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Senator Hanna's candidate for Governor of Ohio, Mr. Myron T. Herrick, has not yet explained what he meant (p. 404) by saying that the single tax "threatens free institutions." It is suggested that the reason he does not explain is because his allusion was to such "free institutions" as soup houses.

Recent complications in New York politics go far to prove that the so-called fusion, or bi-partisan, or non-partisan movement there, headed nominally by Mayor Low but really by Senator Platt, is a cunning device for placing a Democratic city under the control of the Republican machine. At any rate, that is the way it looks from a moderate distance.

As the protection fight in England progresses, the fact becomes more plainly evident that if the free traders would gain a permanent victory they must not be content to struggle for traditional free trade merely. Originally, that was a step in the right direction; but it was only a step, and if the next step be not promptly taken a backslide is certain. Cobden said that real free trade means the abolition of all burdens upon production, as well as tariffs on foreign commerce. Nothing short of that will answer. If the Liberal party cannot induce its landed leaders to see as much at this crisis in British history, it had better dismiss them.

The renomination of Lucius F. C. Garvin for governor of Rhode Island is a tribute to the ability

and fidelity of a man whose administration for one year has shaken the mass of political corruption of Rhode Island to the center. Gov. Garvin has set his face sternly against bossism in politics. As a Democrat he was elected governor on that question. As governor he has had the Rhode Island boss and his plutocratic supporters, with their corrupting methods, to contend with throughout his administration. In a few days the voters of Rhode Island will have an opportunity to say whether they prefer the boss or the leader.

When Mayor Low, of New York, addressed the mayors' banquet at the close of the Chicago centennial last week, he gave utterance to a principle of municipal government of the utmost importance. As reported by the local papers, he said that—

the day of open robbery is gone, but an era of intrigue has replaced it. The remedy, he asserted, is to give the mayor of a city great appointive and administrative power and then to hold him to strict personal account.

That is sound doctrine. With legislative functions the mayor ought to have nothing to do, except as an open adviser; but in administrative work his power should be absolute and his responsibility undivided.

Wayne MacVeagh's speech before The Hague tribunal in behalf of Venezuela, has not yet been fully reported in this country; but one of the cabled excerpts from it indicates that Mr. MacVeagh has given utterance to a principle of international law that needs to be repeated with emphasis. He is reported as saying, with reference to the bullying action of Germany and Great Britain in Venezuelan waters (p. 347), that "a strong Power has no right to abuse its strength

in order to exact payment of debts." He appealed to this principle as a reason why the German and British claims against Venezuela should not be preferred over those of other creditors.

Using the term "anarchy" in the usually accepted sense, we shall find it well exemplified in the Cripple Creek region of Colorado. In that region anarchy in military uniform holds sway. Workingmen are arrested by a mob and held in captivity without known offense or warrant; the civil courts are defied with insolence by this mob; the mob wears the military uniform of the State; the Republican governor who might restrain it gives it carte blanche; and an employers' association pays its wages. Uniformed though it be, and acting by the authority of the governor, it is a lawless mob none the less. This is anarchy, but these anarchists fall under none of the condemnation with which the plutocratic press is wont to attack those of much less dangerous types.

President Roosevelt's friends are concerned lest his decision that no official distinction can be made between government employes who belong to labor unions and those who do not, may cost him a good many labor votes. There is no substantial reason for that concern. While one may wonder that workingmen should care to vote for Mr. Roosevelt under any circumstances,—those that do not happen to be friends of workingmen friends of his whom he has appointed to office—there is nothing in his attitude toward the question of labor organization in government shops to deprive him of any considerable number of labor votes that he would otherwise get. He has taken the only

position that a President could possibly take, or that any sensible trade unionist could expect. The brass bands with which he is parading his courage in dealing with organized labor in this case, seem to be playing the same old refrain of "Roosevelt, Teddy and I."

The Kansas farmers who allowed the Republicans to return to power in their State, after a Populist regime, have gained some costly experience in consequence. The Republican legislature increased the taxation by 33 per cent. over the Populist rate, without improving the public service at all. Nor is that the worst. Of the increased rate, the 8,700 miles of railway in the State pay but \$1 in each \$64. Yet the railroad earnings are reported as having increased 20 per cent. over last year, while merchants and farmers report a decrease. To offset all this the Kansas Republicans have done nothing for the farmers but to give them good crops, and some of these farmers are beginning to suspect that they might possibly have had good crops without a Republican State government. They are probably wondering if the Eastern farmer may not after all be nearly right in attributing good crops to the national administration rather than to State governments.

An example well worthy of imitation in all lynching cases was furnished last week in an Ohio town by a deputy sheriff who had sense and courage, and by a citizen whose civic conscience rose supreme above his passions. A town marshal had been murdered by a drunken visitor to the town. A mob seized the murderer and hanged him, but before they had completely murdered him the deputy sheriff, Luke Brandon, dashed into their midst, and, cutting him down, lodged him in jail. It is common in such cases for relatives of the lynched man's victim to egg on the lawless crowd. Not so with Samuel Woodruff, the brother of the murdered man

in this case. He tried to hold back the crowd with an appeal to their law-abiding sense. "Men," he pleaded with them, "I am John Woodruff's brother and I love him. For his sake and for mine I ask you to go home and let the law take its course." Not many men of that stamp would be needed to redeem this country from its respectable lawlessness of all kinds, as well as that of the lynching kind.

Reports from Boston have it that some of the patriotic people there were shocked at the display of the British flag from Bunker Hill monument on the occasion of the visit of the Honorable Artillery company of London. It is a poor quality of patriotism that is either incensed or enthused by mere bunting. If a patriot cannot justify his irritation or his enthusiasm over a flag display by something more profound than the flag itself—by what it represents in principle or motive instead of what it is in texture and pigment—he is a very indifferent type of patriot. In the present instance the display of the British flag from Bunker Hill monument was in token of friendship and peace. The idea was rather barbarously brought out, to be sure, with its military display and extra-bibulous surroundings; but the underlying sentiment was a good thing, and the appearance of the British flag at the old monument along with the American flag should have been welcomed as prophetic of things even better.

At the Republican convention in Massachusetts early in the month the secretary of the navy, Mr. Moody, made a speech in which he discredited the declarations of the Democratic party of the North by references to "the practices of the whole Democratic party throughout the South." That would make a pretty good argument but for one thing. The difficulty with it is that the Democratic party of the South is under the control not of the new spirit

of American Democracy which now prevails, but of the old Bourbon spirit. This is represented at the North by Clevelandism in the Democratic party and Hannaism in the Republican party. Analyze American politics and you find that the Democracy of the South is Bourbon; that that faction of the party at the North of which Republican leaders and newspapers approve, is also Bourbon; and that the Republicanism of those leaders and those newspapers is fast rushing on toward the Bourbon ideal. Are not Republican leaders rejoicing at the disfranchisement of Negroes in the South, because they expect that now the South will become Republican? They know, what the fact is, that the old Whig element of the South, which now dominates the Democratic party there, would affiliate most comfortably with the old Whig element which dominates the Republican party at the North.

Big are the promises of the traction ring of Chicago. Let the city but extend the street car franchises, and they will spend money—oh, so much money!—in furnishing good service. So obtuse are they to the drift of public sentiment that they seem to think promises like these are really "good enough Morgans" until after the franchise. They need reminding that "good enough Morgans" are played out.

Such a reminder was given them in the city council last Monday night, when the petition (pp. 401, 408) for a popular vote on the Mueller act before the granting of any franchise extension, was presented. Alderman Leachman, who presented the petition, and who had promised to move for a hearing before the council for the representative of the petitioners, was frightened off by the Mayor and refused to make the motion. His own presentation of the petition was timid and perfunctory, and the whole thing would have "gone by the board" but for the promptness of Alderman Johnson, the Socialist

member of the council. While the traction-ring aldermen were chuckling and cracking jokes over the perfunctory farce in which Mr. Leachman seemed to be playing, Alderman Johnson came to the rescue with a motion for a suspension of the rules for the purpose of allowing the representatives of the Federation of Labor and the other organizations that had procured signers to the petition, to address the council on the subject. To the surprise and evident discomfiture of the traction-ring aldermen, and the delight of the applauding galleries, Mr. Johnson's motion was agreed to, on roll call, by 45 to 18. William Prentiss then made the address for the petitioners, admonishing the council, respectfully but plainly of their obligations as public servants to grant no extension of street car franchises until they hear from the people next Spring on the adoption of the Mueller bill.

So gratifying was the behavior and so effective the presence of the citizens who watched these proceedings from the gallery, that we are constrained to urge their attendance every Monday night until the traction question is disposed of. These observers and auditors applauded with enthusiasm, but in an orderly manner, the result of the vote and the points of their speaker; and at the tap of the Mayor's gavel their applause subsided. It was all respectful, determined and impressive. In no respect could their behavior be decently criticized. As to the wholesome effect of their presence and their judicious applause, that was manifest. "Grafting," even respectable "grafting," is not a pleasant occupation when serious-minded people are looking on.

One of the objections raised to the submission of the Mueller act is significant, implying as it does that even if adopted the act would not enable Chicago to municipalize its street car system. But consider. Three points and only three are involved. First, the act would be effective. If so, why object to submitting it to the people? Second, if it would not be effective,

the incompetency of the men responsible for it and who professed to be sincere in demanding an enabling act, must have been monumental. Either that, or, third, the act is a "gold brick" for which those same gentlemen are responsible. Which of these three inferences do they prefer to encourage. The gentlemen alluded to are Mayor Harrison, Graeme Stewart, Alderman Jackson, et al.

Among the Republican papers of Ohio which are echoing and elaborating the criticisms of the single tax that Myron T. Herrick, the Republican candidate for governor, put forth at his Sandusky meeting and to which we replied last week (p. 404), is the Ohio State Journal. A specimen editorial appearing recently in that paper under the title "Palpable Injustice of the Single Tax," is in full as follows:

Advocates of the single tax theory, concerning which Ohio is hearing much from Tom L. Johnson and his companion on the stump, Henry George, Jr., claim for the system they urge that it would be equitable. They call attention to the extent of tax dodging under existing laws, and argue that, with their ideas in actual operation, there would be an end of this evil. Their contention is founded on fact, for it is impossible to hide one's land in a safety deposit box when the time for the tax assessor's visit draws near. If land alone were taxed, no owner of land could avoid paying taxes.

But everyone else could and would by authority of law. Men who own railroad or industrial stocks and bonds to the value of millions of dollars would no longer lay themselves liable to prosecution for making false tax returns. They would be required to make no returns. The whole burden of the support of government would fall upon the landholder. The single tax would be a good thing for such millionaires as Mayor Johnson, whose great wealth is invested almost entirely in taxable securities.

Under the system for which Mr. George and Mayor Johnson stand, the small householder would suffer. We will suppose, for example, that a rich man and a poor man own adjoining 50-foot lots in one of the residence districts of Columbus. The rich man builds a magnificent home at a cost of \$75,000 on his property. The poor man's cottage is worth \$2,000. Each lot is valued at \$1,500. Under our present laws the rich man would pay real estate taxes on the sum of \$76,500; the poor man on the sum of \$3,500. With the tax rate

and the rules of appraisement as at present, the rich man's taxes on his house and lot would amount to about \$1,530 a year; the poor man's to about \$70.

The furnishings of the rich man's house and his horses, carriages and automobiles are appraised for taxation under existing laws at \$15,000. The poor man has no horses or automobiles, and the comparatively meager furnishings of his cottage are appraised at \$600. The rich man would pay in annual taxes upon this personal property about \$300. The poor man's belongings would cost him \$12 a year.

The rich man has securities valued at \$10,000,000 locked up in the bank, and they bring him a large income. If he is honest, he pays taxes on them. The poor man has nothing but his salary and a little life insurance. He pays no taxes on his securities, because he has none.

Now, under the George-Johnson system of taxation, the rich man and the poor man would pay taxes on precisely the same amount. It is useless to pursue the argument farther. The single tax theory would palpably be cruelly unjust in practice.

The single tax system would work a still greater hardship upon the farmers. They own large tracts of land and make their living from the soil. Their farm buildings and their personal property, as a rule, represent but an exceedingly small part of the value of their whole property. Yet Mr. George and Mr. Johnson would have these usually comparatively poor men taxed on every square foot of their land, while the city millionaire would pay little or nothing toward the support of the government.

The single tax idea has been agitated for years. It is small wonder that it gains few adherents, for it is most inequitable, and the masses of the American people are fair-minded. The inevitable result of the system in operation would be to lighten the burdens of the rich and to increase those of the poor.

That editorial is not a fair statement of the single tax theory. It implies that the single tax would fall upon "land alone." But this tax would not fall upon land at all. It would fall upon land values; or more strictly, upon men in proportion to their land, to be estimated, not by its area, but by its value. The deliberate object of that unfairness in statement in the editorial under consideration is evident from what follows. If the single tax were described as a "land value" tax, attention would be directed to the land values of cities, mines, railroads, etc., and readers would

perceive, what is the truth, that the single tax would bear most heavily upon those immensely valuable monopolies. But by describing the single tax as a "land" tax, attention is diverted from the great landed monopolies to farming land. For farming land, though comparatively small in value, is very large in area. Thus the insinuation is cunningly made that the single tax would fall most heavily upon farmers. And this insinuation the unfair editorial in question proceeds to utilize. The truth is, however, that the taxes of farmers would be much less under the single tax than they are now. The single tax would abolish all kinds of taxes for public revenue except one kind, the kind, namely, which is measured by the selling value of land exclusive of the value of its improvements. In selling value of land few farmers are rich; most of them are poor in such values. Consequently most farmers would be but lightly burdened by the single tax, which is a land value tax exclusively.

In one respect the editorial in question is near enough right. It admits that "it is impossible to hide one's land in a safety deposit box when the time for the tax assessor's visit draws near," and, consequently, "if land alone were taxed no owner of land could avoid paying taxes." Had the editorial added that the value of land is as difficult to secrete as the land itself, it would have been wholly right on this point. Under the single tax, then, taxation would reach all taxables and reach them fairly. Under that tax, the stupendous values of mines and city lots and railway rights of way and terminal points would be taxed high as compared with the insignificant values of farming land. The proportion, acre by acre, would be thousands of dollars for one, as any intelligent farmer can see. He can see it in an inkling by comparing with the value of his own farm less its improvements, the value of the bare building lots of his neighboring village. If he finds so great a difference in that simple comparison, how enormous must the dif-

ference be when all farm land values are compared with all other land values. The aggregate value of farm land in this country is estimated to be only ten per cent. of the total land value. How could farmers suffer by a taxing system which would make them pay only one-tenth of the taxes, when they are now paying probably one-half?

While the editorial in question is right in saying that the subject of taxation under the single tax could not be secreted, which is one of the recommendations of the system, its inference flies wide of the mark. It assumes that "men who own railroad or industrial stocks and bonds of the value of millions of dollars" would escape because their property would be exempt. But consider what it is that makes railroad stocks so valuable. Two things: Railroad land and railroad improvements. The improvements would be exempt under the single tax. Would farmers have them taxed? Such taxes rebound upon the farmers themselves. Tax locomotive values and you force up freight charges. But tax right-of-way values and you do not force up freight charges. In other words, while taxes on railroad improvements are not borne by stockholders, taxes on railroad rights of way are borne by stockholders. Now the single tax would levy taxes at the point where they cannot be secreted; it would not wait to catch stocks and bonds in a bank vault, but would directly tax the land values of the railroads, those values which belong to the public and not to the stockholders. As with railroad stocks, so with industrials. The chief value of industrial stocks is land value. In the steel trust, for instance, fully two-thirds of its capitalization is a capitalization of land privileges. One of its coking-coal deposits alone is estimated at \$60,000,000. Pass on to other certificates of wealth, and you find that most of their value is land value, the tax on which would be collected under the single tax before any of its income reached the certificate holder. Consequently the rich

man, with his "securities valued at \$10,000,000 locked up in the bank" could not escape. Under the existing method of taxation he does escape. As to Ohio this was demonstrated in 1893 by a commission appointed by Gov. McKinley (afterwards President of the United States) which reported to him that "no appreciable part of the intangible property existing in the city counties is reached," but that "it is the country counties which pay the taxes on personal property."

The illustrations of the Ohio State Journal's editorial are peculiarly unhappy for its purpose. Where does it find \$75,000 homes on \$1,500 land? Certainly not on any tax list in this country—not even in Columbus where it locates one of its "homes." The most valuable buildings in the United States stand upon land with only area enough for the foundations, yet worth much more than the buildings. The figures of the Ohio State Journal are all in the editor's eye. Of a piece with these misleading urban statistics is its statement regarding farmers that "the farmers' buildings and their personal property, as a rule, represent but an exceedingly small part of the value of their whole property." This may be true of some farms—those that lie near cities and are affected by city values, and those that are exceptionally fertile. But in most of such cases it will be discovered that the farmers who own them live elsewhere and "farm farmers" instead of farming farms. As a rule, the improvements and personal property of well-equipped farms are worth much more than the land.

With most farmers who farm their farms, the full annual ground rent of their farms (all improvements excluded) is less than they now pay directly in taxes on their land, their improvements, their personal property, and indirectly in higher prices on the goods they buy at the store. Many farmers who farm their own farms, would find this difference vastly in their favor if the single tax were adopted. The farmers who are trying to grub a living out of the poorest farmland would

be still better off under the single tax for they would not be taxed at all. Their farms would have no ground value. Tenant farmers—a class already large and steadily growing—would be in the same category; they would be burdened with no taxes. And this is true also of farm hands, a class of workers who are now taxed heavily in proportion to their means—not directly by the tax assessor, but indirectly in the higher prices of the taxed goods they buy.

But the benefits of the single tax would not end with lower taxation for farmers. In consequence of its burdensomeness upon mere land grabbers, who monopolize millions upon millions of acres of good land and do not use it—the land grant railroads, for instance, with their alternate sections—a vast continent of excellent farming land would come into market cheap, and opportunities for profitable farming would consequently greatly improve. For the single tax would operate beneficently in two directions. In one direction it would lessen the taxes of the industrious at the expense of mere monopolizers; in the other direction it would increase opportunities for industry while diminishing those for monopoly.

At its conclusion we find the Ohio State Journal saying that the inevitable result of the single tax in operation "would be to lighten the burdens of the rich and to increase those of the poor." This is the reason, probably, why the rich oppose it! They are not slow to lighten their own burdens and increase those of the poor in other ways, but it seems that they draw the line at the single tax! We suspect that they are moved by considerations very much more sound commercially. Furthermore, we suspect that the editorial writer of the Ohio State Journal shares in that uncharitable suspicion.

AN INGENUOUS MONOPOLIST.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, in calling to order the Autumn meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, September 1, at Barrow-in-Furness, Lancashire, England, said, in part (as reported by the Iron Trade Review):

There have been made and sold without loss hundreds of thousands of tons of 4-inch steel billets at three pounds for a penny. Surely, gentlemen, the limit has been reached here. . . . It is doubtful if ever a lower price can be reached for steel. On the contrary there is every indication that period after period the price of steel is to become dearer, owing to the lack of raw materials. . . . The vital element in the matter is, as we all know, the supply of iron ore. . . . It was because it (the question of supply) forced itself so strongly upon us that we secured such an abundant supply of the best ore obtainable. For sixty years, I think, the United States Steel Corporation is supplied at its present rate of consumption, but sixty years is as nothing in the life of a nation. It is upon future discoveries of iron ore that the future of cheap steel manufacturing, even in America, depends. There are immense deposits in now inaccessible parts. . . . But it would not surprise me if its cost was greatly advanced in the future. . . . It will be a question of increased cost, and therefore of increased price; . . . the world will gladly pay the increased price necessary to obtain it. During the next half century it seems that America is to increase her output at a tremendous pace.

The same journal, in its issue of September 24, says, under the caption, "Dividends on United States Steel common:"

A statement . . . believed to have come from the office of J. P. Morgan, with his knowledge and consent, was published in Wall street last week in reference to the report that the quarterly dividend of 1 per cent. on the Trust's common stock would be reduced or passed entirely. The statement follows:

There is no probability of a reduction in the dividend on the common stock while earnings remain above \$100,000,000 a year. . . . The earnings this year will be \$125,000,000. The prices of finished steel have not been reduced in any branch of the business, and if pig iron is lower it will only increase the profits of the steel company, since they are purchasers of pig and not sellers. To me the low price of steel stock is inexplicable.

Now, "putting this and that together," the public will be able to draw some very interesting conclusions.

Mr. Carnegie frankly informs us that the Corporation has a

monopoly of the available ore lands, while Mr. Morgan as frankly informs us that diminished cost of stock "will only increase the profits of the steel company."

Our schools of economics teach, that prices of finished products rise and fall with like movements in cost of raw materials. Mr. Morgan assures us that decline in cost of raw materials "will only increase the profits of the steel company," and Mr. Carnegie explains the reason for it in the fact that the steel company has a sixty years' supply of the best ore obtainable.

If the reader will refer to page 166 of the present volume of The Public, he will find in the last paragraph, first column, these words: "If I own all the mines I will name the price that you must pay for materials—and I will charge 'all that the traffic will bear.'" The United States Steel Corporation does not own all the mines; it owns only a sixty years' supply of the best ores obtainable, as Mr. Carnegie informs us; and Mr. Morgan says that this is sufficient to enable that company to appropriate to itself as profit any diminution in cost of iron bought from outside parties!

No wonder that so conservative an economist as Prof. Richard T. Ely declares that "a reformed competitive system is the practical alternative of socialism."

Mr. Carnegie says that it would not surprise him if the cost of ore was greatly advanced in the future. "It will be," he says, "a question of increased cost and therefore of increased price," which, he says, "the world will gladly pay."

Now, while there is no doubt that the world will gladly pay the increased price necessary to cover increased cost, and afford a fair profit to the manufacturer, it is possible that, on the other hand, the world will hold that if increased cost justifies increased price, diminished cost demands a reduced price. But Mr. Morgan says that diminished cost "will only increase the profits of the steel company!"

It did not, however, need Mr. Morgan's frank avowal to inform us of the fact; Mr. Carnegie's announcement that he owns the earth instructs us that, if we con-

cede the validity of his claim, we must pay the rent or get off.

But, does the steel company really own that sixty years' supply of ore?

Is there not a corporation superior to the United States Steel Corporation that has a prior and nonforfeitable claim on the "ore"? And does not that superior corporation, as a matter of fact, charge the United States Steel Corporation a royalty on that ore? That is to say, does not the State levy a tax upon the ore lands? And what if the State—that is, the public—should decide that Mr. Morgan, by declining to drop the price of steel when cost declines, thereby exacts unjust tribute from that same public, and that, therefore, it would be no more than fair to raise the royalties—that is, to levy an equitable tax upon the demonstrated value of the ore lands?

Some people will think that such increased tax would only have the effect of causing Mr. Morgan to advance correspondingly the price of steel. Not so, however. Mr. Morgan is already "charging all that the traffic will bear." If he advanced the price it would enable the owners of inferior mines to work them at a profit, and thus the increased supply would augment the stress of competition, with the result that prices would speedily decline to the former level.

It is the competition of outsiders that prevents Mr. Morgan from getting more than he now receives for steel. Stop outside production and, though cost should fall still lower than it is now, yet Mr. Morgan would be able to raise the price of his product—for the traffic would bear a higher price if it was all in the hands of a single concern.

But there is the further objection that to raise the taxation on that sixty years' supply of the "most valuable ore" would be unfair.

Well, there are idle ore lands which, if worked, would not yield a profit sufficient to pay the current taxes; while, if no tax was charged, a small profit would arise to the operator. Is it fair to tax away all the value of these

lands, and, at the same time, unfair to tax the greater values enough to prevent the owners from throttling competition and extorting monopoly prices from the public. Is the Great Public—the armed giant—to lie down and quietly permit the Lilliputian Monopolist to bore out its eyes with a fire brand?

Mr. Morgan says that the "earnings" will be \$125,000,000 this year. Half of this is profit on the water in the stock. Is it fair that the public should pay \$62,500,000 a year to the steel company as profit on its water?—that is, as the "earnings" of something that does not exist. On the contrary, would it not be perfectly fair for the public to defend itself against such exploitation by means of exercising its power to tax land values equitably?

If it is right that Messrs. Carnegie and Morgan should add the diminished cost of pig iron to their profits now, it will, of course, be right for them and their heirs to acquire the rest of the world's iron ore mines, as fast as they shall become accessible, and so, keep on adding diminished cost to profit throughout all time. Possibly, however, before Mr. Carnegie's 60 years are passed, the public will conclude that it has some rights in the premises.

The potential equalizer of opportunity is the power to levy taxes; which power resides in the state, and the state is the public. Therefore, the people have the power to compel Messrs. Carnegie and Morgan and the rest of the monopolists, to really earn what they get, in spite of the fact that they have "secured such an abundant supply of the best ore obtainable."

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, Oct. 5.—Much valuable political information can be derived from a study of this year's campaign in New York city, chiefly on the moot question of how far non-partisanship is really possible in municipal politics.

As even distant readers will generally know, the contest, as for several years past, has been between the Democratic organization, dominated by Tammany Hall as the Democratic power in Man-

hattan Borough (the city proper), and a fusion of Republicans with the Citizens' Union, a body professedly non-partisan, but made up chiefly of Republicans who are not members of the machine with a sprinkling of Democrats from the class which does not affiliate with Tammany, together with sundry other bodies, mostly of skeleton membership.

The event of the present situation has been the startling "coup" by Tammany's leader, in adopting and indorsing the two Democrats who had been nominated by the fusion to run with Mayor Low, the Republican who is candidate for reelection.

Roundly denounced from two sides, on the one as a confession of weakness on Tammany's part—a charge which nobody really believes—and also as an act of treachery on the part of the candidates who accepted the indorsement, and on the other as a relinquishing of spoils to independents which should have gone to regulars, the action has yet been universally recognized as a move of surpassing shrewdness, dictated by a breadth of view, which to tell the truth one would have scarcely looked for from a man brought up in the school of machine politics.

At one stroke, it punctures the non-partisan contention, and brings out the salient fact that the nomination on one ticket of candidates professing different political faiths, is nothing more than a deal to secure the administration for the Republicans, nominally in the minority, through the purchase of a certain number of Democratic votes by naming Democrats for secondary positions. For as soon as the inducement for Democrats to vote the composite ticket is removed by giving them the same Democratic names on the Democratic ticket, there is a cry of treason from the Republicans thus left without their ammunition.

Behind it lies the fundamental fact that the same tendencies which influence men to align themselves on one side or another of political issues in national or State affairs, influence them equally to take similar alignments in municipal affairs. At the bottom, perhaps, it is a class distinction; and in New York it should not be forgotten that while Tammany, as the result of its overpowering control, has attracted a greater or more effective share of corrupt influences than some of its opponents, yet in the long run it maintains its control because it is most representative of the plain people.

One other factor, the virulent opposition of the Brooklyn Democracy, cannot well be appraised by anyone who has not been acquainted with New York politics and familiar with the fact which has become a tradition here, that in the organization of any party whatsoever, the Brooklyn end always demands its full share and usually a good deal more, of whatever plums there are to distribute; and that in any convention of which they form a constituent part, no ticket can go through without opposition from the

Brooklyn delegates unless their leaders have practically dictated it. But to Democrats throughout the country who are interested in the contest here as a party matter, it may be of interest to also learn that this spirit of greed rarely extends to actual disloyalty at the polls.

E. J. SHRIVER.

Cleveland, Oct. 6.—Any unbiased observer must conclude that Tom L. Johnson has his political adversaries badly frightened. Evidence of this is furnished by the hysterical character of the news sent out by the Republican Press Bureau from the headquarters in Columbus. The Democratic managers claim that they are making converts wherever they hold meetings. They base this conclusion upon the interest manifested by the vast audiences they draw, and hold to the close of the meetings. The closing talk at the night tent meetings is made by Peter Witt, the Cleveland tax expert. He gives stereopticon illustrations of inequalities in taxation not only in Cleveland but also in the towns where the meetings are held; and in every case the audiences have remained until he has finished. That great gains will be made generally throughout the State, so far as indications point, is clear.

There is one uncertain point—Hamilton county. Boss Cox is so strongly entrenched there and the people are so apathetic that it is questionable whether much can be done. It has been the policy of Mayor Johnson to discourage outside speakers from coming into the State to participate in the campaign, but an exception is now to be made of Hamilton county. Mr. J. B. Vining, secretary and treasurer of the Ohio Single-Tax League, is inviting single-tax organizations to send as many speakers into Hamilton county as they wish to, and conduct the campaign there as they deem best. The only condition is that they work entirely independently of the Democratic State committee. This will open the field to single-taxers everywhere to volunteer their services or contribute money.

"Billy" Radcliffe is on his way to Hamilton county and will remain there until the campaign closes. He has been continuously on the road in Ohio since June 29th, and has done effective work wherever he has been.

So far there is no indication that the overwhelming Republican plurality will be overcome. It will take a political upheaval to do that. But there is a fair chance to carry the legislature, which will bring home rule throughout the State and incidentally relegate Mark Hanna to private life. Tom L. Johnson is everywhere conceded to be the most effective campaigner in the political arena to-day. Much is said about his "red devil" and "circus attraction," but it is the unique personality of the man that draws. Five thou-

sand people were packed into a tent in this city last night to listen to him. There was no brass band accompaniment, no music whatever. For an hour and a half he held the audience after two other speakers had spoken. The last half hour was devoted to questions. Anyone listening to Johnson for fifteen minutes will understand why Mr. Herrick declines to meet him on the platform.

D. S. LUTHER.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 8.

The campaign for the revival of protectionism in Great Britain (p. 391) was opened wide on the 1st by the Premier, Mr. Balfour, in a speech at Sheffield. He plainly advocated the reversal of the traditional free trade policy of the past two generations and the adoption in its place of a retaliatory tariff policy.

One of the effects of this speech was to precipitate the resignation from the Balfour ministry of the Duke of Devonshire, its spokesman in the House of Lords. The Duke had remained in the ministry when other free traders resigned (p. 392), with a view to holding the ministry up to the free trade traditions, or, at least, preventing its becoming protectionist. But upon the publication of Mr. Balfour's Sheffield speech, the Duke resigned peremptorily. In stating his reasons he said:

I had hoped to have found in your speech a definite statement of adherence to the principles of free trade and the ordinary basis of our fiscal and commercial system and an equally definite repudiation of the principle of protection in the interest of our national industries. But in their absence I can not help thinking that such declarations as those which I have quoted cannot fail to have the effect of materially encouraging the advocates of direct protection in the controversy which has been raised throughout the country and of discouraging those who, like me, and I hoped yourself, believe that our present system of free imports and especially of food imports is on the whole most advantageous to the country, although we do not contend that the principles on which it rests possess any such authority or sanction as to forbid any departure from it—for sufficient reasons.

At the 38th annual conference

of the Conservative party association, in connection with which Mr. Balfour made his Sheffield speech, an official resolution on the tariff question had been presented during the same day. It was as follows:

This Conference, believing that the changes which have taken place during the last fifty years in the conditions under which British trade has been carried on necessitate a reconsideration of the fiscal system which we, as a nation, have adopted during that period, thanks to the Prime Minister for having instituted an inquiry into the whole subject and welcomes the policy he has foreshadowed for securing to this country fiscal freedom in our negotiations and commercial relations with foreign countries.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Conference on the 2d.

Three days later Mr. Balfour announced the selection of the following ministers in place of those who had resigned:

W. St. J. F. Brodrick, formerly secretary for war, to succeed Lord George Hamilton as secretary for India.

Joseph Austen Chamberlain, postmaster general, to succeed Mr. Ritchie as chancellor of the exchequer.

Alfred Lyttelton, recorder of Oxford, to succeed Mr. Chamberlain as secretary for the colonies.

H. O. Arnold-Foster, secretary to the admiralty, to succeed Mr. Brodrick as secretary of war.

Graham Murray, lord advocate of Scotland, to succeed Lord Balfour, of Burleigh, as secretary for Scotland.

Lord Stanley, financial secretary of the war office, to succeed Mr. J. Austen Chamberlain as postmaster general.

No selection to replace the Duke of Devonshire has yet been announced.

By way of supplement to the Premier's Sheffield speech, Mr. Chamberlain opened his campaign for tariff protection with a speech at Glasgow on the 6th. He announced a specific scheme of protection, proposing—

1. A tax of 2 shillings (48 cents) a quarter (8 bushels) on foreign wheat, but none on wheat from British possessions. No tax on corn, but a tax on flour.
2. A tax of 5 per cent. on foreign meat and dairy produce, but no tax on bacon.
3. A substantial preference to the colonies on wines and fruits.
4. A tax of 10 per cent. on imports of manufactured goods.
5. A reduction of three-quarters of

the duty on tea, and half the duty on sugar, with corresponding reductions upon cocoa and coffee.

American politics is at white heat in Ohio. Following their Hamilton meeting of the 26th (p. 410) Mayor Johnson and Mr. Clarke appeared on the 29th at Dayton, in the Republican county of Montgomery. The Dayton meeting packed the tent more densely than ever, for the flaps were closed, and 5,500 people crowded inside. Next came a hall meeting at Springfield on the 30th, in the Republican county of Clark, into which 1,800 people crowded. Mr. Johnson was alone at Xenia, in the Republican county of Greene, on the 1st, and spoke to 3,500 people, more than the seating capacity of the tent, after having made several "highway and byway" speeches through Clark county in the afternoon. He was rejoined by Mr. Clarke at Columbus on the 2nd, in the Republican county of Franklin, where 4,500 people were in the tent and John J. Lentz presided. On the 3d Mr. Johnson addressed the Hamilton county convention at Cincinnati in the morning; a large mass meeting, over 1,000, at the village of Georgetown, in the Democratic county of Brown, in the afternoon; and an audience of 2,500 in the Music Hall at Cincinnati in the evening. Mr. Clarke spoke but briefly at Cincinnati, his voice having failed him. The first large meeting of the campaign in Cleveland was held on the 5th. It was addressed by Mayor Johnson, Frank S. Monnett, candidate for attorney general, and Frederick C. Howe, candidate for State senator.

A feature of the Democratic campaign in Ohio was the speaking trip of one day which Wm. J. Bryan made through the State on the 5th. This was Mr. Bryan's second (p. 359) appearance in the campaign. He addressed three large meetings—one at Napoleon, in the Democratic county of Henry; one at Oak Harbor, in the Democratic county of Ottawa; and one at Sandusky, in the Republican county of Erie. Mr. Bryan is reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, by its staff correspondent,

Carl T. Robertson, as having shown a remarkable—

familiarity with the conditions of the present campaign in Ohio, the State issues and progress of the struggle up to date. In each of his speeches Mr. Bryan devoted about half his time to State issues, discussing them very much after the manner of Mayor Johnson and John H. Clarke. But Mr. Bryan also spoke forcibly on national issues, the ship subsidy, the Philippine policy, the proposed asset currency, the Aldrich bill and, most of all, the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people. Mr. Bryan's references to Mayor Johnson were invariably couched in terms of highest praise. In each of his speeches also he freely indorsed the candidacy of Mr. Clarke for the Senate.

One of Mr. Bryan's reported references to Johnson was in these words:

I glory that you have a man in this State like Johnson, who is willing to risk his all in the cause of the people. He is a man of heart, of courage, of ability. I hope that the example of Johnson will raise up others who will bare their breasts to the malignant onslaughts of the corporations and take up the people's fight. Johnson has feared nothing, where others have failed through lack of courage.

The Republican touring campaign, begun near Sandusky on the 29th (p. 410), was continued at Toledo, in the Republican county of Lucas, on the 30th. At this meeting Senator Hanna defended the ship subsidy bill, and, after saying that the "bill died at the last session of Congress," promised the audience—

If you will return me to the Senate I will do anything within my power to see that it is again taken up and passed.

Three meetings were held on the 1st by the Republican touring party (Senator Hanna, and the candidates for governor and lieutenant governor), one at Napoleon, in the Democratic county of Henry; one at Defiance, in the Democratic county of Defiance; and one at Paulding, in the Republican county of Paulding. All these meetings were in halls. But at Van Wert, in the Republican county of Van Wert, on the 2d, the meeting was held in a circus tent. It was here that Senator Hanna warned his audience, saying—

Plainly I want to warn you that if you send a Democrat to the Senate from this State, almost immediately one-half

of the men now employed by the great railways and corporations will be walking the streets in idleness.

On the same day a meeting was held at Lima, in the Democratic county of Allen. The closing meeting of the week was at Findlay, in the Republican county of Hancock. On the following Monday, the 5th, the second week of the Republican touring campaign began at Kenton, in the Republican county of Hardin, with an opera house audience of 3,000. Senator Hanna was received before this meeting by an arranged meeting of railroad employes. A similar reception had been given to Senator Hanna by railroad employes at Marion, on his way to Kenton.

Next in importance to the campaign in Ohio is that in Rhode Island. The Democratic convention, which met at Providence on the 1st, unanimously renominated Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin, who was elected a year ago (vol. v, p. 501) by 6,000 majority, though the State is strongly Republican. The Republican convention met at Providence on the 6th and nominated Samuel P. Colt for governor. The Republican platform censures Gov. Garvin for defaming the State by charging that its voters are debauched by Republican bosses. It pledges the Republican delegation to Roosevelt at the next national convention.

In Massachusetts the Democrats, in convention at Boston on the 1st, nominated W. A. Gaston for governor. The platform denounces "placing the treasury money at the service of favored banks," demands that promises to Cuba be fulfilled and the Philippines be treated like Cuba, urges reciprocity with Canada, demands election of senators by direct vote, demands State and national legislation on behalf of labor, and condemns government by injunction. On the following day, the Republican State convention, also meeting at Boston, nominated John L. Bates for governor. The platform indorses the administration of President Roosevelt and pledges him loyal support in the campaign of 1904. It reaffirms the protective tariff policy, but favors readjust-

ment to meet industrial conditions.

Curious complications have arisen in the municipal politics of Greater New York. When the Citizens' Union and the Republicans renominated Mayor Low (Republican) on the 23d (p. 393), they also renominated Edward M. Grout (Democrat) for comptroller, and Charles V. Fornes (Democrat) for president of the board of aldermen. On the 1st the regular Democracy (Tammany Hall) nominated George B. McClellan (son of the famous Union general of the Civil War) to contest with Low for the mayoralty, while they waived a contest on the other principal candidates by nominating Grant and Fornes, the Democratic candidates of the fusionists. On the 5th the Greater New York Democracy (Sheehan) endorsed the Tammany ticket. But the fusionists (Citizens' Union and Republicans), opposed to having their candidates endorsed by the Democrats, demanded that these candidates reject the Democratic nomination, and upon the candidates declining to do so, reconvened their conventions on the 7th and substituted other candidates for Grant and Fornes on the fusion ticket. The substitutes are Frederick W. Hinrichs for comptroller and Edward J. McGuire for president of the board of aldermen. The Democratic side-party led by ex-Police Superintendent Devery has nominated a distinct ticket.

Action on municipal ownership of the street car system of Chicago, deferred on the 27th, owing to the death of Henry D. Lloyd, the leader in the movement (p. 408), was taken at the meeting of the city council on the 5th. Alderman Leachman presented the citizens' petition for a popular vote on the adoption of the Mueller act prior to the granting of any franchise. It bore several thousand signatures. Immediately upon its presentation Alderman Johnson moved a suspension of the rules to allow the representative of the petitioners to be heard. This motion required a two-thirds vote on roll call. As the principal members of the

council committee that is negotiating secretly with the traction companies for an extension of franchises voted against the motion, the result was regarded as in some sense a test. The result was as follows:

Yeas.—Coughlin, Maypole, Ehemann, Kenna, Harkin, Kuester, Dixon, Bellfuss, Butler, Alling, Jozwiakowski, Leachman, Dailey, Dever, Wendling, Rooney, Sitts, Bradley, Moynihan, Powers, Burns, Fick, Moran, O'Connell, Preib, Flinn, Butterworth, Novak, Minwegen, Badenoch, Sindelar, Dougherty, Bihl, Moertel, Sullivan, Johnson, Cullerton, Herrmann, Ruxton, Cerveny, Werno, Woodward, Zimmer, Schmidt, Race—45.

Nays.—Stuckart, Jones, Blake, Sloan, Kunz, Raymer, Mavor, Conlon, Eidmann, Young, Brennan, Hunter, Snow, Williston, Bennett, Dunn—18.

Accordingly the rules were suspended and William Prentiss made an address in support of the petition. Alderman Leachman also offered a resolution providing that no franchise legislation be had until after the people vote on the Mueller act at the next election. It was referred to the committee which is negotiating with the traction company.

Two other motions of importance in the same connection were presented. Alderman Foreman moved that the corporation counsel be ordered to draft an ordinance for the submission of the Mueller act to popular vote. This motion was adopted. Alderman Dever submitted an ordinance providing for a new rule of the council for the regulation of the passage of traction ordinances. His proposed rule would adopt the "Winnetka system" (vol. v, 228) of legislation. It requires any such ordinance to be read thrice in the council; to be fully amended and perfected at the second reading; then to be advertised for nine weeks; if during that period a petition signed by 10 per cent. of the legal voters asking for submission to popular vote be filed, then the third reading to be postponed until after such vote; no ordinance to be valid until passed by the council after third reading as thus provided. The matter was referred to the committee which is negotiating with the traction companies.

NEWS NOTES.

—The seventh annual convention of the League of American Municipalities met at Baltimore on the 7th.

—The annual convention of the National Civic Federation is to be held at Steinway hall, New York, on the 15th.

—The thirty-second triennial convocation of Royal Arch Masons of the United States assembled at Little Rock, Ark., on the 7th.

—Wilson S. Bissell, postmaster general of the United States under President Cleveland, died at Buffalo on the 6th at the age of 56.

—The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers closed its session at Kansas City on the 3d after re-electing Frank Buchanan of Chicago as president.

—Gen. James N. Tyner, postmaster general of the United States under President Grant, was indicted by the grand jury of the District of Columbia for conspiracy to defraud the government while an officer in its postal service.

—An insane man named Peter Elliott, who called at the White House on the 5th and asked to see the President, was seized by guards. He resisted and in the course of the struggle drew a pistol and attempted to shoot one of the guards.

—At the directors' meeting of the Steel trust at New York on the 6th, the quarterly dividend on common stock was fixed at one-half of one per cent, instead of one per cent as heretofore. This is reported as a victory for John D. Rockefeller over J. Pierpont Morgan.

—At the Henry George association, Handel hall, Chicago, the following speakers are announced: October 8, at 8, Western Starr on "Government by Injunction;" October 11, at 3:30, John Z. White, on the "Single Tax;" October 15, at 8, Edward M. Winston, on "Social Influence as a Factor in Judicial Decisions."

—A new cabinet for Servia (p. 200) was completed on the 4th. The principal members are: Premier, Gen. Gruics; foreign minister, Andra Nikolic; interior minister, Stojan Protics; war minister, Col. Andrejevic. The precise reasons for the resignation of the previous ministers are not announced, but the change is believed to be due to differences of opinion regarding the policy which should be adopted toward assassins (p. 166) of King Alexander.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury department (see p. 362.) for September shows on hand September 30, 1903:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	239,417,184.22
Total.....	\$389,417,184.22
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1903.....	354,394,275.56
Decrease.....	\$5,022,908.64

—Startling charges of fraud against military officers in command of the Col-

orado national guard sent to Cripple Creek to suppress the miners' strike (p. 408) are reported from Denver. Gov. Peabody had on the 6th recalled from active service at Cripple Creek Adj. Gen. Sherman Bell, Gen. John Chase, Maj. Arthur H. Williams, Col. Frederick Gross, and Col. Kimball for alleged participation in these frauds, and had ordered a court martial.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE OHIO CAMPAIGN.

Mt. Waukeo Daily News (Dem.), Oct. 6.—The voters of Ohio will stick by Mark. There need be no fear that they will prove ungrateful to the man that single-handed has held at bay calamity and disaster. But what will happen when Mark shall die? He is mighty, but he is not perpetual.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Oct. 6.—The Republicans will put 1,500 spellbinders in the field against Tom Johnson in Ohio. This indicates the seriousness of the situation as viewed by Senator Hanna. If he were as cock-sure of winning as he professes to be it is hardly conceivable that he would import the entire Roosevelt cabinet and nearly 2,000 orators from the four corners of the Union to stump the State on his behalf.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Oct. 6.—Tom Johnson in Ohio is busy these times in his effective campaigning and speech-making in the shops and factories and on the farms and in the villages. Crowds are eager to hear him wherever he appears. He may not be elected, but there is no telling, considering what he accomplished in Cleveland and some of the minor cities. One thing is certain, he has Hanna and the entire Republican outfit badly scared, and they are putting forth redoubled exertions in speeches and money and organization outlay. It is called organization, but often is only another name for bribery. Johnson appears to be weaker in Cincinnati, where there is Democratic division, than in other parts of the State. But he strikes out from the shoulder at all times and in all places, and assails Democrats cooperating with the Hanna machine as vigorously as he meets the common enemy. This gives him strength with Republicans and independents.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind.), Oct. 4.—Mr. Hanna told his western Ohio hearers that if they vote for the ticket headed by Mayor Johnson they will vote for "the absolute destruction and ruin of your American institutions and for utter chaos in this country." He assured them that the supporters of Mayor Johnson "are stealing upon you with seductive promises, ready to put the blade to your throat and to poison the water you drink." He asserted that if, instead of him, they should "send a Democrat to the Senate from this State, almost immediately half of the men now employed by the great railways and corporations will be walking the streets in idleness." It would be difficult to match this as a specimen of campaign rodomontade. The figure of Senator Hanna as a guardian angel watching over the people of Ohio and waving back a crowd of assassins headed by Mayor Johnson and Mr. Clarke, each villain with a murderous knife between his teeth and lugging palls of poisoned water, is temptingly suggestive to campaign caricaturists.

THE TARIFF ON WHEAT.

Grand Rapids (Mich.) Post (Dem.), Sept. 18.—One of the characteristic features of the Dingley tariff law is the duty on wheat. As everyone knows, the price of wheat is regulated by the Liverpool market, and this duty never brought a cent's worth of benefit to anybody. On the other hand, it prevents American millers from grinding thousands of bushels of wheat harvested at their very doors, and American railroads from hauling the wheat and flour. Of course, the existence of such a duty is due merely to an attempt to make the farmers believe that they too are protected.

WANING PROSPERITY.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Oct. 2 (weekly ed.)—Immigrants are pour-

ing in from Europe in wholly unprecedented number to share in the prosperity of the country when that prosperity is on the wane. The supply of labor is greatly increasing just when the demand is beginning to decline. And it is a very cheap, desperately poor and inflammable class of labor that is being added to the supply by immigrant ships at the amazing rate of 12,000 or more per week. This is a fact worthy of pretty serious consideration.

MILITARY USURPATION.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Oct. 2.—It will be a lasting disgrace to the people of Colorado if they continue to submit to such high-handed and revolutionary usurpation by the executive of that State. His impeachment and removal from office should speedily follow to serve as a warning to other executives who in their zeal to serve vested interests may use the military arm of the government to deprive citizens of the rights guaranteed them by the constitution.

BRITISH PROTECTION.

London (Eng.) Daily News (Lib.)—The confusion into which the enemy have fallen frees us from the necessity of defensive action, which, indeed, we have always insisted was the wrong attitude to adopt. We have not so much to defend the policy of free trade as to proclaim the extension of the principle involved in it to the land system. We have to present the country with a just settlement of the education question, the adjustment of the relations between law and labor, and the reform of taxation and of the licensing system. The opportunity is great.

MISCELLANY

TO A RULER.

For The Public.

The military and aristocratic schools usually urge the people to be prolific, while they consider war one good means of keeping down the population.

Be strenuous, and let who will be modest.
Open your mouth; keep open all day long.
Make life a manufactory of "food for powder,"

And use it up in battling for the Wrong.

E. O. MARSHALL.

New Salem, Mass.

JUG-HANDLED PROSPERITY.

Even the Republican newspapers are at last beginning to open their eyes, and their columns, to the fact that the Republican-High-Tariff-Trust brand of prosperity, about which we have heard so much during the last four years, is a fraud and a humbug, so far as a majority of our citizens are concerned. It is prosperity for the trusts all right; but it has nearly exhausted the resources of a majority of the people. The following is from the Chicago Inter Ocean, a good Republican paper:

Ever since 1897, this nation, on the surface, has prospered as never before. . . . Yet it may be doubted if one-half the heads of American families are in as favorable a position as they were in 1897. The third party—the majority who are neither capitalists nor able to fortify themselves behind labor union walls—is to-day giving more proportionately than in 1897, while getting only the same.

When capitalists combine to raise prices, reduce expenses, or anticipate profits it is this third party that pays the higher

prices, stands the reduction of expenses, and converts the anticipated profits into actual ones.

The plain truth is that fully one-half the workers of the United States—the men whose incomes are from \$300 to \$3,000 a year, the men who are neither in trusts nor labor unions, have not been getting their share of the national prosperity. They are working for the prosperity of capital and organized labor, but no one is working for them. And under this burden they are becoming exhausted.

B. W. H.

TAXING UNOCCUPIED AND UNIMPROVED LANDS.

Editorial in the issue of September 30, 1903, of the St. Paul Pioneer Press (Republican).

The recent migration of thousands of American farmers to the cold and comparatively uninviting regions of western Canada has not been through any lack of opportunity, in the more attractive regions of Minnesota and neighboring States, created by natural causes. Whatever lack of opportunity or "room" exists, anywhere south of the boundary line, is the result of conditions wholly artificial in their origin. Chief among these is the tying up of large bodies of the best lands in the hands of speculators who are holding them for a rise. Take a trip on almost any railroad leading out of St. Paul and all along its line it will be found that the unimproved land exceeds in acreage the amount reduced to cultivation. In great numbers of instances there has been no thought of improving it by its present owners. They have bought it on speculation, and when they sell, it is an even chance that the transfer will be to some other speculator. Drive the speculator out of the field and the vacant stretches between villages will soon be occupied by farms. At present, even in the wonderfully fertile and productive region of the Red River of the North, a vast acreage is unoccupied—held on speculation.

If Western farmers and legislators had formed a truer appreciation of the fundamental teachings of Henry George in that remarkable book, "Progress and Poverty," they would long ago have found a remedy for conditions which prevent the settlement of lands in their own neighborhoods, condemn the larger part of the fertile area in hundreds of counties to unproductive idleness, curtail the revenues of the State, and double the burdens of the farmers who are really building up the country. That remedy is the taxation of unproductive at the same rate as productive land; the release from taxation of the farmer's house

and barn and crops and cattle, and the laying of the entire tax on the land—including in the term "land" all franchises and monopolistic uses of natural opportunities, like water power, etc. If the land speculator had to pay the same tax, on every uncultivated acre, that the farmer pays on the cultivated acre—the amount being increased by the abolition of the personal property tax—he would soon be compelled to "sell out" at such figures as would remove all temptation for the homeseeker to travel to Canada or elsewhere in search of cheap land. That the clear, shining virtue of Mr. George's proposition should have been obscured by its forced and unnecessary connection with the questions of individual land owning and "free trade" is one of the misfortunes of the century. Divested of this connection, it affords the most direct and equitable solution yet suggested for the multiform problems involved in the right adjustment of taxation.

CIVILIZATION NOT TEMPTING.

An incident of the visit of the Indian tribes in Chicago during the recent centennial celebrations, as reported in the *Chicago Examiner* of October 1.

Not all the millions in Chicago can tempt "Little Long Lashes," daughter of Chief Pokagon, of the Pottawatomie tribe, to give up her people.

Several women of wealth and social position, won by the beauty of the little princess, have tried to persuade her that she would be happier in a mansion than a tepee—but without avail.

One story has it that Mrs. J. Ogden Armour was one of those who wanted the little Indian girl to exchange her life of freedom for a life of luxury.

Lolita Armour is said to have seen the daughter of the great chief and to have fallen in love with her, and that meant, of course, that the Armours would offer any price to secure the little girl as a companion for their daughter.

Whoever made the proposition submitted it first to Chief Pokagon through an interpreter. He listened gravely as the life his daughter would lead was pictured—how she would be educated and be given all the advantages that would come to the millionaire's child. And he was assured he never would want for money.

"That all?" asked the chief when they had finished.

"How much do you want?" was the first thought of the interpreter. But he didn't put it into words, for the chief had risen.

"Long ago, many years ago, white man come to place where Indian live. He take little land, build house—all good.

"Pretty soon more pale face come, take little land—all good.

"All good friend. White man say so. We show him place to fish, place to hunt, place to trap.

"Many moon go by, more white man come. They say: 'You go little way—we need all land here.' He say we all good friend.

"We go, for white man say all good friend. Pretty soon he take more land. Pretty soon he have all. Pottawatomie have nothing. But white man say all right—we all good friend.

"Big chief and brave die. New chief, new brave come; they all dead. Many moon go by. Then white man say: 'You come back. We have dance—all good friend.'

"We come back. Heap people come see us; all make fun. Make hole in tepee, put stick in dinner; we say nothing, for white man all good friend.

"Now you want take Wan-don-skisgon, little girl. You take all land, now you want Indian, too. You say we all good friend. But you no take her, I tell you!"

Before he had finished speaking it was plain Chief Pokagon was in an angry mood. And as he uttered the last word he sent up a great hoarse cry that made those who heard it chill.

"Little Long Lashes," however, had a different sort of an answer. She laughed when she heard the tales of all that would be given her.

"Wear them?" she asked, pointing to one of the visitor's high-heeled slippers.

The woman, thinking the patent leather had caught her eye, nodded.

"Why, I couldn't run with my pet wolf at all in those," she said, for she speaks good English. "No, I couldn't sleep in a house. I tried it once. And I couldn't wear clothes like you do. No, I will stay with my people."

SINGLE TAX THE ANTITHESIS OF SOCIALISM.

A letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison to the *Boston Evening Transcript*, published in the *Transcript* of October 3.

"The Issues in Ohio," which your valued correspondent, "Lincoln," treated at length in Wednesday's *Transcript*, are so exceptional and instructive that they deserve a more intelligent consideration than that accorded them in the columns of the daily press. The current confused and misleading reports indicate either a set purpose to disparage Tom L. Johnson

and cast suspicion on his character, or an ignorance of the principles which he advocates. Even "Lincoln," who, I am sure, aims to be fair, fails utterly to grasp the situation. His declaration that Johnson represents the "socialistic" tendencies of the two great parties while Foraker and Hanna represent the "capitalistic" trend will not bear a moment's examination. Using language soberly and with a due regard for its meaning, the reversal of the statement would match the fact.

For, if anyone should be exempt from the charge of socialism it is the leading disciple of Henry George. In truth the single tax theory is the antithesis of Socialism, and its advocates find their ever present and most persistent opponents in the socialistic ranks. Since Henry George's death his closest and most valued friend, Tom L. Johnson, has stood as the foremost representative of his enunciated principles. In the interest of clear thinking and fair play, Henry George's own statement of his belief deserves reproduction at this time.

In "The Condition of Labor," that masterly open letter to Pope Leo XIII., occurs this discriminating passage:

We differ from the Socialists in our diagnosis of the evil and we differ from them as to remedies. We have no fear of capital, regarding it as the natural hand-maiden of labor; we look on interest in itself as natural and just; we would set no limit to accumulation, nor impose on the rich any burden that is not equally placed on the poor; we see no evil in competition, but deem unrestricted competition to be as necessary to the health of the industrial and social organism as the free circulation of the blood is to the health of the bodily organism—to be the agency whereby the fullest cooperation is to be secured. We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community, the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacredly to the individual all that belongs to the individual; and, treating necessary monopolies as functions of the State, abolish all restrictions and prohibitions save those required for public health, safety, morals and convenience.

This is the creed avowed by Tom L. Johnson, enforced and defended upon the stump, attempted to be put into practical operation in the government of the city of Cleveland and persistently fought and denounced by Foraker and Hanna. Johnson antagonizes protectionism, a strong plank in the socialistic scheme. Both Ohio senators support it. Johnson stands as the defender of capital. The senators attack it constantly through laws of special privilege. Yet Johnson is stigmatized as a "Socialist" and Foraker and Hanna pose as the champions of "capital." Was there ever a more flagrant misuse of terms?

"Believing that the rights of true property are sacred," said Henry George, "we would regard forcible communism as robbery that would bring destruction." And he further asserted of socialism that "its methods involve the idea that governments can more wisely direct the expenditure of labor and the expenditure of capital than can laborers and capitalists, and that men who control governments will use this power for the general good and not in their own interests. They tend to multiply officials, restrict liberty, invent crimes. They promote perjury, fraud and corruption. And they would, were the theory carried to its logical conclusion, destroy civilization and reduce mankind to savagery."

This strong and comprehensive statement is not only accepted by Tom L. Johnson, but it is the inspiration of his public life. The issues in Ohio center on the rights of labor and capital, against which organized privilege is massed. Privilege is paramount to both political parties and infects both. This makes the fight of Johnson for reform doubly onerous, as he has more to fear from the spoliemen of the Democratic party than from the Republican voters who furnish his substantial accessions.

At such a crisis, when every heart that beats for justice should welcome this uprising against commercial greed and rapacity, we have fair minded newspapers, which have consistently preached the gospel of equal rights, joining in the ignorant hue and cry to discredit the truest exemplar of Jeffersonian democracy known in the political history of the nation.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT'S STATISTICS.

When the Republicans get into a tight place, due to discontent from high prices, low wages or waning prosperity, they send for Col. Carroll D. Wright. They state their troubles to him and ask him to fix things up. He smiles suggestively and says he will try. If he is successful—and he usually is—the Republicans see that his reputation as a statistical authority does not suffer, no matter how devious and crooked his methods. He gets the required result, is promoted to the highest position, and is hailed as the statistical saviour of mankind. The Republicans understand their business as well as Col. Wright does his business.

A year or so ago the Republicans became desperate. The census statistics of manufactures, instead of showing a substantial advance from 1890 to 1900,

showed a decline in wages of one and one-half per cent. As Dingley bill trusts were multiplying and were raising prices rapidly and greatly increasing the cost of living, wise Republicans saw trouble ahead. They consulted with their old friend, Col. Wright, whose methods had juggled the 1890 census figures so that they showed a substantial rise in wages, and who supposed that he had the 1900 census fixed to show a similar advance. They told him that he must somehow make a better showing for the wage earner, either by raising wages or by reducing prices, or by both. "Get your labor bureau busy," they said, "and do your best for us. Discredit the census figures and ask the people to wait for the only statistics which will be worthy of consideration. We will boost you as an authority in the meantime, and, if the census wage statistics now being prepared by Prof. Dewey are not likely to prove satisfactory, we will try to hold them up until after the 1904 election."

Col. Wright agreed to do his best. In March, 1903, the department of labor issued a bulletin on the "Course of Wholesale Prices, 1890-1902," which showed that prices were exactly as high in 1902 as in 1890, and that they rose only 25½ per cent. from 1897 to 1902. This was about 15 per cent. less than the rise shown by the statistics of R. G. Dun & Co., which are more carefully "weighted." On September 30 it was announced from Washington:

The bureau of labor, under the direction of Carroll D. Wright, is about to issue the results of an exhaustive study of the increased cost of living during the last few years in relation to the increase of wages. The work will be presented in two volumes, one relating to expenditures and the other to earnings. The manuscript will go to the printer in two days. The results of this inquiry may show that there has been a striking similarity between the advance in wages and the increased cost of living, and that neither has gone forward as much as popularly supposed. The current report that commodities have advanced 27 per cent. is shown to be wide of the mark. It will be nearer 15 or 16 per cent. Wages have so fully kept pace with increased cost of living that it may safely be said that the condition of the laboring man is better to-day than ever before in the history of this country.

Of course these statistics, coming from such a high authority, will reassure the workingmen and make them contented and happy. The man whose wages have remained substantially the same as they were in 1897, and who is paying 35 per cent. more for what he has to buy, will now feel that he is at least as well off as he was at the beginning of Republican rule. This is all that he could expect and the most

that the Republicans claim. The prosperity that they talk about has all gone to the trusts.

Until these new statistics are published and the methods of reaching them are known, we cannot criticise them, except to say that they differ radically from any others now extant. But to show how worthless they will probably be, except from a political standpoint, we may mention some of Col. Wright's past methods of raising wages—on paper.

Col. Wright won his first statistical victory and ingratiated himself with the Republicans by falsifying and juggling the wage statistics of Massachusetts. One of his methods of raising wages, statistically, was to divide the total wages paid in 1885 by the "average" number of wage earners, instead of by the entire number employed, and between whom the wages were actually divided, as was done in 1875. In this way he showed a decline of only ten per cent., whereas the actual decline was nearly 20 per cent. His same methods, continued to 1895, showed an increase in wages when an actual decline had occurred.

Col. Wright's methods, adopted in the 1890 census, made a substantial rise in wages over those of 1880. In 1900 this method of "averages" was carried still farther. In 1890 the "average" number was computed for each establishment for the actual time the establishment was in operation. In the 1900 census the "average" number employed each month was taken, and the establishment was considered to have run the full 12 months. This system is bad in all cases, but it becomes positively absurd in industries which run only half the year. It frequently results in "averages" which are less than the least number considered. As Mr. H. L. Bliss, the non-partisan statistician, says:

It will be seen by census bulletin No. 200, giving statistics of the canning of fruits, vegetables and fish, that while the greatest number of wage earners employed at any one time during the year was 133,106, and the least number employed at any one time was 46,106, the average number is reported as but 36,401. In the manufacture of building glass we find the greatest number employed given as 19,943, the least number as 16,060, and the average number as 11,902. It would be supposed that the average number would be somewhere between the greatest and the least number employed at any one time, but the statistician in charge of the manufacturing statistics had discovered a method of computing average numbers which has the important merit, from a partisan standpoint, of obtaining for the present census a number often smaller than the minimum number considered as the average number of wage earners.

Mr. Bliss says that this method of computing average numbers "seems to have been planned to create a fictitious increase in earnings between 1890 and 1900 similar to the fallacious increase shown, at the preceding census, between 1880 and 1890."

He further says:

To see how this works, let us suppose that some brick and tile establishment employs an average of 100 wage earners for each of six months of the year, and is idle for the remainder of the year. Following the new census method, we add together the averages obtained for each of the six months, and divide the total, which is 600, by 12. This gives us 50 as the number that would be reported at the present census as the average number, a number that is just one-half the number that would be obtained by the method of preceding censuses. The effect of reducing the number of wage earners one-half is of course to double the apparent average earnings.

Mr. Bliss shows that if the lumber and timber industry be omitted from the census of Michigan and Wisconsin there will be shown a decided decrease in wages in these states, instead of the rise that is shown by the juggled census. He thinks that wages in this country declined between five and ten per cent. from 1890 to 1900, instead of only one and one-half per cent., as indicated by the official census.

This much for Col. Wright's wage statistics. His price statistics are juggled even more deftly. Without attempting to explain the juggle in them, it is sufficient to say that some of the Republican experts in the statistical bureaus at Washington do not hesitate to say (though they do not publish these statements) that Wright's price figures are absurd, largely because they are practically not "weighted" at all. That is, because the prices of unimportant articles are given as much weight, in making averages, as are the prices of important articles. Thus, the prices of 130 unimportant articles, which show a decline, will offset the prices of 130 important articles, which show a similar advance. Mr. Wright quoted the prices of 260 articles. He balanced the price of nutmegs, which declined from 100 to 46.9, with lard, which advanced from 100 to 161.9. He put in bicarbonate of soda as of equal importance with fresh beef. The soda showed a decline of 48.3 per cent., while the beef rose 25.9 per cent. He put in two quotations of sheep, which showed a rise of only three per cent., and only one of corn, which showed a rise of 56.9 per cent. The value of corn sold is 20 or 30 times the value of sheep sold. The price of matches, which declined ten per cent., affects Mr. Wright's averages as much as does the price of coke, which rose

58 per cent. Wood screws, which show a decline of 37 per cent., affect the averages of metals and implements as much as do steel billets, which show a rise of 42 per cent. The value of steel billets consumed is 100 times that of wood screws.

Of course an ordinary statistician, with an elastic conscience and a reputation to insure the publication of his statistics, can prove anything by such methods. Yet it is on such stuff as this that Col. Wright's reputation as a statistician rests. That he still has some reputation left is due, in part, to the faithful and untiring efforts of his Republican boomers who have profited by his errors of discretion and who, everywhere and at all times, laud him and his truly wonderful work; but, more largely, to the lack of effort of the Democrats to expose and publish these errors. For instance, a long article will soon be given to the press from Washington, quoting Wright's figures and results. It will be printed in all papers, both Republican and Democratic. Criticisms, no matter how severe and well deserved, will find space only in a few scattering Democratic papers and will be unnoticed in Republican papers.

In these ways, a well disciplined Republican press makes small men great and great men small, for the time being. Future history will do much to adjust matters, but the politicians are looking for immediate results, and care little for the higher historical criticism which may follow. If their pockets are well filled with the proceeds of political graft, they are willing to take their chances with future critics.

Great is Col. Wright, professional wage raiser and price reducer and official statistical juggler of the G. O. P.!

BYRON W. HOLT.

SINGLE TAX PRINCIPLES.

The single tax controversy which Myron T. Herrick, the Republican candidate for governor of Ohio, has provoked in the present campaign in that state, revives interest in the following single tax tract, compiled several years ago from the writings of Henry George, and published under the title, "The Single Tax; What It Is, and Why We Urge It."

I shall briefly state the fundamental principles of what we, who advocate it, call the single tax.

We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of improvements in or on it.

What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land,

for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

Our plan involves the imposition of no new tax, since we already tax land values in taxing real estate. To carry it out we have only to abolish all taxes save the tax on real estate, and to abolish all that which now falls on buildings or improvements, leaving only that part of it which now falls on the value of the bare land. This we would increase so as to take as nearly as may be the whole of the economic rent, or what is sometimes styled the "unearned increment of land values."

That the value of the land alone would suffice to provide all needed public revenues, municipal, county and national, there is no doubt.

To show briefly why we urge this change, let me treat (1) of its expediency, and (2) of its justice.

I.

From the single tax we may expect these advantages:

1. It would dispense with the whole army of taxgatherers and other officials which present taxes require, and place in the treasury a much larger proportion of what is taken from the people, while, by making government simpler and cheaper, it would tend to make it purer. It would get rid of taxes which necessarily promote fraud, perjury, bribery and corruption, which lead men into temptation, and which tax what the nation can least afford to spare—honesty and conscience. Since land lies out of doors and cannot be removed, and its value is the most readily ascertained of all values, the tax to which we would resort can be collected with the minimum of cost and the least strain on public morals.

2. It would enormously increase the production of wealth—

A. By the removal of the burdens that now weigh upon industry and thrift. If we tax houses, there will be fewer and poorer houses; if we tax machinery, there will be less machinery; if we tax trade, there will be less trade; if we tax capital there will be less capital; if we tax savings, there will be less savings. All the taxes, therefore, that we would abolish are taxes that repress industry and lessen wealth. But if we tax land values, there will be no less land.

B. On the contrary, the taxation of land values has the effect of making land more easily available by industry, since it makes it more difficult for owners of valuable land, which they themselves do not care to use, to hold it

idle for a larger future price. While the abolition of taxes on labor and the products of labor would free the active element of production, the taking of land values in taxation would free the passive element by destroying speculative land values, and preventing the holding out of use of land needed for use. If anyone will but look around to-day and see the unused or but half used land, the idle labor, the unemployed or poorly employed capital, he will get some idea of how enormous would be the production of wealth were all the forces of production free to engage.

C. The taxation of the processes and products of labor on the one hand, and the insufficient taxation of land values on the other, produces an unjust distribution of wealth, which is building up in the hands of a few, fortunes more monstrous than the world has ever before seen, while the masses of our people are steadily becoming poorer. These taxes necessarily fall on the poor man more heavily than on the rich; by increasing prices they necessitate larger capital in all businesses, and consequently give an advantage to large capitals; and they give, and in some cases are designed to give, special advantages and monopolies to combinations and trusts. On the other hand, the insufficient taxation of land values enables men to make large fortunes by land speculation and the increase in ground values—fortunes which do not represent any addition by them to the general wealth of the community, but merely the appropriation by some of what the labor of others creates.

This unjust distribution of wealth develops, on the one hand, a class idle and wasteful because they are too rich, and on the other hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too poor—it deprives them of capital and opportunities which would make them more efficient producers. It thus greatly diminishes production.

D. The unjust distribution which is giving us the hundred-fold millionaire on the one side and the tramp and pauper on the other, generates thieves, gamblers, social parasites of all kinds, and requires larger expenditures of money and energy in watchmen, policemen, courts, prisons and other means of defense and repression. It kindles a greed of gain and a worship of wealth, and produces a bitter struggle for existence which fosters drunkenness, increases insanity and causes men whose energies ought to be devoted to honest production to spend their time and strength in cheating and

grabbing from each other. Besides the moral loss, all this involves an enormous economic loss which the single tax would save.

E. The taxes we would abolish fall most heavily on the poorer agricultural districts, and thus tend to drive population and wealth from them to the great cities. The tax we would increase would destroy that monopoly of land which is the great cause of that distribution of population which is crowding people too closely together in some places and scattering them too far apart in other places. Families live on top of one another in cities because of the enormous speculative prices at which vacant lots are held. In the country they are scattered too far apart for social intercourse and convenience, because instead of each taking what land he can use, every one who can grab all he can get, in the hope of profiting by the increase of value, and the next man must pass farther on. Thus we have scores of families living under a single roof, and other families living in dug-outs on the prairies far from neighbors—some living too close to each other for moral, mental or physical health, and others too far separated for the stimulating and refining influences of society. The wastes in health, in mental vigor and in unnecessary transportation result in great economic losses which the single tax would save.

II.

Let us turn to the moral side and consider the question of justice.

The right of property does not rest on human laws; they have often ignored and violated it. It rests on natural laws—that is to say, the law of God. It is clear and absolute, and every violation of it, whether committed by a man or a nation, is a violation of the command: "Thou shalt not steal." The man who catches a fish, grows an apple, raises a calf, builds a house, makes a coat, paints a picture, constructs a machine, has, as to any such thing, an exclusive right to ownership, which carries with it the right to give, to sell, or bequeath that thing. But who made the earth that any man can claim such ownership of it, or any part of it, or the right to give, sell, or bequeath it? Since the earth was not made by us, but is only the temporary dwelling place on which one generation of men follows another; since we who find ourselves here are manifestly here with the equal permission of the Creator, it is manifest that no one can have any exclusive right of ownership in land, and that the rights of all men to land must be equal and

inalienable. There must be an exclusive right to possession of land, for the man who uses it must have secure possession of land in order to reap the products of his labor. But this right of possession must be limited by the equal right of all, and should therefore be conditioned on the payment to the community by the possessor of an equivalent for any special valuable privilege thus accorded him.

When we tax houses, crops, money, furniture, capital, or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the state commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals without the robbery of other individuals.

Think what the value of land is. It has no reference to the cost of production, as has the value of houses, horses, ships, clothes, or other things produced by labor; for land is not produced by man, it has been created by God. The value of land does not come from the exertion of labor on land, for the value thus produced is a value of improvement. That value that attaches to any piece of land means that that piece of land is more desirable than the land which other citizens may obtain, and that there are more willing to pay a premium for permission to use it. Justice, therefore, requires that this premium or value shall be taken for the benefit of all in order to secure to all their equal rights.

Consider the difference between the value of a building and the value of land. The value of a building, like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual; but the value of land only arises with the growth and improvements of the community, and therefore properly belongs to the community. It is not because of what its owners have done, but because of the presence of the whole great population, that land in New York is worth millions an acre. This value, therefore, is the proper fund for defraying the common expense of the whole population, and it must be taken for public use, under penalty of generating land speculation and monopoly which will bring about artificial scarcity where the Creator has provided in abundance for all whom His providence has called into existence. It is thus a violation of justice to tax labor, or the things pro-

duced by labor, and it is also a violation of justice not to tax land values.

These are the fundamental reasons for which we urge the single tax, believing it to be the greatest and most fundamental of all reforms. We do not think it will change human nature. That man can never do; but it will bring about conditions in which human nature can develop what is best, instead of, as now in many cases, what is worst. It will permit such enormous production of wealth as we can now hardly conceive. It will secure an equitable distribution. It will solve the labor problem, and dispel the darkening clouds which are now gathering over the horizon of our civilization. It will make undeserved poverty an unknown thing. It will check the soul-destroying greed of gain. It will enable men to be at least as honest, as true, as considerate, and as high-minded as they would like to be. It will remove temptations to lying, false swearing, bribery and law-breaking. It will open to all, even to the poorest, the comforts and refinements and opportunities of an advancing civilization. It will thus, so we reverently believe, clear the way for the coming of that kingdom of right and justice, and consequently of abundance and peace and happiness, for which the Master told His disciples to pray and work. It is not because it is a promising invention, or cunning device that we look for the single tax to do all this; it is because it involves a conforming of the most fundamental adjustments of society to the supreme law of justice, because it involves the basing of the most important of our laws on the principle that we should do to others as we would be done by.

Mother—Willie, you must stop asking your papa questions. Don't you see they annoy him?

Willie—No, ma'am; it ain't my questions that annoy him, it's the answers he can't give that make him mad.—Philadelphia Press.

BOOKS

USURY FOR LOANS.

Under the title of "Usury: a Scriptural, Ethical and Economic View" (The Anti-Usury League, Millersburg, Ohio), Calvin Elliott offers a fresh discussion of this ancient but still restless question.

By usury the author does not mean interest in excess of the legal rate, but "any increase of a loan, great or small, whether authorized or forbidden by the civil state." This, as he truly says, is the classical meaning of the

term, the distinction between "interest" and "usury" having come in as a legal term with the sanction by Christian nations of limited premiums upon loans.

Mr. Elliott's presentation of scriptural and ecclesiastical authority is sufficiently full for so small a volume (292 pages), and his assertion of human rights is unequivocal. Yet he does not make out an ethical or economic case against usury as he defines it—that is, as premiums on loans. In his strongest anti-usury arguments he is evidently thinking of a power the lender invokes for purposes of extortion, which is different from and more fundamental than any power possessed by lenders as such. For instance:

The usurer, who has himself no rights against his fellows, uses a thing, his property, as an instrument or weapon to command service. He may place his hand upon every material thing another must have, and withhold it, and the other is shut up and compelled, he has no alternative. He must yield to the demands or suffer.

Now the power here does not reside in the transaction of borrowing and lending; it resides in institutions which allow some men, whether lenders or not, to shut their fellows up by withholding from them material things which by nature belong to all.

So far as borrowing and lending transactions are concerned, if carried on in freedom—and that is of the essence of the usury question as one of borrowing and lending—it is very difficult to see how Mr. Elliott's conclusions are consistent with some of his truest principles. He says that "the vital energy of man is his own and his right to it must be regarded. . . . He has a right to his own vital energy, and to all that his own vital force produces. He has a right to his property, inherited, earned or however secured, except by fraud. He has no claim against the vital energy of his fellow man, nor has he any claim whatever against the property of another." All this is true, provided the meaning of "property" be limited to things that are justly subject to appropriation. But being true it refutes all the author's anti-usury arguments—usury being understood to mean premiums on loans. If every man "has a right to his own vital energy and to all that his own vital energy produces," then he has the right to fix the terms upon which he will lend what his vital energy produces. And if no man has a "claim against the vital energy of his fellow man," then no man has a right to exact a loan upon any terms whatever. Borrower and lender must agree, or there is no transaction. If they are left in freedom, usury may be exacted and conceded or it may not be, but in either case the contract must stand as that of a free bargain between free men.

But Mr. Elliott does not confine himself to his definition of usury. He goes altogether outside of the sphere of borrowing and lending, maintaining his

thesis by the somewhat transparent, though doubtless unintentional device, of referring to transactions as loans which are essentially not loans. He treats excessive street car charges, for instance, as usurious, when in fact the extortion there does not at all depend upon transactions that can properly be called lending. They depend upon public franchises, whereby private concerns monopolize public highways. Likewise he treats the so-called "unearned increment" of land as usury, upon the false assumption that it results from renting.

It would seem that Mr. Elliott has tried to generalize all the social evils of the time under the one head of "usury." Possibly that might be done, but the definition of "usury" would have to be more inclusive than "any increase of a loan."

PERIODICALS.

One of Frederic C. Howe's best papers on cities at large, appears in the World's Work for October under the title "Cleveland—A City Finding Itself."

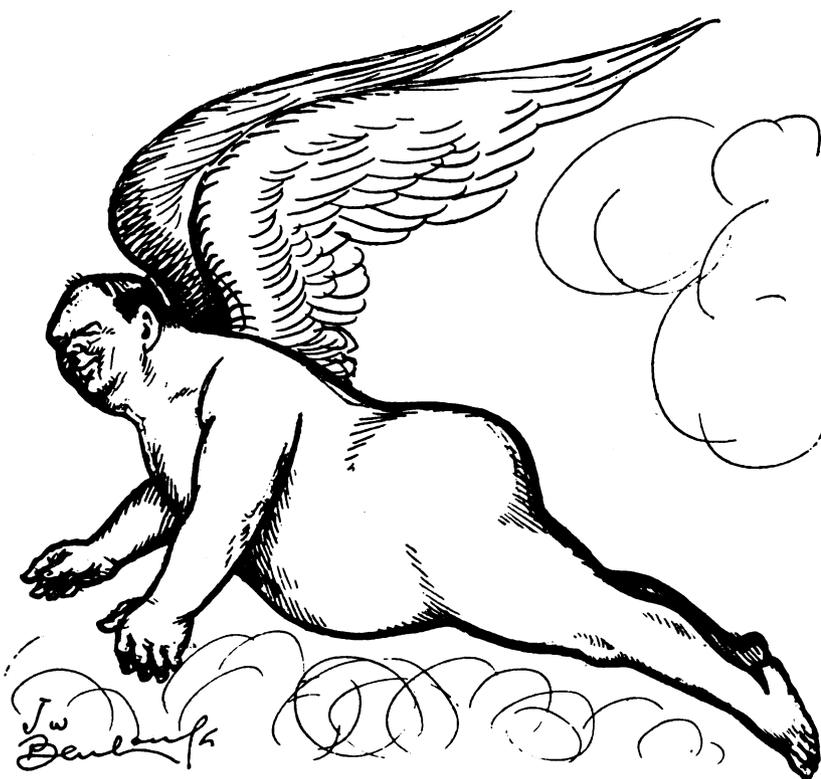
One way of pushing a book is set forth in an article in Harper's Weekly of Oct. 3. A letter is given from the "Publishers" asking "permission to quote whatever you may say in appreciation of its subtle psychological grasp" etc.; and "such a letter," we are told, "is apt to be followed or preceded by a more personal appeal from the writer of the book, insinuating a desire parallel with the publishers' for such a recognition of its merit as may be promptly turned into an advertisement." J. H. D.

The Outlook for Oct. 3, speaking of the Ohio campaign, calls it the most important of the year, and says that "On state issues the Republican leaders have not shown the vigor and determination of their opponent." The writer thinks that the Republican majority of ninety thousand will be reduced, and that Mr. Herrick's cry against the single tax is not likely seriously to influence the electorate. In this number of the Outlook there is an interesting illustrated article on Jonathan Edwards, and another on Tolstoy's Marriage and Family Life. J. H. D.

The Literary Digest of Oct. 3 gives prominence to an article on Sleep in Popular Science for August. To any one reading the article, it must appear how entirely ignorant the most pretentious scientist is on this most commonplace and familiar phenomenon. It is another illustration of the utter failure of science to remove the mystery from life. What can any one, however learned he may be, ever know of the condition of brain-cells during sleep? We have got so used to listening with our mouths open to wise-sounding talk about this and that sort of cells that we do not stop to think how absurd most of the talk really is. J. H. D.

The New York Independent of Sept. 24 has a brief but significant article by Goldwin Smith on the "Strenuous Life." In a gentle way the distinguished writer suggests that President Roosevelt's preaching on this subject is somewhat responsible for the spirit of violence just now abroad, or at least that it tends that way. He holds that it is difficult, however, to fix upon the cause of the recrudescence of this spirit in the world. "It may be," he says, "the prevalence of physical theories of evolution by survival of the fittest, the fittest being taken to mean the strongest—which it does not so far as the human race is concerned." Mr. Smith maintains that the greatest effects in the history of civilization have been produced by men who would not come within Mr. Roosevelt's purview of strenuousity. J. H. D.

Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, president of the National Direct Legislation League, has a one-page article of interest and importance



THE ONLY MAN NOT INTERESTED IN THE LAND QUESTION.

He feeds on air, and requires neither clothing nor shelter.

in the New York Independent of Oct. 1, on a Year of Direct Legislation. There is perhaps on the part of advocates of direct legislation a too ardent desire to claim perfection at once. As master of fact, there have been and will be, many disappointments. The Nation, for example, of same date, speaking of a certain instance, says it "makes the scheme of having dozens of different laws referred every year to popular vote, as proposed by advocates of the referendum, seem truly chimerical." The fact is that people have been so trained to vote for mere personalities that they have not awakened to the idea of voting for principles. Hence all the greater the work of the Direct Legislation League; but it must expect failures. J. H. D.

world that have filled history with such crimes. The disorganized people have simply been forced by power and ignorance into the support of policies they cared nothing for, until hurrah and false glory blinded them. But the consolation is that robber governments pay the penalty sooner or later in some way, and it may be that the Czar's government will be called to a reckoning sooner than he imagines. The Finnish people will help to bring the day. "Its exiled leaders," says the Outlook of Sept. 28, "will probably be forced into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Russian revolutionists. There is good reason, indeed, to believe that such an alliance has already been made." J. H. D.

Among all the damnable—no other word is strong enough—the damnable outrages and crimes wreaked upon weaker nations by the governments of strong nations, history has none to tell more utterly damnable than the Russian government's treatment of Finland to-day. We say Russian government, not Russia, and the distinction should always be made. It has not been the people but the governments of the

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