

check and repress vice than any of its predecessors; it has for the first time in the recent history of the city closed the dives and forced the low resorts where liquor is sold to go out of business; it has practically put an end to public gambling in the city, an achievement which no other administration can boast, and this it has done by placing uniformed patrolmen before the doors of such resorts; it has passed an ordinance for the regulation of dance halls; it has put an end to periodical raids and fines and public participation in the earnings of vice.

"The Sunday closing ordinance has prevented disorder; no administration has ever been able to enforce it, though its enforcement under the present administration has been as successful as under any of its predecessors. The city contains more than 2,000 saloons; we had up to March 1 of the present year but 292 patrolmen; of these 100 were on duty in the daytime. It would require from two to three men to make an arrest and secure evidence leading to a conviction, or one squad for every 60 to 100 saloons; at most, working constantly and uninterruptedly, they could make no more than 150 arrests a day, which would mean that every saloon keeper would be arrested once every three months, and the saloon-keepers could afford to pay the fine and continue the business.

"Such an administration as you suggest would involve the devotion of every available energy of the police department to this single end—it would involve the attendance of the entire day force of policemen at the police court from three to six days in each week and would result in the complete withdrawal of police protection from every other part of the city, the entire clogging of the machinery of the police court and the introduction of a system of secret blackmail and discrimination in the police department such as has been the discredit of many of our American cities.

"I have deemed the protection of the city from crime the most important use of the limited police force at our command, and for this reason I have not been willing to withdraw the entire force from its urgent duties to devote them to a spasmodic, discriminating and dangerous attempt to enforce ordinances impracticable of enforcement with the force at my disposal. I say impracticable, for I believe that it would require at least 300 men, an additional police judge and an expenditure of many thousands of dol-

lars a year, devoted exclusively to the purpose of closing the saloons on Sunday and after midnight; and as I have said before, I think such an attempt would inevitably lead rather to a corruption of the force than to a suppression of the evil.

"The present administration has sought to discriminate between crime, misfortune and vice—an effort has been made to prevent the first—the second helped to help itself—the third we have endeavored to minimize, and it is with no intention of disrespect, either for the men who compose your association or the honesty of the purpose at which it is aiming, that I say the public service corporations have in this matter attempted to create public apprehension and mistrust as a mere blind to cover their sinister efforts to secure an extension of their valuable franchises in fraud of the rights of the people and without a just return for the privileges which they seek to enjoy. Very respectfully,

"TOM L. JOHNSON."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 5.

NEW ZEALAND LAND REFORM.

For The Public.

The following account of New Zealand reforms varies somewhat from the accounts that usually reach this country; but it comes from a competent and sympathetic observer, for whose integrity we vouch, though we neither adopt nor condemn his conclusions.

On the 9th of February, 1902, after visiting Brisbane and Sydney on our way out, a friend and I landed at Auckland, New Zealand, with the object of seeing for ourselves what advantages that much lauded land offered to home-seekers.

On bicycles we went south from Auckland through the Waikato and Waipa valleys into the "King" country, returning by way of the Rotorua, or Thermal Springs district, and the Thames valley, to Auckland, being three weeks on our wheels. Our personal investigations were confined to Auckland city and land districts in the North Island, but we met numbers of people from every section of New Zealand on our trip inland (land hunting is as active in that country now as in America 20 years ago), and were able to form, I think, a correct opinion of conditions obtaining over the whole colony.

The climate is one of the best in the world. The soil, though the country is somewhat broken and mountainous, compares favorably with the best sections of America. The people, though hospitable to strangers, and intelli-

gent and progressive in some respects in politics, are pervaded by an even more intensely jingo spirit than Canadians or Australians. New Zealand is a country of schools and churches. The Anglican denomination greatly predominates, both in numbers and influence, and from this influence comes their militant disposition.

The legislation so far adopted to remedy social inequality is purely socialistic—in the direction of public ownership and operation of public utilities as railways, telegraphs, etc., and in government regulation of conflicting individual interests as between employers and employed. New Zealand furnishes no evidence (either for or against) the theories of Henry George from actual experience. No single tax legislation has as yet been adopted by the central government for their own guidance. The most they have done is to grant power to municipal bodies to tax land values exclusively for local purposes.

The effect of this legislation has not yet been felt to any great extent, and under their system of government can never be very great. The governmental system of New Zealand is patterned after that of the England of half a century ago. Almost the whole collection and expenditure of public moneys is in the hands of the central government. Municipal bodies, such as we have in America or they are now getting in England, do not exist outside of the cities, and even there their collecting and spending powers are very limited. In country districts the road boards are the most important bodies of a municipal character, and so limited are their powers that in many sections they have been allowed to become defunct.

The effect of land taxation as applied by the central government in New Zealand is mischievous and pernicious, tending to complicate rather than settle the question of land monopoly, intensifying rather than correcting the evils it sought to remedy. The policy is to discourage large holdings by a progressive land tax according to size and value, and to encourage small holdings by exempting them from taxation altogether.

All holdings above \$25,000 value are subject to a progressive tax, which is increased with the size and value of the holdings. All holdings of \$25,000 or less are subject to the ordinary rate of taxation only, and are granted an exemption from taxation on the amount of \$2,500, holdings of \$2,500 or less being totally exempt from taxa-

tion. This is nothing more nor less than an attempt to "get even"—a creating of one evil to remedy another; and the outcome proves that injustice to large holders is no better than injustice to small ones.

The people of New Zealand have committed themselves to the principle of state ownership of all land, with the people as tenants. To accomplish this the government spends five or six millions of dollars of borrowed money annually in the purchase of large estates, which are sublet to small holders on perpetual leases at an annual rental of five per cent. on their value at the time of allotment. The value of these lands is determined by an arbitration board, who are guided by the prevailing price of land in the vicinity. The effects of the construction and operation of government railways, the purchase by government annually of so much land for cash in a small country like New Zealand, and the exemption of small holdings from taxation, could have only one effect. Speculative land values in the last three years have enormously increased, and land speculation is just as intensely active as in Canada or the United States, Henry Demarest Lloyd to the contrary notwithstanding.

And monopoly knows its ways of taking advantage, too. I visited several of these farms and am convinced that the companies selling them increased their profits by working them to the point of exhaustion in anticipation of their being bought by government.

Again, "Unionism" is a stronger factor in politics than here. This is due to the "compulsory arbitration act," which compels men to form unions before they can take advantage of its provisions. The unionists of New Zealand are intensely protectionist. In carrying out their demands for the exclusion of foreign made goods the government is able to obtain a great portion of public revenue from a high tariff, and correspondingly to relieve land values from taxation. Human nature is the same there as here; the land and tariff monopolist sees his advantage just as quickly.

The cost of land and the cost of living keep pace with each other. Reliable citizens informed us that the latter increased 50 per cent. in the previous three years, and in 1902 the government found it necessary to announce at the opening of parliament that they intended to legislate against trusts by making it a crime "to make

combinations to improperly raise the price of food supplies."

Undoubtedly social conditions have been improved by "labor legislation" in New Zealand, but we found in the country considerable dissatisfaction and unrest, and a growing conviction among the best men of all shades of opinion that they have not yet solved the problem of correcting social inequality, and that some of the remedies already adopted with that end in view will have to be abandoned. Signs of a coming struggle are easily seen. The "Farmers' Union," organized and controlled by large land holders with the object of defending and increasing their special privileges, is rapidly increasing its membership among the small holders, also determined to perpetuate their own special privilege—exemption of small holdings from taxation. The country is divided into hostile camps—labor and tariff monopoly in one; land monopoly and exemption from taxation in the other, each seeking an adjustment for its exclusive benefit. Meanwhile the sentiment grows that the measures already adopted fall short of the requirements of the case, and that in the land question is to be found the only solution.

My advice to all homeseekers is. Do not be deceived by glowing accounts of the advantages of New Zealand. Although possessing many advantages it has, in my opinion, not yet reached a permanent settled condition, and labor is being saddled with the cost of experimenting.

JOHN MACMILLAN.

THE MAKING OF A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

ACT IV.

Scene—Private office of J. Head Push. Mr. Push discovered seated at desk littered with letters, documents, etc.

Mr. Push (reading newspaper)—"Twelve years ago the wealth distributed in the United States was estimated at \$65,000,000,000, and of this less than 125 families possessed \$25,000,000,000, making an average of \$200,000,000, for each of these families. About one-half of the number of families in the United States had absolutely nothing that could be called wealth. If power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of the few, it necessarily leads to the poverty of many and even to hunger and death. The men who own the wealth of the country also control all the functions of the country." (Speaking solus) Well, I'd like to know why they shouldn't! Does this fellow think we millionaires are go-

ing to let a horde of two-cent, hand-to-mouth laborers run our affairs? (Reading) "The press is also in the control of the wealthy. In all large papers it will be found that the editorial page is controlled by those in the counting-rooms." (Speaking solus) Oh, dear! This fellow is teaching his grandmother to suck eggs. He'll tell us by and by that July and August are summer months. (Reading) "In the recent coal strike the Pennsylvania courts issued injunctions against sending food to the starving miners and against holding meetings to speak on the strike." (Speaking) Of course they did. Wouldn't we be dunderheaded idiots now to place judges on the bench who didn't know that giving comfort to the enemy was itself an act of enmity? What next, I wonder! (Reading) "The United States is not really governed by President Roosevelt or by the people, but by such men as Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller—men who control the industries. Right here in America we are living under a despotism which is more implacable, subtler and harder than any that ever existed under any king." (Speaking) There's gratitude for you! I wonder we captains ever build a library or endow a college. "Good king of cats!" What's this? Some one's been leaking! (Reading eagerly) "During 20 years the government pays \$70,000,000 rent for mail cars. The mail cars which last for 20 years cost only \$3,000,000. During certain months the railroad corporations which carry the mail weigh it to get a unit of tonnage. They generally choose a time just before Christmas, and it has been proved that the railroads have stuffed the mails at these times in order to get a larger unit. In addition to this the government pays the railroads a rate more than eight times as large as what the express companies pay them." (Speaking excitedly) Ye gods! Who told McCartney that? Is there, no law in this country to prevent our private affairs from being hawked about as if we were no better than the common throng? (Rising and throwing down paper.) I'll see the President about this. It's high time this anarchist legislation should be broadened to include corporation as well as government officials so that this insufferable nuisance of free speech may be abated. I think when I suggest to Theodore that the kingmakers are certainly as important as the kings they make, he will see the