

fight. Only the future can reveal the full scope and power of this man's influence.

His wife died. She had been a loving helpmate, always at his side in the meetings, always loyally supporting her husband. With her death the last controlling balance wheel that remained to keep Tom's stormy u in order seems to have broken. Without her, he appears to have been entirely unable to plan and work for the support of his family. Despair seized him, and one morning he was found dead in bed.

Is not this the story of a warrior who fought a good fight? I could tell you, too, of John J. McCann, who for opinions' sake went to his death, which was caused by hardships endured in the St. Louis workhouse where he was immured, because he conceived it to be his duty as a lawyer to attack and overthrow an evil law.

I could tell you of a man whose intellectuality was strong enough to change the vote of an Illinois county in the direction of free trade, but whose wage-earning ability was limited to the pittance he secured by pumping water into a tank for locomotives; and I could tell you how he, too, died of neglect, because after he carried that county for free trade he was no longer allowed the privilege of pumping water at \$1.25 per day.

There is no power of the pit that can stand against such devotion to truth.

Our Massachusetts comrade, C. B. Fillebrown, has given me a closing word. Why must we be told that this great reform cannot come in this generation, when all precedents seem to contradict such pessimistic view, and teach us to look for it now? Says Mr. Fillebrown :

"The great struggle for constitutional liberty between King and Parliament, begun in 1637, was ended in 1649 with the execution of Charles I. Twelve years. The struggle between James II. and his people, begun in 1685, ended in the final expulsion of the Stuarts in 1688. Three years. The abolition of the slave trade, begun in 1785, was ended in 1807, a period of twenty-two years. Catholic emancipation, begun by O'Connell, single-handed, in 1801, was ended in 1829. Twenty-eight years. The abolition of slavery in the British possessions, organized in 1823, was ended in 1833, a period of ten years. The repeal of the Corn laws, begun in 1839, was ended in 1846. Seven years. American independence, begun in 1765, was accomplished in 1783. Eighteen years. The abolition of American slavery, begun in 1831, was ended in 1862, the longest period of all, but only thirty-one years. The single tax movement began in 1880, and its time is nearly up."



THE CHARACTER OF JAMES E. MILLS.

BY JOHN FILMER.

(Expressly for the Review.)

AN APPRECIATION.

THE general biography of James E. Mills, who died in Mexico on the 25th of July last, is well known to the many to whom his name is familiar. His scientific and single tax friends are acquainted with his history. That in early life he was a pupil and assistant of Agassiz; that he later entered the ministry of the Swedenborgian Church, for which calling his whole scientific course had been a careful preparation; that the sedentary life proving unhealthful, he left his pastorate after five years of service in it, and took up the work of examination of mines, for which his fine geological training had eminently fitted him, and that he remained in this occupation, as consulting geologist and mining expert, to the day of his death.

But these outward circumstances tell nothing of the spirit within, or of the great qualities of mind and heart which he notably possessed; only those especially in sympathy with him, or connected closely with his daily life, knew that under the guise of ordinary business this man brought into practical form some of the noblest of human qualities.

There were two reasons for this unfamiliarity with the real life of one as widely known as Mr. Mills: The nature of his occupation, which led him largely into new and unfrequented places, and, more potent still, that his work was done largely for those who carried on their business in a steady, quiet, unobtrusive way, contented with their eminent success in it, and preferring that little should be said about it. Still another reason emphasized the force of the other two, that the principal aim of his life in outward conduct was to give himself wholly to "doing his share of the world's work well (his own words), entirely subordinating self-gain in honor, position, or wealth."

His last five years of life on earth were engaged in an undertaking* having unique features which brought out strongly his varied powers. He had an invincible faith in the strength of the right, and no known force, physical or mental, was able to shake it. And this trust gave to his struggles with the injustice of Mexican conditions a character seldom witnessed in that country, where our American brothers more often disgrace themselves by adopting the unbusinesslike and dishonest methods prevailing there. Of Mr. Mills' struggles with the obstacles purposely placed in his way, and how he overcame, them much is known in many parts of Mexico. Besides the common practice of treating the incomes of American owners of mines and other enterprises as legitimate sources of revenue by the rapacious natives,—poor and rich alike,—the extensive landholders of the country have a habit of levying upon their poorer neighbors, Indians or otherwise, who because of their poverty are unable to maintain their rights. At Fernandez the land is held mainly by a single family, which is represented by but one of its members. Hence, as soon as the work of opening the mine and constructing mills for treating the ore was started, this landlord began to seize upon all lands not already in his grasp, the products of which were needed by Mr. Mills in carrying on his work. No appeal against this conduct in the petty courts of "justice," which were all under the control of the landlord class could be effective without resort to bribes. The consequence was that the natural resources of the vicinity were held for sale at the landlord's own price, which it is needless to say was a ruinous one.

Again, the merchants of the neighboring city conspired to get the lion's share through their hold upon the freighters. The only means of transportation into this mining camp is by muleback from the city (Caliacan), seventy miles away. Freighters are mostly poor men who own their mules, but like most poor people there, they are in the power of the richer men through debt to them. If a poor man does not by ordinary improvidence become indebted to a richer one, he is generally induced to do so by the kindness (?) of the latter through a loan of money. After that he is practically the slave of his creditor.

Again, all the freighters around were held in some way under the control

* The San Fernando mines and mills are situated on the banks of the Humaya River, and about seventy miles northeast of the city of Caliacan—capital of the State of Sinaloa, Mexico, and are owned by The Fernando Mining Company, with headquarters at Boston, Massachusetts. The plant is up-to-date and extensive. During the period of its construction from two hundred and fifty to three hundred artisans and laborers were generally employed. The plant is constructed for the reduction of a large amount of somewhat low-grade—but not high-grade ore—copper, silver, and gold. James E. Mills was the general manager of the company, and the works may be said to be his own creation.

of the merchants ; and it was easy for these latter, when they learned that Mr. Mills had between 3,000 and 4,000 muleloads of machinery to be carried into the camp from the city, to force the freighters to charge several thousand dollars more than their services were worth. Then the merchants, by taking an enormous commission from the freighters, would leave them with little as payment for all their work. The power of the richer over the poorer people is not wholly or solely because of their simple debts, but mainly because the poor debtor does not know that his creditor has not an unlimited right to him for life and even for death. In this part of Mexico, practically, though not legally, such relations are maintained.

Another difficulty which Mr. Mills had to meet was the spirit of greed among the workmen that characterized the richer men. Although their wages were while in his employ larger than their own countrymen ever paid them, and although through his agency a store was soon established on a basis which would sell them goods at prices which increased the purchasing power of their incomes fully three times, these poor people were so entirely unaccustomed to deal with honest men that they failed to recognize such when they met one. Again, in those first days of the enterprise, they could not rid themselves of the habit of getting up strikes, even though there was nothing to strike for. The contractors, likewise, who were under written agreement to cut and bring lumber, make brick, or do other kinds of work, would throw up their contracts after having fulfilled only a small part of them if they found that they were of any especial importance to the business, giving as a reason that the price was too small, evidently in the hope of getting a larger one. There was no use in taking legal measures against them, for they possessed no property, and regarded imprisonment as an evil which must be occasionally endured. It is so often that these ignorant people are imprisoned unjustly that they would not be likely to connect their incarceration with any unrighteousness of their own. Therefore, the loss to the business of time and trouble taken in securing their punishment would be of more serious import than the consequences of letting them go free.

Still another difficulty was found in the inertia of any kind of public official to do anything without a bribe. Inspectors who came annually to see if all business documents and books were properly stamped, and the vexatious laws regarding the conduct of business were rigidly carried out, were ready to glance favorably over everything if a check for a sufficiently large amount made out in his name were to be found among the papers subjected to his scrutiny. But every official, even the pettiest, was stolidness itself until he saw the hope of some reward coming to him outside of his salary. The postmaster, for instance, under whose care the mail at first came, wrote to Mr. Mills almost as soon as he arrived there, asking a loan of \$20, and receiving no answer, wrote again, demanding \$40. To which Mr. Mills promptly replied that he owed him nothing and should not pay him anything unless he performed some special services for him ; but if any such dues were claimed he should be careful to find out from the General Post-office Department at Mexico City, before he paid them, just what the postmaster's duties were. This effectually silenced the man. The President and the higher officials of Mexico cannot be bribed ; but the custom goes much farther up toward them than one would readily believe, which perhaps is not so very different from our own country, except in the candor and openness with which it is done ; whatever difference there is, however, is not always to the credit of the United States.

Another obstacle which Mr. Mills met was the readiness with which Americans in Mexico yield to all this dishonesty, so that there is no moral support from any established American honesty there, and from time to time rumors would come of remarks made by his countrymen who had heard of Mr. Mills'

struggles to meet all these difficulties with honest and just measures, which would run like this: "What is the use of opposing such conditions? Mr. Mills might as well give up and get along easy, as other folks do." The "getting along easy" meant either to be subjected constantly to Mexican exactions, or to come out of the contest blacker with vile trickery than the Mexicans themselves.

Mr. Mills was not the man to choose either of these alternatives. Dishonesty in business was, as it always had been, unthinkable as a course for him to pursue; and his whole manhood revolted at the thought of yielding to the dishonest demands of others. He had the magnificent courage of his conviction that honesty will triumph if one is determined it shall, and that ways can be found for it to gain the victory if one uses his native ingenuity.

Therefore he met all these difficulties with counterchecks which kept in continual exercise his alert and businesslike brain. In this effort he was actively and enthusiastically supported by a few of his assistants who were in full sympathy with him; some of the others, not so enthusiastic, were glad to do what they could, and still others, having no enthusiasm, were yet willing, if called upon, to lend a hand.

To meet all these conditions needed a clear brain and an ingenuity which could circumvent the "foxy" dishonesty of the Mexicans, of which they are openly proud. It needed, also, a firmness which could stand up against the temptation to overvalue temporary advantages and lose sight of permanent ones; a moral courage that can endure lying misrepresentations without losing heart, and a mental courage that can face physical danger without flinching.

All these qualities Mr. Mills possessed in an unusual degree. To the advice to "get along easy" he paid no attention whatever; to the demands and more subtle hints for bribery he was equally deaf. When workmen struck he promptly informed the leaders that they were wanted no longer on any sort of terms, now or hereafter; this seems a simple thing to do, until it is considered that it was often a real problem where to look for others to take their places, and that delays were very serious in that land of unskillful workers and of seasons made short by the periodical summer rains as well as by the customs the inhabitants have of leaving their work to go and plant corn in the spring, and where it is the custom to take one or two holidays during the week through even the best part of the season. But in some way the vacant places were filled, and the wisdom of Mr. Mills' prompt measures were shown as time went on there gradually gathered around the work a steady set of workers, and strikes became a thing of the past.

The method of meeting recreant contractors needs only one illustration, and greater force is given to it by the fact that the contractor's failure to carry out his contract was often more serious even than the strike of the workmen. Two men had engaged to cut lumber in the lumber camp of the company, for a price they were perfectly satisfied with at the beginning; after a while they began to make trouble with the man in charge, to fail to bring in the required number of logs on time, and finally went to Mr. Mills to make a grand scene. They were both armed with pistols,—every man in Mexico goes armed except the péons, the poorest laboring class,—and as they entered Mr. Mills' private office, a third man whom they had brought with them stepped up outside the open door near which Mr. Mills' wife was sitting; he was out of sight of the occupants of the room and had in his hands a loaded gun, all of which Mr. Mills was entirely aware. The principal grumbler began: "We cannot carry out our contract at those prices; we cannot make it pay." Mr. Mills arose with an air that brought the men also to their feet. "Go," he said; "we will have nothing more to do with you. Get your money in the office for the work you have done, and go"; and before they had time to realize what was happening they were in

the outer office, a good deal crestfallen, and meekly took their money and departed. The Mexicans are not much accustomed to straightforward dealing. A Mexican employer would have received these men with excessive politeness, talked with them a long time about nothing, promised, or pretended to promise, them all they wanted, and cheated them out of it in the end. Many Americans in Mexico, priding themselves greatly on "understanding these people" try the same tricks, not always with perfect success. As in the cases of strikes, so with unfaithful contractors, Mr. Mills found ways to make up for their deficiencies without delaying the business.

Against the merchants Mr. Mills, by the use of ingenuity in the place of trickery, made a marked success. To the difficulty they had created was added either the disloyalty or the inefficiency of the company's agent in the city, a Mexican, whose business it was to arrange for the freighting. Mr. Mills, finding that nothing was being done, sent a man to get mules to a town a hundred or more miles away, so distant as to be beyond the control of these merchants, and where a mining camp had just suspended operations. Then he went himself to the city, planned the moving of the freight, and after the mules began to arrive, which they soon did in great numbers, trains of loaded mules were soon winding out of the city and up into the mountains at a rate which caused the wise Americans and Mexicans who had predicted that Mr. Mills would "never get all that freight into the camp," to gaze in open-eyed wonder. The merchants, after one more attempt to thwart him, gave up the contest. When they had heard that mules were coming from a distance, they sent out messengers to meet them on their way to the city to tell the freighters bringing them that "the job was no good." One of these messengers succeeded in turning back a train of forty mules; but the man who was engaging them promptly threatened arrest to any man who interfered further with his business, and this put an end to the trouble.

But all these difficulties, trying as they were, and necessitating constant alertness and ingenuity on the part of Mr. Mills, were not a circumstance to his great struggle with the landlord. As fast as he seized upon lumber land, limestone veins, and stone quarries, for the materials of which Mr. Mills had use, he would find others outside the bounds the landlord could claim ownership of even with the amplest interpretation of the law, or whatever it was he pretended to be guided by. But all this trouble led Mr. Mills to investigate the matter; and he found that a very large part of what an Anglo-Saxon landholder might call "some woodland I own out in the mountains," but which this landlord, in the usual grandeur of the Spanish language styled, "my estates in the country," was the legal possession of a tribe of Indians, who owned it as a community, but who were too poor to resist the encroachments of the landlord. Then began a struggle in which the landlord used every means in his power to oppress the Indians in order to keep possession of the land, for in Mexico possession is nine and nine-tenths points of the law, and used every means he dared to intimidate Mr. Mills. But this last was a task in which no man probably had ever succeeded, and this one made a signal failure of it. But with all Mr. Mills' fine courage he never made any show of bravery, nor ever spent time or words or strength in trying to impress others with it; he had a quiet manner which seemed to imply that he had behind him, somewhere, force enough to conquer an army if it were necessary. He worked legally, steadily, persistently, without bluster, taking no notice of the articles which appeared in the Mexican papers from time to time, in which he was represented as a monster of iniquity, oppressing the innocent Mexican and doing it all under the guise of philanthropy, and following up one measure after another until his appeal for justice in the case was recognized and acted upon by the president of the Department in charge of such affairs. After two years or more of incessant

work, watchfulness, and exposure to dangers, known and unknown, but suspected at the time, Mr. Mills, without resorting to bribery or other dishonest means, succeeded in bringing about an entire change in the political situation of the community, and had secured to the Indians possession of their land pending the settlement of their titles.

The strength of such a course seems at first glance to be in its clear perception and good business judgment, for Mr. Mills was not working philanthropically, as was sometimes mistakenly stated; he was only striving to establish an honest business on a solid foundation. But the qualities he displayed had a surer foundation than a mere determination to succeed in an honest undertaking. It is doubtful if this alone would carry any man through the innumerable difficulties of which this brief sketch is but an outline. A person who saw no further than the commercial value of an enterprise, honest though his aim might be, would have been thoroughly discouraged by the seemingly endless obstacles of the situation long before any signs of victory were in sight. But to Mr. Mills the success in an honest business was a means to an eternal end. He believed that every step toward the establishment of justice was taken forever; that however small it might be, or of little avail it might appear, and however far backward from it humanity seemed to recede, its retrogression either was only seeming, or was less, by just that one step, than if it had not been taken. He worked for eternal ends, and had absolute confidence in their superlative value, and it was this purpose and trust that enabled him to put into his work those high qualities which so distinguished him—steadiness, faithfulness, integrity, undaunted perseverance, never-failing hope, and unconquerable courage. To him, eternal ends were the object of man's creation, and every one's usefulness, in whatever position he found himself, was a means to that end; consequently, it was worthy of the consecration to it of all his powers, even, if need be, of his life.



HAMLIN GARLAND'S

. . ADDRESS . .

AT THE DINNER GIVEN IN HIS HONOR.*

My connection with what is now known as the single-tax movement came about rather curiously. One day, in Ordway, Dakota, while on a visit to my parents, I entered the office of a local lawyer, with intent to pass the time of day and look at a map on the wall. During my stay I observed a small paper-bound book on the table; it was the now famous Lovell Edition of *Progress and Poverty*.

"Hello," said I, "here is a copy George's book! What do you think of it?"

The young lawyer was seated in the usual way, with his feet upon the table, a big book on his lap, and a dream in his drowsy eyes.

"Oh, I don't think much of it," he replied. "He's a crank."

I picked the book up and began to turn the leaves. "No; I see you don't," I replied, after a few moments' silence. "You didn't think enough of it to cut the leaves. You have read just six pages of the introduction. Now I call that unfair. You should at least read the man's argument before condemning it. I am going to take this book home and read it if you don't mind."

*At this dinner, given by the Manhattan Single Tax Club, James R. Brown, President of the Club, presided. Among those present were Henry George, Jr., Justice Samuel Seabury, Prof. Marion Miller, Dau Beard, and John S. Crosby. All the speeches were informal with the exception of Mr. Garland's.