strong, and the dramatic action of the story brings out the individual qualities of each with a distinctness of detail that makes us witnesses of living personalities enacting real scenes. That the wrongs and injustices described are literal facts in all their details would doubtless be denied by the powers inflicting them; but there is no question about the author's own point of view, and his convictions are expressed with a burning earnestness that communicates to the sympathetic reader the fire of a moral purpose to lend a hand in the conflict with evil. The temptation and after suffering of the noble Magnus Derrick, the wrongs of Dyke and Armixter and Hilma touch us as if they were personal friends, and we feel our hearts throb with the grief and indignation that moved Presley to his passionate speech to the league after the tragedy. We even shudder before the Nemesis of poetic judgment in the fate of S. Behrmann, who, gloating over the wheat as it rolled in a cataract from the elevator into the great hold of the transporting ship, accidentally loses his poise and plunges through the hatch and down the iron chute to the vast cavern where in slow agony he is at length overwhelmed by the rich food for whose treasure he had bartered his soul. He had borne a charmed life against the wrath of the wronged, only to find at

last the exact measure of justice. But as Vanamee says, with the wisdom learned in silence:

"The good never dies. The evil dies. Cruelty, oppression, selfishness, greed, these die; but nobility, but love, but sacrifice, but generosity, but truth, thank God for it, small as they are, difficult as they are, difficult as it is to discover them—these live forever—these are eternal. . . . What is it that remains when all is over? Look at it all from the vast heights of humanity—the greatest good to the greatest number." What remains? Men perish, men are corrupted, hearts are rent asunder, but what remains untouched, unassailable, undefiled? Try to find that, not only in this but in every crisis of the world's life, and you will find, if your view be large enough, that it is not evil, but good that in the end remains. A. L. MUZZEY.

PERIODICALS.

—Senator Lodge writes in the spirit of an imperialistic statesman of his impressions of Russia in the May Scribner. The second installment of Alfred Matthew's "Story of Three States," which deals vividly with the massacre at Wyoming by Indian savages in the British service, is not far from an anti-climax, coming, as it does, along with the news of Gen. Smith's "howling wilderness" order in the Philippines.

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