The Public

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Congress has adjourned without so much as noticing that clause in the Paris treaty, now more than a year old, which imposes upon it the duty of determining the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the Philippine islands. It leaves these people, without a word, entirely to the discretionary government of the military power. There is certainly about that a marked flavor of imperialism.

President Henry Wade Rogers, of the Northwestern university, at Evanston, Ill., an old established Methodist institution of learning, is the latest college educator to walk the plank for opinion's sake. One of the trustees brazenly declares in a newspaper interview that Mr. Rogers was forced into resigning because, a year ago, at a public meeting in Chicago, he made a speech against imperialism. The list is lengthening. Here are five of the notable ones: Bemis for opposing gas monopoly, Will for calling land monopoly to account, Andrews for having democratic opinions on the money question, Herron for bringing plutocracy to the test of Christianity, and now Rogers for standing by the declaration of independence. If the time has not already come, it cannot be far off, when college educators will clearly understand that if they wish to hold their chairs they must suppress all opinions which do not harmonize with the partisan or sordid interests of plutocratic college bosses.

Some of the McKinley papers are much concerned because the public meetings in honor of the Boer envoys have had so strong an anti-administration coloring. But they have only themselves and the administration to blame. In organizing these meetings the greatest pains were taken to make them nonpartisan by securing full representations of both parties; but administration republicans invariably refused to participate. They could not have done otherwise without reflecting upon the administration. These meetings have been, necessarily and in the very nature of the case, rebukes to President McKinley for refusing to indicate to the British ministry the disfavor with which the people of this country look upon the subjugation of the South African republics.

Dun's Review for the 9th reports that business—

> failures in May were not only the largest ever known in that month since such records were made, but of 80 months covered by these returns only six have shown as large liabilities.

The optimistic Dun finds, nevertheless, that "the report is encouraging." Dun's Review has found "encouragement" in every month's business for four years! But the masses, though they have found "encouragement" palatable, have not fattened upon it. This speculators' prosperity dies hard, in the speculators' papers; but it is dying, nevertheless. We have had no genuine prosperity since the late '80's, notwithstanding all the whooping up, and now even the bubble which trade papers and administration organs have inflated is collapsing.

A Chicago taxing official made an astounding statement to the Chicago Record of the 11th. Referring to the fact that some Chicago citizens have sought to evade personal property taxation by buying government bonds to hold over the taxing period, he said:

> These are the persons we are going after. We will raise all the schedules where we have reason to believe that this has been done, not taxing the bonds, because we could not do that, but making a higher valuation on other goods.

Consider the calm criminality of that proposition! This official has the temerity to proclaim that he and his associates will violate the law and their oath of office by assessing goods at more than they believe them to be worth, so that they may tax somebody by indirection for owning a kind of property which is legally exempt from taxation! To such unwholesome devices are taxing officials driven in extorting unwise and unjust taxes from personal property owners in order to relieve the city site owners of their just taxes.

Gov. Stephens, of Missouri, has exhibited a kind of strenuous courage in connection with the St. Louis strike which men of the Roosevelt type would be either too sanguinarily eager or too morally cowardly to imitate. His refusal to call out troops in response to the clamor for them, his determination to refrain from resorting to military violence until convinced that nothing short of that would preserve the peace, reflect the highest honor upon his administration. Riots must be put down. Peace and order must be maintained. The laws as they exist must be enforced. And no exception should be made in favor of lawless workingmen. But it is just as important that this should be done in a peaceable and orderly and lawful manner as that it should be done at all. It is more important. An English philosopher who wrote half a century ago, Patrick Edward Dowe, regarded governmental law-

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lessness as incomparably more prejudicial to a community than any amount of casual lawlessness that would be likely to take place in a civilized country. He was right. Rioting only disturbs, while governmental lawlessness subverts public order. And that is the view which Gov. Stephens adopted. He admonished the local authorities to preserve the peace, assuring them of state support if necessary; but he refused to make the occasion an excuse for unnecessary resort to military power. He has courageously set a much needed example in these days when the spirit of militarism has taken possession of the influential classes.

An exceedingly important if not vital question with reference to the attitude of the United States toward the British war in South Africa has been raised by Edmund H. Smalley, a republican lawyer of Chicago. In an open letter to President McKinley Mr. Smalley reminds the president not only that the British ministry is brazenly violating international law in prosecuting the war to the point of destroying the independence of the two republics, but that it is the privilege of the American government, in accordance with international law, to enter a protest. More than that, as Mr. Smalley points out, the American government, if it allows the annihilation of these two republics to proceed without rebuke, will become a party to a revolutionary precedent which may hereafter place every weak state at the absolute mercy of any superior military power with which it becomes embroiled in war. The American republic itself, should the accidents of war bring defeat upon it, might be deprived of its independence upon the basis of the South African precedent to which it now silently assents.

On the point of the lawlessness of the policy Great Britain is pursuing, Mr. Smalley quotes from leading authorities in international law, having first recalled the declaration of Lord Salisbury that the British ministry intends to leave "not one shred of independence" to either of the South African republics. In Vattel's great work he finds the notion that a conqueror is absolute master of his conquest denounced as a "monstrous principle." The true rule is there declared to be that the conqueror, to indemnify himself for the past and secure himself for the future, must "prefer the gentlest methods, still bearing in mind that the doing of harm to an enemy is no further authorized by the law of nature than in the precise degree which is necessary for justifiable self-defense and reasonable security for the time to come." And from Woolsey's "International Law" Mr. Smalley makes this apt quotation:

> Natural justice knows nothing of a right of conquest in the broad sense of that term, that is of mere superior force, carrying with it the license to appropriate territory or destroy national life.

And though Dr. Woolsey recognizes the right of a conqueror to restrain the conquered from renewing hostilities, he denies that mere subjugation of the inhabitants of a country, even in a just war, confers the right of conquest; and he asserts that—

> redress and punishment ought not to exceed due limits, nor ought self-protection to demand an exorbitant security. In accordance with this the spirit of conquest is regarded by the nations as a spirit of robbery and hostility to the human race. This is shown by their combinations to resist it, as in the wars against Louis XIV. and Napoleon; by their protests against acquisitions regarded as unjust and against alliances formed for the injury of weak states; by the pretexts which the aggressors seek to shield themselves from the condemnation of the world; and by the occasional consent of the victorious nations to give a price for the territory acquired in war.

These extracts are sufficient to indicate the principle of international law to which Mr. Smalley appeals in behalf of the continued independence of the South African republics. Further indication is not necessary. It would probably be admitted by experts on all sides that no nation, by the mere exercise of superior power, has the right under international law, for any cause or upon any pretext, to divest a state of its independence. That doubtless is the law. And all intelligent and fair minded men, though not experts, will understand that it ought to be the law. For if one powerful state may be permitted thus to destroy the independence of a weaker state, it is only a question of time when one all powerful empire—possibly Great Britain but more likely Russia—will hold the rest of the world in military subjection. At the very least, all wars would become terrible struggles for national existence, for the conqueror would always hold the destiny of the conquered in the hollow of his hand.

It is Mr. Smalley's second point, however, that more vitally interests the American people—the point that it is the privilege and duty of the American government to protest against Great Britain's asserted purpose of destroying the independence of the two South African republics. On this point he addresses the president in these terms:

> While our traditional policy has been to remain aloof from foreign complications, our government has seldom hesitated to express its sympathy with liberal movements, even when such opinion was displeasing to monarchial or despotic governments. . . . . Your predecessors have in several instances expressed themselves as to terms of peace between foreign nations. President Arthur in 1882, in his second message to congress, said: "It is greatly to be deplored that Chili seems resolved to exact such rigorous conditions of peace and indisposed to submit to arbitration the terms of amicable settlement. No peace is likely to be lasting that is not sufficiently equitable and just to command the approval of other nations." Mr. Fish, in behalf of President Grant, in the interests of peace between France and Germany, wrote Minister Washburne "to contribute what you may to the presentation of such terms of peace as befit the greatness and the power which North Germany has manifested, and as shall not be humiliating or derogatory to the pride of the great people who were our earliest and fast ally."

In these circumstances Mr. Smalley urges the president to admonish the British ministry that our republic

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would regard the annihilation of the South African republic and the Orange Free State as contrary to the law of nations and as an act which our government and people would not willingly accept as a precedent, so far at least as their own interests are concerned.

In making that recommendation, Mr. Smalley points the way to a speedy ending of the war in South Africa through an entirely peaceable and not unfriendly protest on the part of President McKinley. If he were to advise Minister Choate as Mr. Fish advised Minister Washburn in 1871, or were in some public manner to deplore the fact that Great Britain demands such rigorous terms of peace, as President Arthur did with reference to Chili in 1882, the British ministry would at once end the South African war upon the basis of the independence of the two republics. Nothing but their refusal to adopt that basis prolongs the war, for upon that basis the two republics have offered peace. And nothing but confidence in the friendly support of the American government encourages the British ministry in insisting upon that refusal. The destiny of those little republics, along with a portentous precedent in international usage, depends upon President McKinley.

The question of admitting clubs of colored women into the National Federation of Women's Clubs, is a very different question, so far as the general public is concerned, from that of denying colored people their civil or political rights. Within the federation itself, the despicable absurdity of excluding a woman like Mrs. Josephine Ruffin, for no other reason than that she is not a pale face, was a legitimate subject of discussion; but as it involved none of her rights as a woman the subject is not one with which the outside public has anything to do. It is the prerogative of the Federation of Women's Clubs, as of all other voluntary organizations, to admit or exclude at pleasure. Voluntary association is a matter purely of congeniality and in its choice of membership every club or federation of clubs may give as full play as it wishes to the prejudices of its members against race, religion, politics, or color of skin, hair, or eyes, or against anything else whatsoever. Outsiders may have their opinion and express it freely about clubs which, having professedly large objects in view, are influenced by such petty considerations; but persons who are excluded cannot complain, nor can the public complain for them. It is when rights, civil or political, are involved, that public protests are in order. Negroes have the same rights as white men, and those rights must be maintained. But privileges of personal association are a different matter.

"Of course Mr. Bryan is not correct on any economic question," is the manner in which the New York Journal of Commerce begins a criticism of Bryan's North American Review article. The eminently judicial spirit of that opening remark challenges admiration. But it also excites suspicion. The critic who assumes at the outset that of course the person about to be criticised is not correct on any question, discredits his criticism in advance. In this case, however, the Journal actually proves, while trying to show the contrary, that Mr. Bryan is correct upon the very matter upon which it ventures specifically to criticise him. Bryan having written of home owning as decreasing and tenancy as increasing in this country, the Journal essays to show that the statistics to that effect imply increasing prosperity instead of increasing poverty, but in fact shows the contrary.

We quote the Journal on this point from the issue of the 7th, in the very language of its criticism of Bryan:

> Tenancy appears from the last two censuses to be decidedly on the increase in this country, but it is not the result of growing poverty among farmers; it is the result of the increasing price of land, one of the common marks of prosperity. Tenancy does not grow by the change of the same individual from an owner into a tenant; the farmer does not sell his farm and then hire it. Tenancy increases because farm land becomes too expensive for a man of small capital to buy, or because the owner can get rent for it and live in town on the rent without working. In the west vast numbers of farmers acquired land many years ago for little or nothing from the government and the land-grant railroads. They were owners because the land was cheap. They are now getting old and retiring from active work and their farms are worth $20 or $40 an acre, and there being no more cheap lands the young men or immigrants who are looking for farms hire these farms instead of buying. Thus the owning farmer is replaced by the tenant farmer because the former has acquired a competence, not because he has become poor. This process has been going on so extensively in Nebraska that Mr. Bryan's unconsciousness of it shows how poor an observer he is.

Instead of showing how poor an observer Mr. Bryan is, the editor of the Journal of Commerce here shows how poor a reasoner he is himself. The difference between him and Mr. Bryan is that whereas Mr. Bryan considered tenants as well as landlords, when reflecting upon the increase of tenancy, he considers only landlords. This one-sided consideration is evident at once from his remark that increasing price of land is "one of the common marks of prosperity." That increasing price of land marks the prosperity of landlords may be true enough. But it does not mark the prosperity of tenants. Higher price of land means for tenants not only higher rents, but it means also reduced opportunities of acquiring homes. It is the landlord's prosperity, not the tenant's, that the Journal of Commerce has in mind. And that this is so is confirmed by its remark farther on, where it says that "the owning farmer is replaced by the tenant farmer because the farmer has acquired a competence, not because he has become poor." We have to take the Journal's word for this contention. There is no proof. But let that pass. Suppose the farmers who got land for nothing years ago are in fact

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all rich now, what of the tenants who are hiring their farms? These tenants are not rich; but owing to the increase in the price of land and the fact which the Journal notes that there are "no more cheap lands," they are compelled to become tenants. Here, then, is Mr. Bryan's critic confounded by his own logic. For if, as the Journal of Commerce concludes, "tenancy appears from the last two censuses to be decidedly on the increase in this country," what difference does it make whether the tenants are impoverished ex-landlords or rent ridden young men. The essential thing is that tenancy is increasing, and that in consequence of the increasing price of land and the disappearance of cheap land it is tenancy of the hopeless kind.

In fact, however, tenants are not altogether newcomers. The same individual often does descend from the level of landlord to that of tenant. It is no uncommon thing for farmers to sell their farms and then hire them; it is a very common thing for farmers to sell their farms and then hire farms elsewhere. And one or the other or both will become more and more common as men who, in trying to be owners instead of tenants have been obliged to give purchase money mortgages in order to get any land at the higher prices, find that they must submit to foreclosure.

Hamlin Garland has won the noble distinction of getting roundly hissed at an old settlers' meeting in Wisconsin for paying a just tribute to the memory of Black Hawk, the Winnebago chief. So long as white men sing of heroes who strike for the "green graves of their sires, God and their native land," Black Hawk is entitled to be counted in. That is precisely what he did. And white men should none the less account him a hero because it was men of their own race who made it necessary for him to strike. Hissing a speaker who dares tell them so, as Garland did, does not lessen their race's guilt. Neither can they explain it away by pleading that as Black Hawk's people were few while the whites were many it was the right of the whites to expropriate the Indians. That plea is in the last degree hypocritical. When the claim of a few hundred people to the land of England is recognized by white man's law as good against the millions of English landless; when less than half the American people own any land, while millions upon millions of acres are fenced in against the rest; and when this is defended by the whites as just, it ill becomes them to denounce Black Hawk as a land monopolizer and attempt to justify their treatment of him upon that ground.

Senator Mason's intimation of his intention to support McKinley this fall should not be taken too much to heart by those who have admired his magnificent speeches in behalf of the elementary principles of democracy. He has given no intimation of any intention to support McKinleyism. It should not be forgotten that Senator Mason, like Senator Hoar, by supporting McKinley, makes his anti-imperial speeches all the more effective against McKinley.

The democrats of the Columbus district of Ohio give evidence of their power of discrimination and appreciation in making John J. Lentz for the third time their candidate for congress. Mr. Lentz, while a party man, is a democrat of the Jefferson order, who, in two terms of service, has proved his supreme fitness for congressional work. He is an attractive orator, a convincing speaker, an intelligent and tireless worker, and a fighter whose courage serves as well in passive resistance as in the excitement of conflict.

A firm of Baltimore bankers, Hamblin & Co., solicitous for the substitution of Gorman as the democratic candidate for president in place of Bryan, has circularized large numbers of business men and bankers in the south and east in Gorman's behalf. This uneasy firm of financiers apologizes for thus entering into politics by saying that while wishing it were otherwise it is nevertheless—

> **a regrettable fact that politics and finance are so indissolubly connected that it is impossible to mention the one without alluding to the other.**

This is, indeed, both a fact and regrettable. But it is the Gormans of both parties and not the Bryans of any party, that have made it so. It is Gormanism, not Bryanism, that puts government into private business and private concerns into government business. And that is what connects finance with politics so indissolubly. Bryanism would break the connection.

In announcing the fact that the Pennsylvania railroad has secured control of the Philadelphia & Reading railroad, one of the newspaper reports explains that—

> **this completes the partition of the anthracite coal territory between the New York Central and the Pennsylvania systems.**

That is an exact expression. In the old days great barons partitioned territory between them; but now it is great railroad corporations. The effect, however, is the same. Now, as then, the people are the sufferers; and now, as then, it seems quite the proper thing—so supinely do the people adjust themselves to injustice.

Gen. Otis has repeatedly assured the American people that the Philippine "insurrection" has been put down, and that only robber bands, or ladrones, are now resisting American authority in the islands; but now he makes this discomforting admission in a newspaper interview:

> **For a number of years it will be impossible to control the situation with fewer troops than we now have in the Philippines. When the terms of the volunteers expire they must be returned to this country, but the troops withdrawn must be replaced by others. For the present the islands will have to be governed by a military government.**

"For a number of years," then, we must maintain an army of 65,000 troops in a country where there is no

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popular resistance to our authority! How large an army does Gen. Otis think we shall have to send out there if another "insurrection" breaks out?

THE CHINESE "BOXERS."

In the face of the sensational news from China, with its terrifying accounts of cruelly murderous assaults upon Christian missionaries, men and women, the feat of listening to the Chinese side of the question is not without its difficulties. One cannot consider with patience, what may seem to be a plea in palliation of wholesale murder, in a strange land by strange people, of men and women of one's own race. Nevertheless there is a Chinese side to this sad affair, and it will harm no one to try at least to see it.

Perhaps that may be most easily done by calmly putting ourselves in imagination for a moment in the place of the Chinamen whose outrages have aroused our indignation and excited our demands for vengeance. No fair-minded person will object to doing this. For these Chinamen are men like ourselves, differing only as their peculiar associations and training, their traditions and their outlook upon the world, have accustomed them to see things from a different point of view from ours.

If we put ourselves in their place, we shall see to begin with that the "boxers" must be something quite unlike what the current newspaper explanations that they compose a secret society of conspirators would imply to the American mind. Though the movement may take on the form of a secret society, because that is either the customary form of popular uprisings in China or is the only one which such an uprising can assume with approximate safety, it is evidently what we of this country would distinguish as a "patriotic" movement.

That it is a popular uprising can hardly be questioned. It is not in human nature that a mere conspiracy should expand to such proportions.

And that it is "patriotic" in character is evident from a consideration of what the stories about it would at once imply if under like circumstances they related to ourselves. A similar movement in this country would probably signalize its exploits with some such cries as "Down with the Irish!" "To hell with England!" "The Chinese must go!" or "Burn the nigger!" according to the kind of foreigner that had excited the patriotic spirit; or "Hurrah for old glory!" if the uprising were against cosmopolitan tendencies. And instead of calling itself "I Ho Chuan" or "Righteous Harmony Fists," and being dubbed "boxers," it would take the name of "Primrose league," or "Sons of Their Fathers," or "Anti-Chinese," or "White Man's Brotherhood," and be nicknamed "sand lotters," or "kuklux," or "know-nothings," or "jingoes." These names would be as cabalastic to the pagan of Asia as "Righteous Harmony Fists" and "boxers" are to American Christians. But the spirit is doubtless the same whatever be the name or the nickname; and it is evidently the spirit which, when it manifests itself among ourselves, we are accustomed to denominate "patriotism."

Let us pursue the comparison.

Suppose the Chinese had come among us as we have gone to China. Suppose their merchants had got a foothold upon our coast. Suppose these merchants, finding the liquor traffic especially profitable because of our passion for drink, but checked by stringent prohibition laws like those of Maine, had called upon the emperor of China to force that traffic upon us from China, in spite of our laws. Suppose that the emperor's interference had brought on a war upon our own soil, in which by some magical superiority in death-dealing machines the Chinese had slaughtered our people in great numbers and forced us to yield to their demands. And suppose that, in the adjustment of terms of peace, we had been compelled not only to pay an immense money indemnity to China, but also to surrender to her the right of occupation and sovereignty over a commanding position upon our coast.

If China had thus outrageously foisted herself upon us, it would have been precisely as England did to her, except that the subject of the quarrel in that case was opium instead of liquor.

But suppose, further, that the Chinese had sent missionaries to this country, and that the missionaries had not only built Joss-houses but had established outlandish schools and barbarian hospitals and had set about converting Christian people and their children to paganism. Beyond this, suppose that the Chinese had introduced methods of Sabbath breaking entirely new and unspeakably offensive to us, and in still other ways had outraged our religious prejudices, superstitions and traditions.

Suppose, moreover, that their policy in dealing with the occidental barbarians had been imitated by the Mongolians, the Manchurians, the Thibetans and the Japanese, all of whom were clamoring and quarreling among themselves for trading rights, and harbor privileges, and spheres of influence, and railroad grants, and landed concessions in our devoted country. And then suppose that Asiatic statesmen and diplomats and gossip mongers were discussing the possibilities and the proprieties of dismembering the United States and dividing its territory among their several nationalities in the interest—not of greed, Joss save the mark!—but of Jossism and the oriental civilization.

Suppose, too, that their popular Asiatic poets were egging on the Asiatics to civilize us according to their standards by singing of that duty as "the yellow man's burden." And suppose, with all the rest, that these strange people were flocking to our shores; were settling in groups apart, making Chinatowns wherever they dropped down; were perpetuating their own customs and institutions—civil, social, political and religious—and threatening ours with extinction; were, in brief, well on the way towards transforming the United States into tributary provinces of Thibet, Japan and the Chinese empire.

What, in those circumstances, would happen in this country?

Need we ask what would happen? Could we doubt what would happen? Do we not know what actually has happened, only in minor degree, upon the bare possibility of even a peaceful Chinese invasion? There would be an uprising in this country

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precisely like that of the "boxers" in China.

In circumstances like those we have imagined, the Joss houses would be torn to the ground and their inmates mobbed. Stories would be afloat which would drive the mobs to frenzy —horrible stories of personal outrages by these dog-eating and rat-eating barbarians. The excitement would spread, gaining strength as it went, and no Chinaman's life would be safe. Even torture at the stake would be within the possibilities, and the government would be in danger for protecting the hated race.

To know the panicky disposition of the American character is to realize the insanely furious hatred of everything human with a yellow face and a pigtail, which such an experience with China as that we have imagined would engender. Very few Americans would have the self-command to rise superior to its influence. Yet whoever does know this, in the light of the history of the white man's unwarranted invasion of China, has the key to the situation in that great empire of the ancient east. The murderous uprising of the "boxers" is doubtless a tremendous popular expression of Chinese hatred of the white-faced foreigner who has disturbed Chinese conservatism and threatens to usurp Chinese authority.

We speak of the white man's invasion of China as unwarranted. To that sentiment it may be objected that the earth is for all, and that China, as part of the earth, is therefore in justice no more the Chinaman's than the white man's.

That the earth is for all we cordially concede. But China in her efforts to exclude foreigners has raised no land question. There is plenty of land, wholly unused, where China's invaders come from. If they believe that the earth is for all, why do they not demand that all have a share in what they now control? why do they allow most of it to be monopolized by individuals and corporations, while in city slums and countryside so many of their own race are landless and dependent?

The question that China raises, so far from being a land question, is a question of association. The Chinese have the same right to shun white men that we have to shun Chinamen. They have the same right to preserve the integrity of their association, of their institutions, of their civilization, that we have to preserve ours. No land question can be thereby raised until our land is so far in use that there is no room at home, and our people must go to China in order to get land, —an emergency that has never yet arisen, and that will not arise for generations and generations to come. It is not for lack of land at home, for land among us is still plentiful though unjustly monopolized, but for power over Chinamen that white men's governments are pushing their sovereignty into China; and this the Chinamen have a right to resist as best they can, upon every recognized principle of patriotism.

There is no intention here of denying the principle, a perfectly sound one, that, broadly speaking, nations must advance together. It is entirely true that no nation nor any civilization can very long remain very far in advance of the others. It is also entirely true that the ideal civilization must be world wide.

It necessarily follows that it is not conducive to the best civilization for China or any other country to wall herself in. If she has a high civilization this will cause it to deteriorate; if a low one, this will hold its growth in check.

But isolation cannot safely be terminated by external force. Though such a policy of force might in the long run culminate in higher general civilization it would do so in spite of itself. It is not the natural way. Voluntary trade is the true civilizer. That will do away with all isolation and lead the world on to a universal and ever advancing civilization, without depriving any individual of even the least of his rights.

But it must be voluntary. To try to make "trade follow the flag," which is only another expression for making it follow the drumbeat and the rifle crack, is to disturb the natural order and outrage natural rights.

And that is what the white man has done in forcing himself into China. He has made himself the aggressor, and become responsible for all the wrong that flows from it.

Whatever may be our feelings regarding the assassinations of white people in China by the furious populace, we must in fairness hold our own race responsible for having provoked the assaults. By a long series of invasive acts, beginning with the British opium war and leading on to the transparent schemes of the powers to dismember the empire for their own glory, with incidental profit to their influential financiers, the white race has goaded the Chinese on to this hideous revolt.

NEWS

The center of the world's interest has shifted, for the first time in nearly nine months, from South Africa to China. This is not because the events now occurring in China are in themselves of greater magnitude than those of the South African war. So far as yet reported they would be of minor concern but for their tremendous political possibilities. Though massacres and forebodings of massacre of Christians by barbarians can never be matter of indifference to Christian nations, it is not these in themselves that give importance to the news from China. It is the fact that in this instance they portend the possibility of a dissolution of the empire of China through the action of foreign powers.

The Chinese complications in their present shape were brought to the attention of the outside world about two weeks ago, and at pages 122 and 135 we noted their beginnings. A secret society known as "boxers" (the Chinese name being "I Ho Chuan," which is translated "Righteous Harmony Fists"), was at first vaguely reported as having instigated a murderous movement against foreigners. On account of this the foreign ministers at Pekin had jointly demanded the suppression of the society by the Chinese government, and all the foreign warships at Taku had landed marines. But the application of the marines for permission to go to Peking to protect their respective legations was denied by the Chinese authorities. The denial, however, was afterwards revoked, in response to an ultimatum

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from the powers; and naval troops of Great Britain, Russia, Italy, France, Japan and the United States were reported to have arrived in small bodies at Pekin. An imperial edict, moreover, had been issued by the Chinese government, which ordered the crushing of the supposed conspiracy; and at the time of our writing last week, news had just come to hand of a battle between the Chinese imperial troops and the "boxers" close to Pekin. That was the situation as reported in this country down to the 6th.

Since then nothing has been heard of the battle near Pekin, though there have been further indefinite reports of fighting between the "boxers" and Chinese troops. Railroad communication between Tientsin, on the Gulf of Pechili, and Pekin, has been cut off; and at latest accounts 1,500 foreign troops having seized the Tientsin-Pekin railroad, were repairing it, and 10,000 more were in readiness to advance to Pekin. The missionaries there, in hourly dread of massacre, had gathered for safety in the Methodist "compound." "Boxers" mobs held the whole foreign population of Pekin terror stricken. Assaults were made on some foreign attaches there, and on the 12th a secretary of the Japanese legation was murdered at a railway station. As most of the news dispatches are hysterical, and none of them are burdened with facts, it is impossible further to summarize the situation with fidelity.

Among the more or less trustworthy news reports from China is one to the effect that the dowager empress, who is the actual though not the nominal sovereign, has shown her sympathy and that of the dominant party—the ultra conservative—with the "boxers," by the friendly tone of the decrees, ostensibly against the "boxers," which she has issued under the pressure of foreign influence. She is charged, also, with discouraging the imperial troops in their operations for the suppression of the uprising. Other news dispatches indicate that Russia is preparing for military occupation with a strong force, the pretext being the destruction of a Russian chapel; while others foreshadow a war between Russia and Japan as the result of such independent action on Russia's part. Still other dispatches declare that the late emperor, the young reformer whose career as a reformer on the throne the dowager empress checked nearly two years ago (See The Public, No. 26, page 7, and No. 27, page 11), and who, after abdicating under pressure early in the present year (See The Public No. 96, page 10), was made a prisoner in the palace, has solicited the powers to replace him upon the throne and to govern China through him, thus making of the empire a European protectorate.

Inasmuch as some of the news dispatches from China describe the "boxers" outbreak as having spread into the southern provinces, it is not at all improbable that the so-called "boxers" uprising is in fact an extension northward to the region of Pekin of the civil war reported over a year ago (See The Public, No. 49, page 8) as prevailing in the provinces of Hoonan, Honan, Nganhoei, Keangsee and Hoope, and as having then established revolutionary authority over an immense territory in that part of the empire.

Though the ragged news from China has displaced the South African war as the principal subject of general interest, that war still holds a place of importance. Our last report left the British in possession of Johannesburg and Pretoria, the Boers having surrendered these cities and removed their capital to Lydenburg, 150 miles east of Pretoria; and it told of Boer operations in the Orange Free State against the right wing of Lord Roberts's army. Their latest reported exploit in this region at that time was the capture of a British regiment—the Irish yeomanry—which occurred on the 31st. After that there was a long silence, broken only by occasional reports of unimportant and uninteresting events, until the 9th, when a body of Boers estimated at 2,000, with six field guns, was reported as having cut the telegraph and wrecked more than 20 miles of railway between Kroonstad and Roodenwal, which is about 30 miles north of Kroonstad. They held this point until the 13th, when a strong British force was reported as having moved southward and after defeating them reopened communications. No particulars were given of the fighting, except that the Boers had been completely routed.

From the Natal border, where Gen. Buller is still in command, it was reported on the 9th that after an action on the 7th at Laing's Nek, in the extreme north of Natal, as a result of which Buller forced his way through the Botha pass into the Orange Free State, the Boers offered to surrender conditionally. But unconditional surrender was demanded, and they managed to withdraw with their guns to a point some 26 miles to the northwest of Buller. This was the situation there at latest reports.

Since that time nothing has been heard from that quarter. But on the Middleburg road, about 15 miles east of Pretoria, a battle was in progress on the 11th and was then undecided. Further particulars had not been received on the 14th when this paragraph was written.

The Boer envoys continue their tour of the United States. After their reception at Chicago, reported last week, two of them—Fischer and Wessels—went to St. Paul, where they were welcomed on the 7th at a large mass meeting at which Gov. Lind was the principal speaker. On their route they were greeted at the railway stations by immense crowds. Mr. Fischer received a popular welcome at Milwaukee on the 7th, from which place he went to Springfield, Ill., where on the 10th he addressed a large gathering. During his stay in Springfield, he placed a floral offering upon the tomb of Lincoln. Mr. Wessels had meantime gone westward, and on the 9th he addressed a mass meeting at Omaha, which had been called to express sympathy with the Boer cause, and at which William J. Bryan also spoke. Among other things Mr. Bryan said:

> I trust that the day will never come when a nation fighting for liberty will look in vain to the American people for sympathy and aid. I do not see how one can do other than choose the cause of the two republics in preference to that of a monarchy. . . . There comes a time when the millions of American people have the privilege of rising and casting their ballots against that administration of government which fails to carry out their wishes, and when those ballots are next counted I believe that they will be an expression of the American people for these people fighting for their independence. . . . We should not be unmindful of our duties to the people of this world struggling for their liberty—we, the greatest nation on earth, founded on liberty. . . . We must keep inspired with that love and reverence for the blessed name of liberty till every American citizen

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goes down on his knees and asks the God of battles to bring victory to the Boers.

While Mr. Fischer and Mr. Wessels were addressing American citizens of English speech in the farther west, Mr. Wolmerans had gone into Michigan, where he addressed American citizens of Dutch speech in their native tongue.

While the Boer envoys were thus appealing to the American people in behalf of Boer independence in South Africa, the American government was continuing its operations against Filipino independence in Asia. That this work is discouraging, however, is shown to some extent by the events of the week. On the 6th it was learned at Manila that the Thirty-third regiment had recently gone through an experience which qualified a majority for the hospital. They had marched 250 miles in the mountains, suffering from hunger and fever, and of 50 horses with which they had begun their march only 13 survived. Nor is that the only discouraging news. Papers have come into the possession of the military authorities at Manila which show that nearly all the mayors installed by Americans in towns within Gen. Young's military district, have been regularly collecting and forwarding taxes for Aguinaldo's government and reporting to Aguinaldo the disposition and movements of American troops. It appears, also, that native telegraphers employed by the American military authorities have been sending to Aguinaldo copies of important telegrams exchanged between American officials. As a slight offset to these discouragements the Americans were able on the 9th to report the capture near Manila of Gen. Pio del Pilar, and on the 12th to announce the bloodless dispersal of a Filipino garrison in the mountains by Gen. Grant and the surrender at other points of two guerrilla leaders. But the glory of these captures was dimmed by an Associated Press report of the 13th from Manila, which disturbs the theory that only the "Tagalog tribes" are unfriendly to the Americans, and that but for them the archipelago would be pacified. Says this report:

The theory that the Filipinos outside of the Tagalog provinces were friendly to American rule has been deeply shaken by recent events. All of the northeastern coast beyond Dagupan is in a state of war and there are frequent fights with heavy losses to the Filipinos. All of the southern provinces inhabited by the Visayans are also turbulent, and in the Camarines, Neuva Carceres and Albay provinces the Americans control only the ground within the picket lines of the garrisons in the coast towns, while these garrisons are the objects of frequent attacks from large insurgent forces. With the exception of Negros, which, being the wealthiest island of the Philippines, is the most friendly to American rule, the Visayan islands show similar conditions. Panay is overrun by the insurgents outside of the American garrisons.

No engagements are distinctively reported, but under the head of casualties in "scouting" the fact is disclosed that both sides continue to suffer losses in both killed and wounded.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of all current official reports given out in detail at Washington to May 30, 1900, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900, (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported since May 16, 1900.	11
Deaths from wounds, disease and accidents reported since May 16, 1900	69
Total deaths since July 1, 1898	1,927
Wounded	2,152
Total casualties since July, 1898	4,079
Total casualties reported last week	4,025
Total deaths reported last week	1,896

In this imperial play of making war to force civilization upon distant countries, France also appears to be preparing to give the world the benefit of a sensational performance. The object of her intentions is Morocco, and her motive will be apparent upon a glance at the map of North Africa. The fortress of Gibraltar, as is well known, enables the British to command the Straits of Gibraltar and thereby the mouth of the Mediterranean sea. If the French could acquire the same right of fortification at Ceuta, on the African shore, they might share with Great Britain this power of control; but to that Great Britain would never consent, and France is not disposed to contest the matter. The French, therefore, look with hope toward opening an overland route, under their own control, from some point on the Atlantic coast of Africa into Algeria, which is already a dependency of France. By that means France would secure a gateway from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean which would not be commanded by British guns. The most available overland route for their purpose is through southern Morocco, from Cape Ghir on the Atlantic, to Fighig on the Algerian border. It is not clear from the news dispatches what France is doing to secure this route, but Morocco, which is an absolute despotism under a sultan, is preparing to resist a military attack. She is mobilizing troops at Fighig in readiness to meet the French advanced posts just across the border in Algeria in the event of a hostile movement on their part. Additional importance is given these warlike preparations by rumors in London that Great Britain proposes to check the French by crossing over into Morocco at Tangier to restore order in the sultan's dominions, upon the plan adopted for the pacification of Egypt.

Farther south in Africa another war is in progress. It is in Ashanti on the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea, the participants being the natives and the British. Ashanti is a British crown colony, of which Frederic M. Hodgson is the governor. We noted five weeks ago, at page 71, that the native Ashantis had risen in great force and were besieging Coomassie, the colony capital; and a week later, at page 93, that their rebellion was growing more serious, and appeared to have for its object the termination of British rule. After that no news reached this country until the present week; and what comes now gives but little information. Almost all that can be gathered from it is that Coomassie is too closely invested by the natives for runners to get through, and that the British relief expedition, under Col. Willcocks, is meeting with determined opposition in its advance. A severe though apparently unfruitful battle was fought between the 6th and 9th in which there were 100 British casualties. Another had been fought in May; but though the British won it, they were obliged to withdraw, which they did after burning a native village in the sight of its inhabitants. Fifty thousand natives are reported as in arms; and it is said to be impossible for white men to go into the interior.

Back from the dark continent to America, and still there is news of war. A dispatch of the 6th tells of three fierce battles in Colombia,

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South America, in which the government forces defeated the revolutionists. These battles were fought in the civil war which has been in progress in Colombia for more than a year. The revolutionists are in revolt against the party in power for its corruption, and have heretofore met with considerable success, though reports of their defeat have not been infrequent. Carthagena, the most important Colombian harbor, was in their hands in April. Late reports are to the effect that it had been recapturedbut these were contradicted. Baranquilla also has been reported as being practically in the possession of the revolutionists. The country is flooded with paper money on which the premium in gold is 1600 per cent. At one time recently the government and the revolutionary forces were opposing each other on the Venezuelan frontier, and the revolutionists were being aided by Venezuelans. In the inevitable battle which ensued, which lasted 70 hours and in which the slaughter was described in the news dispatches as "horrible butchery,"the revolutionists were defeated and the government troops took 1,200 prisoners.

The aid rendered the Colombian revolutionists by Venezuelans may be explained by the fact that the relations between Venezuela and Colombia have for some time been so strained that Colombia would doubtless have assumed a threatening attitude but for the revolution at home. Her grievance against Venezuela relates to the control which Venezuela exercises over the Orinoco river. The Venezuelan government has persistently refused to open the Orinoco to the navigation and shipping of the world above a point about 600 miles from its mouth. This shuts Colombian shipping off from an outlet to the sea in the east. The river Meta, one of the main affluentsof the Orinoco, is almost wholly within the boundaries of Colombia, and if boats descending it were allowed to navigate the Orinoco there would be a water route from the tide water to a point within three days' mule ride of the Colombian capital, a short link which it is proposed to connect by railway.

Venezuela herself does not appear to have emerged from the civil war in which she became involved last September, although that was supposed to have ended in the triumph of Gen. Castro over President Andrade, in November, as reported in No 85 of the Public, at page 8. But the war went on with a change of contestants. Castro, who had been a partisan of Hernandez, took advantage of the victory to make himself instead of Hernandez the president de facto, and Hernandez at once became his revolutionary adversary. In this shape the war has continued through the winter and spring, and at last reports was still going on.

Coming farther north we find Mexico still at war with the Yaquí Indians. In a battle reported as having occurred last week 12 Yaquis and 15 Mexican soldiers were killed. The Yaquis maintain their position in the mountains unmolested. It is only when they come down into the valley that battles occur. Previous reports of this war, which began last summer, were given in these columns in Nos. 71-8; 72-10; 73-10; 78-10; 94-10; 102-9.

This continuous narrative of warfare suffers no break when we turn to the news of the St. Louis strike, for that has become in a way a little civil war. It is to be observed, however, that the newspaper reports of the rioting in St. Louis are highly colored and to a great degree unworthy of belief. At the time of last week's report the sheriff had sworn in a posse comatus of 1,200 men. He has since increased the number. This posse figures in the important event of the week, which was a riot on the 10th in which several persons were killed. Most of the fatal shooting was by "Company F" of the posse. A thousand strikers returning from a picnic marched past the barracks of the posse at Washington and Sixth streets, and as they neared the place a brick was thrown through a street car. Some members of the posse rushed into the crowd and seized a striking motorman as the person who had thrown the brick. A struggle then began between the posse and the strikers for the possession of the motorman, and in the heat of it one of the posse shot the motorman's brother dead. This incensed the strikers, according to the police story, and they assaulted the posse with renewed vigor. They are charged with having used pistols. If they did, the pistols were harmless, for none of the posse was hit. The strikers were not so fortunate. They were made the target for a rifle volley by the posse and several of them were shot. Some were killed. Smaller riots had occured during the same day and also during the latter part of the preceding week, but all were quickly suppressed. Gov. Stephens has been urged to call out the militia. Thus far he refuses on the ground that the civil authorities are competent to put down the rioting. There has been very little since the 10th.

An ordinance vetoing the street car franchises which passed the lower house of the municipal assembly of St. Louis last week, was defeated on the 12th in the upper house by a vote of 7 to 5.

In American politics the principal event of the week is a call, issued on the 7th, by the national executive committee of the gold democrats (known in 1896 as the "Palmer-Buckner party") for a meeting of the national committee at Indianapolis, July 25. The object of the proposed meeting is to determine, after the regular democrats and the republicans shall have made their nominations, whether to put a third ticket in the field for the accommodation of anti-Bryan democrats.

The democratic state conventions of Connecticut, Wisconsin and Ohio have indorsed Bryan as the democratic candidate for president.

NEWS NOTES.

—Belle Boyd, the once famous confederate spy, died suddenly from heart disease at Kilbourne, Wis., on the 11th. She was 57 years old.

—English commercial travelers have inaugurated a movement for the nationalization or government ownership of the railways of Great Britain.

—To succeed Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews as superintendent of Chicago schools, the Chicago school trustees on the 13th unanimously elected Edwin G. Cooley.

—Dr. Henry Wade Rogers formally resigned the presidency of Northwestern university on the 12th. The resignation, which takes effect July 15th, was accepted by the board of trustees without dissent.

—The governor of Indiana has refused to honor the requisition of Gov. Beckham, of Kentucky, for the extradition of ex-Gov. Taylor, of Kentucky, upon an indictment charging him with complicity in the murder of Goebel.

—Wheat for delivery in July on the Chicago board of trade advanced eight

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cents during the past week, reaching 74¾ cents per bushel on the 13th. Dealers attribute the rise to an expected shortage of the crop, particularly in the northwest.

—At the world's temperance congress which opened its sessions in London on the 11th, Thomas W. Russell, M. P., presided and the archbishop of Canterbury addressed the meeting. More than 100 American delegates were in attendance.

—For the 11 months ending May 31 the United States treasury report of receipts and expenditures is as follows:

Receipts	$517,553,115 94
Expenditures	454,218,498 57
Surplus	$63,334,617 37

—The official report of the cash in the United States treasury for May is as follows:

Gold Reserve	$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance	145,783,529 80
Total cash balance	$295,783,529 80
On hand June 30	281,380,468 73
Increase since June 30	$14,403,061 07

—The convention of Federated Women's clubs brought its session to a close at Milwaukee on the 8th. The convention left the question of the color line undecided and defeated the scheme for a general reorganization. Mrs. Rebecca Lowe, of Georgia, was reelected president.

—The court of claims on the 12th awarded to Admiral W. T. Sampson the contested prize money for the battle of Santiago, thus sustaining his contention that he was officially present at the battle. Sampson's prize money award is $8,335. Admiral Schley receives $3,168.

—An immense mass meeting of women was held in London on the 13th to protest against destroying the independence of the two South African republics. Resolutions to that effect were adopted, and speeches were made by Mrs. Leonard Courtney, Mrs. James Bryce and Miss Eleen Robinson.

—Railway lines comprising the Southwestern Passenger association have aroused the indignation of democrats by an apparent discrimination in rates in favor of the republican national convention, the rate to Philadelphia being a single fare for the round trip while the Kansas City rate is one fare plus two dollars.

—"Freedom of Teaching in American Colleges" will be the subject of an address before the Single Tax club at Handel hall, 40 Randolph street, on the 15th at eight o'clock, by Thomas Elmer Will. Mr. Will was recently president of the Kansas State Agricultural college, whose experience enables him to reveal some startling facts relative to the subjugation of universities by men of wealth.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, and closes with the last issue of that publication at hand upon going to press.

June 4-7, 1900.

Senate.

On the 4th Morgan reported a resolution from the committee on interoceanic canals which declared the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 to be abrogated. The resolution, which is printed on page 7014, was not considered. Teller spoke in opposition to the Philippine war and government bill, and was followed by Pettigrew, who also opposed the bill. Conferees were then appointed for the sundry civil appropriation bill. The nomination of Brig. Gen. E. S. Otis, U. S. A., to be major general, vice Merritt, retired, was received on this day. The anti-trust bill was under consideration on the 5th and was the cause of a bitter partisan debate. After the conference report on the Alaska civil code bill had been adopted Scott spoke in favor of the Philippine bill. The consideration of the conference report of the naval appropriation bill was begun on the 6th and the Penrose armor plate amendment, which is printed on page 7327, and which authorizes the secretary of the navy to contract for armor plate at a reasonable price, or if unable to do so to begin the construction of an armor plate plant, was adopted after vigorous opposition by a vote of 39 to 35. Conferees were then appointed for a second conference on the naval bill, and the military academy appropriation bill was passed. The final conference report on the naval bill was adopted on the 7th, and after a few private bills had been disposed of, Frye, as president of the senate, announced, in accordance with a previous resolution, that the senate stood adjourned sine die.

House.

On the 4th the conference report on the sundry civil bill was disagreed to and conferees were appointed. The military academy appropriation bill was passed on the 5th, and the conference report on the Alaska civil code bill adopted. Conferees were appointed for the general deficiency appropriation bill, which was finally passed on the 6th; on which day also the sundry civil appropriation bill was passed. The conference report on the naval appropriation bill was also under consideration, but no agreement was reached until the 7th, when, after a heated debate, the bill was finally passed. At five o'clock on this day the speaker, in accordance with a previous resolution, announced the close of the session, and the house adjourned sine die.

MISCELLANY

A BURGHER'S VENGEANCE.

For The Public.

"The mines are there, and dynamite's at hand,"
Thus England sneers. "No Boer can e'er withstand
Such sweet revenge. Johannesburg's a wreck
Before their gray commanders northward trek."
More subtle a revenge the burghers sow—
How little gold brought England's pride so low!
They leave the rest untouched, new pangs to impart
To that raw, hideous cancer at her heart.

WALLACE RICE.

THE LARGER BROTHERHOOD.

I cannot forget that we are men by a more sacred bond than we are citizens—that we are children of a common Father more than we are Americans. . . . Thus do the multitudinous tribes of the globe stand forth as members of one vast human family, where strife is treason to heaven, and all war is nothing else than civil war. In vain restrict this odious term to the dissensions of a single community. It belongs also to feuds between nations.—"The True Grandeur of Nations," by Charles Sumner.

AVERAGE IS A STUFFED PROPHET.

In our national kitchen at Washington is a man holding a job by compiling statistics and making averages which prove that things as they are are things as the should be. We don't want to be personal, so we will hide his identity under the name of the wrong Mr. Wright. Whenever we hear of him we are reminded of the traveler who came to a stream he desired to cross, but not knowing its depth he first asked a wise man. The wise man informed him that the average depth of the water was three feet, whereupon the traveler started to wade across and was drowned.—Justice, of Wilmington, Del.

IN LEAGUE WITH A DESTRUCTIVE PROVIDENCE.

A novel lawsuit has been brought in the Monroe county (Pa.) court. Rev. E. E. Dixon prayed that disaster might overtake a new brewery which has just been erected, and by a curious coincidence, the building was soon after struck by lightning. The following Sunday the minister boasted from the pulpit that the brewery had been struck in answer to his prayer. Thereupon the brewing company brought suit against him for damages. If the preacher denies that his prayers brought the lightning he will have to admit that his boast of the efficacy of prayer was untrue; if he still maintains that his prayers brought the lightning then he will have to admit a share of responsibility for the damages.—Justice, of Wilmington, Del.

AN ENGLISH EXPERIMENT IN CITIES.

It is pleasant to turn from the "arrogant" theme of the war to the peaceful and idyllic project of the Gar-

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den City association. The idea is to construct a model town in fresh air and amid the healthful influences of country life. A site is to be obtained which possesses simply agricultural value, all future "unearned increment" being secured to the inhabitants of the town by an appropriate trust deed. The highest possible standard of commercial, social and sanitary efficiency is to be realized. It is calculated that for a sum considerably less than the London county council is spending in providing sites for "model dwellings" for persons displaced by the Strand improvements a site of 6,000 acres could be purchased, 1,000 of which would form the space for a town of 32,000 inhabitants, including open spaces, municipal buildings, library, schools, churches, baths, etc., as well as dwelling houses, warehouses and factories. The homes so provided would be no mere fractions of a huge skyscraping city barrack, but real homes, with gardens, "and bright vistas of stream and meadow and wood around." The general object is to attract population from overcrowded and unhealthy centers to new scenes which combine at once the healthy delights of country life and the social attractions of the town. Such an experiment would not only be beneficent in itself, but would form an interesting and instructive object lesson which could scarcely fail to give an impulse to social development on the best lines. The association appeals for funds to meet the expenses of offices, secretaries and the preliminary work of organization. Full information can be obtained from Mr. E. Howard, 11 New court, Carey street, W. C.—London Daily News of March 1.

NEW ZEALAND.

For The Public.

New Zealand is but a small colony in the Pacific ocean, and till lately little known to the outside world. In political economy it is, however, an object lesson to some of the larger communities.

The study of economic questions so ably expounded by the late Henry George (sneeringly called the Prophet of San Francisco by the great landlord Duke of Argyle) has made a deep impression on the minds of New Zealanders, and they have put the theory into practice, though only in a small way. The present government is strongly imbued with socialism, or at any rate is in sympathy with it. The labor laws which they have inaugurated are somewhat of a drastic character, and are reckoned in advance of the times, but are certainly favorable to the workers. Under the present laws there cannot be either strikes or lockouts, such as have had such disastrous consequences, both in England and America.

The labor party here seems to occupy about the same position in the industrial world as the capitalist employers in America, that is, they are the power behind the throne. So things may be said to be reversed here from what they are in the states.

If the tax on unimproved land value were increased up to the fullest extent, without exemptions, and the unimproved land rating act were compulsory throughout the colony, instead of being optional with local county councils—and as a consequence customs duties abolished proportionally, New Zealand would indeed be the workman's paradise it is now reckoned to be by some.

At the last general elections Auckland (probably the most advanced city in New Zealand) elected the president of the Single Tax league, George Fowlds, Esq., as one of the three representatives for the city. This was a great victory for the unimproved land value tax, and will undoubtedly help the cause. There are other members of the house of representatives who are almost as advanced as Mr. Fowlds.

The premier, the Rt. Hon. R. Seddon, is one of the most advanced social reformers, and quite prepared to initiate much more up-to-date legislation as the people are prepared for it. One of the most far-reaching and philanthropic measures he has succeeded in passing is the old age pension act, which gives to every adult over 65 years of age a pension of £18, or over $70 a year, that is if he has resided in the colony 25 years—subject, however, to his income from any source being less than £1 a week. This measure met with great opposition from nearly all land owners. It turns out, however, to be one of the most popular pieces of legislation ever enacted.

To show that such measures have not injured or hindered the prosperity of the colony, the premier has just announced a surplus balance of over £600,000 for the last year.

J. P. PHONERLE.

Auckland, N. Z., May 14, 1900.

He that commits a fault abroad is a trespasser at home, and he that injures a neighbor hurts himself.—Marcus Aurelius.

AN ENGLISH ANALYSIS OF THE MUNICIPAL PROBLEM.

Services which may be performed by local authorities for the inhabitants of the locality fall into two classes—onerous and remunerative. Making and repairing streets, sewers and the like belong to the first class; and very few people suggest that these duties ought to be handed over to voluntary effort. It is in regard to remunerative services that the contest between the relative advantages of municipal and individual action rages. Even here the popular mind has grasped some sort of a rough distinction. It would be thought very absurd and impracticable for a municipality to turn grocer; but water and gas are considered (outside London) as very proper articles to be produced and distributed by the representatives of the ratepayers. Profit, then, is no criterion; the fact that water and gas companies may pay very good dividends does not make the municipalisation of gas and water wrong or undesirable. The difference between a water undertaking and an ordinary industry is the difference between a natural monopoly and competitive enterprise. We say a natural monopoly advisedly; for there are plenty of monopolies artificially created in this country, and still more in the United States, which do not come into the category of gas, water or tramways. Combinations of dyers, wool combers or spinners of cotton thread are only partial and only temporary. They are always exposed to foreign competition and to the possibility of domestic competition. In these cases competition, or, at least, the possibility of competition, protects the consumer in some degree; and, moreover, if the consumer's interests were seriously threatened, it would be a matter for parliament and not for a local council. Railways are in many cases a complete monopoly. Consequently, railways have been nationalized in some countries and in others submitted to central administrative control.

It would seem, then, that those who see in municipal problems a conflict between individualism and socialism, between the laissez-faire and the collectivist theories of industry are mistaken. The founders of the Manchester school would have welcomed the interference of the municipal council in all cases where the ratepayers are exploited by a company owning a natural local monopoly. It is a cardinal principle of free trade that artificial monopolies and protectionist barriers should be broken down. But the

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free trader does not fight against nature and economic law. He recognizes that two sets of tram lines owned by two different companies cannot run down a single street. He sees that in such a case competition is practically impossible, and the best substitute is municipal control or municipal ownership. It is plain that the people of the locality ought to prescribe the conditions under which a local monopoly shall be exercised.—London Speaker of April 21.

SOME CHEMICAL TRUSTS.

Although we now manufacture and supply our own market with hundreds of articles which formerly were imported, and although we obtain no revenue from the duties on these articles, yet it is a mistake to conclude, as many have done, that duties on such articles are dead letters and are not effective. It is these non-revenue producing duties that are most effective in protecting trusts.

Thus the duties on drugs and chemicals, with few exceptions, produce little or no revenue, yet protect hundreds of trusts. Chemical manufacturers and chemical dealers take to trusts as ducks take to water. Combinations, associations, agreements and understandings are common throughout the entire trade. Manufacturers in similar lines sell by the same schedule of prices; jobbers practically do the same; retail dealers have uniform prices. Druggists in most cities, villages or counties have their associations which fix prices on most of the important articles dealt in. Free and open competition, if it ever existed, is a thing of the past in almost every branch of the chemical trade. Chemicals being mainly raw materials or medicine, protective duties upon them are almost certain to become "instruments of extortion."

Some of the "heavy" chemicals which are controlled by substantial trusts are borax, linseed oil and white lead. Some others controlled by agreements, selling agencies, etc., are paris green, ultramarine blue, bromine, etc. Nearly everything in the acid line is under control. Thus acetic acid (wood alcohol) is controlled by a monopoly, Manhattan Spirits company, which sells in this country at nearly double cost price—present price is 90 cents per gallon for what is estimated to cost less than 50 cents—and exports its surplus sometimes at prices but little above cost.

In "fine" chemicals there are numerous trusts composed of cliques of manufacturers, which, by means of some form of agreement or understanding, control production and prices of scores of articles. Thus, four of our largest manufacturers of chemicals, two in Philadelphia, one in St. Louis and one in New York, each manufactures about 350 articles. Each firm has its own catalogue, but they might as well sell from one catalogue, for their prices are uniform.

Some of the articles manufactured by these firms are iodoform, citric acid, bismuth salts, mercurials—such as calomel, corrosive sublimate, etc.—chloroform, resublimated iodine and iodide of potassium, bichloride of potash, bichromate of soda, santonine, strychnine, rochelle salts, etc.

The duties on all of the above and on hundreds of similar articles are prohibitive and serve no purpose except to protect the trusts formed to take advantage of these duties. As usual, the members of these protected trusts are very wealthy and much of their great wealth has been filched out of the pockets of the people by means of these worse than useless tariff duties. According to the New York Tribune Almanac (See American Millionaires), William Weightman, of Powers & Weightman, one of the four firms mentioned above, is "considered by many the richest man in Philadelphia."

Many chemicals are exported, and often at prices considerably below our home prices. But for our inordinate duty and internal revenue tax of 700 or 800 per cent. on alcohol—the most necessary and costly supply in chemicals—our chemical industry would probably lead the world.—Byron W. Holt.

AN ACADEMIC QUESTION.

"The question as to whether we shall keep the Philippine islands is now purely an academic one."—Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter.

What is an academic question? One on which the professors and students of an academy or college may exercise their speculative faculties, but which has no other interest for mankind. One which is purely speculative, having no bearing upon practical duties, opportunities or affairs. How many angels can dance on the point of a cambric needle? Was St. Paul's thorn in the flesh sore eyes or epilepsy? Is there a general goose in addition to all individual geese? Such questions were earnestly and even violently discussed by the schoolmen of the middle ages, but are now regarded as purely academic.

Does the Philippine question belong to any such list? Not unless the perpetration of any and every great wrong must be accepted by the people in servile submission, and the perpetrators thereof be permitted to proceed to the perpetration of other and still greater wrongs.

The other night a thief stole his neighbor's watch. Being apprehended the next day, he said: "It is true that in general I do not believe in stealing; but this watch is now mine, and the matter is practically settled. The question as to whether I shall keep the watch or not is now purely an academic one."

Some months ago a band of robbers kidnaped a man's child. The child is still alive, and its whereabouts known. Is its restoration a purely academic question, simply because the kidnaping is an accomplished fact?

The Missouri compromise was adopted in order to "settle" the slavery question. Was the discussion of slavery after the adoption of the compromise a purely academic one?

The Philippine war is costing a hundred American lives a month. It is also costing the American people in taxes at least $100,000,000 a year. Is this purely an academic question?

If we keep the Philippine islands either as colonies or as territories, it means that we must have an immense navy and standing army. Is this an academic question?

"Practically the matter is settled," we are told. Yet the people of the United States have never yet passed upon the question at the polls, and will not have an opportunity to do so until next November. Is this an academic question?

Almost 1900 years have passed since Jesus Christ proclaimed "a Constitution for the Kingdom of God," as Hase calls the sermon on the mount. That Constitution has been set aside or violated by human folly and wickedness for nearly 19 centuries. Is the matter of its application an academic question?

For our part, we are still old-fashioned enough to believe in the constitution of the United States, the declaration of independence and the sermon on the mount. We do not believe that the golden rule is played out. We think that divine injunction contains more wisdom, both for men and for nations, than all the so-called practical policies of shrewd selfishness or grasping greed. We are not yet ready to set aside the golden rule and adopt in its stead David Harum's revised version: "Do others as they would do you, and do it fust." We

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do not believe that anything pertaining to human affairs is ever settled until it is settled right. We are certain that any question involving, as the Philippine question does, not only the rights and liberties of 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 Filipinos, but also the government and welfare of 70,000,000 or 80,000,000 Americans, is not an academic question, but a profoundly practical one. To learn this, we do not need to go to Manila for six days. —The People's Paper, of Minneapolis, Minn.

PROFESSOR HERRON IN PALESTINE.

Extracts from a private letter, dated Jerusalem, April 30, 1900.

I have had a week of expeditions in the parts of Judea near Jerusalem, and to-night ends our stay in hotels. To-morrow morning we start on our camping pilgrimage. Three days of this week have been taken up with a trip to the Jordan and the Dead sea. We left here Tuesday morning and went down through the mountains to Jericho. It is a big descent —4,000 feet in 18 miles. The ride was very beautiful, and very wild in some of its effects. We stopped at Bethany, just beyond Jerusalem, to see what remains of the old mines, and lunched at noon at "Good Samaritan inn." In the afternoon we reached the mountain ridge overlooking the brook Cherith, where Elijah hid himself from King Ahab when he joined himself to principle at war with power. Here, too, the young men who were to be prophets gathered about him, and here he thought and reflected; here he aspired and came to his conclusions. In this gorge was really the historic beginning of all the prophecy that has come since — the standing forth of individuals and groups against world powers. It wasn't in the programme to go down there, but I could not possibly pass by such a place, appealing to me so sympathetically, so I walked down into the valley and went on to Jericho late in the evening, some of the party going on ahead, and some going with me. There is nothing in Switzerland so uniquely beautiful. Among high and barren rocks, white with the sun shining on their barrenness, this deep gorge or valley of Cherith meets one as a surprise. Its beauty is all hidden from sight, because it is so deep down and inaccessible. Through the gorge flows a beautiful mountain stream of crystal water, and on its banks grow everything luxuriant in beauty. Away down, in the historical cave of Elijah, who was fed by the Arabs and not the ravens, the Greek monks have built a beautiful and picturesque monastery—dug out of the rocks and built upon them in bird-like perch, and in almost impossible ways. The monks have most beautiful little gardens down there, of figs, olives, dates, pomegranates, and all kinds of fruits and trees and flowers. They raise their wheat on little mountain terraces, and have their own mill, turned by the water. They greeted us kindly, and brought coffee and fruit to us all as we rested for an hour on the monastery balcony. Then we started on to walk back up the mountain. If one wants to hide from the world, there could not be a more ideal place. We got to Jericho that night, and without falling among thieves.

The next day we went to the Dead sea and the ford of the Jordan and Gilgal, starting at 5:30 in the morning, having risen at 4:30, and getting back for noon lunch and rest from the heat. The most impressive sight at the Jordan was the presence of hundreds of Russian pilgrims, sent on their long pilgrimage from Russia by their priests. They were so imposed upon and robbed by the church, and yet so simple and devout. They were bathing in the Jordan as a sacramental act, and dipping their image-covered shrouds in the water to take home to be buried in when they should die.

In the afternoon, about three o'clock we started on another pilgrimage to some old historic sites. I climbed to the top of the traditional Mount of Temptation, where Jesus is said to have decided against the kingdoms of the world and their glory. I rode my donkey part way up the mountain. There is a picturesque monastery up there, too, and the monks were very kind—ten of them in all; one of them spoke very good English. He had been in Chicago, with some Greek emigrants, years ago.

I climbed up above the monastery and sat on a rock. I shall never forget the hour. Nothing in Switzerland compares with the view. Away off, two or three days' journey in distance, across the Jordan, I could see the dim summits of Mounts Nebo and Pisgah. Below me was the whole plain of Jericho, where I was looking down on more than a hundred generations of history and conflict, and defeat and achievement. Here Abraham and Moses, Joshua and David, Jesus and the apostles, the crusaders and Arabic chieftains had struggled, in one way or another. There is no plain in the world where one can survey so much of human hope and failure. It is the most fertile plain, capable of supporting boundless life, and of being made a paradise. Yet it is now barren, too desolate to be even a wilderness, inhabited chiefly by Bedouin tribes in their tents. And this is the porch of the land of promise, so I keep thinking. So many promises have been made on this plain. From Moses to Jesus, from Jesus to the crusaders, great forces and ideals have battled here. Is there to be no land of fulfillment, as well as of promise? Is mankind forever to struggle for what is never to be attained? Are not great ideals ever to be realized? Is history to be the perpetual martyrdom and perfidy of humanity? Yet, while I asked these questions, a long file of Russian pilgrims came by me, singing in deep rich undertones and minors, a fervent hymn of victory. The Son of Man, they felt, in a poor, crude way, had won—won for them—the victory of faith and life over power and compromise— the victory of love and sacrifice over fear and force, and above all, over self and selfish hopes and happiness. So I, too, knew that somewhere at the heart of things the victory of the sons of men was already won, and the land of fulfillment is sure. It was a beautiful ride, back down the mountains, to Jericho that night. The lights were shining from the Arab tents over the plain, and the Arab soldier was full of merry interest. The next day we came to Jerusalem, and completed our seeing here. Saturday we hired our horses for the going ahead, and went down the valley of Raphaim, to the mountain where the Jews fought their last battle as a people, and became extinct as a nation. That was a hundred and thirty years after Christ, when the Romans completed the massacre of the Jewish nation, which was led by Bar Cochaba.

My horse is a beautiful Arab steed, a pure Bedouin. I am thinking I shall have to buy his trappings and bring them home.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated land owes to the community a ground rent (for I know of no better term to express the idea) for the land which he holds.—"Agrarian Justice," by Thomas Paine.

The narrow-minded ask: Is this one of our tribe, or is he a stranger? But to those who are of noble disposition the whole world is but one family.—Hindu Scriptures.

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TAXATION OF GROUND VALUES IN ENGLAND.

From a speech of Mr. Billson, M. P., at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham, as condensed by the Liverpool Financial Reformer, the subject under discussion being a resolution urging the just taxation of ground values and mining royalties, the extension of the system of small holdings on the lines already adopted in the case of allotments, and compensation to town and country tenants for permanent improvements made during their tenancy and for disturbance. The resolution further declared the urgent necessity of taking adequate measures for the proper housing of the working classes in town and country alike, to secure which legislation was imperative on far more comprehensive lines than those of the government bill now before parliament.

I would remind you, as showing the value of these meetings, that that conference boldly declared for this reform before there had been any widespread examination into its details. It has been of the greatest service in encouraging those of us who have been engaged in disseminating this doctrine, and who, but for it, would have seemed a voice crying in the wilderness. You are the witnesses how much it has grown upon the imagination of our supporters, and of the public. It meets with a very general acceptance. Municipal and other local bodies have taken it up. The Association of Municipal Corporations has passed a resolution in its favor, and this session three or four bills are before parliament to carry it out. The constantly growing burden of taxation increases the call for it. Private bills, we know, are not likely to lead to practical legislation, but what we wish by all the resources of propagandism at our command is so to influence the radical party that when we once more return a radical chancellor of the exchequer, we may rely upon his making it his business to secure for us this great and beneficial reform. And in these days, when some matters of pressing public interest do not lend themselves to party agitation —or at least do not receive a united support, being indeed questions appealing rather to personal temperament than to party allegiance—in such times it is all the more important to keep clearly before us those matters affecting the social welfare, on which we are all united, and, I believe, passionately eager.

There are two points in the matter which I would briefly urge:

1. The argument to show that ground values are a peculiarly suitable subject for taxation.

2. The widespread social advantages that may be expected from the pressure of such taxation.

1. I hold that this would be an ideal tax. It is not an impost in hindrance of trade. It will restrict no industry. The tendency of all other taxation is to injure the free use of the commodity on which it is placed. Tax tea and the tendency is for less tea to be consumed, and therefore less imported or grown. Tax machinery, and less machinery is made. Tax imports or exports, and there will be fewer imports and exports. Tax articles of luxury in carriages, and you burden the carriage industry. But land cannot be lessened.

I suppose no form of taxation can be less objectionable than the tax on a monopoly. Here is a monopoly, a privilege conferred by the state on private owners. And what the owner pays is not a burden on its use, but a return for the benefit the state has conferred on him. All other taxes fall on the using, and to that extent injure the using. Here the tax is on the unprofitable holding, not the profitable using, and its effect is to encourage the most profitable employment, instead of the thriftless unuse.

It gives the maximum of certainty. The ground is there, and cannot be hidden. It gives economy of collection. It is an ideal war tax, for it is direct, and a man who supports extravagant foreign policy will know what it costs him, instead of having it huddled up with the tea he drinks or the tobacco he smokes. It is in accordance with traditional liability. All grants of land were originally for service rendered. The defense of the state was the primary burden.

I have said it is a return for the benefit the community has conferred. We see this clearly enough in local expenditure, when all the years of payment by occupiers has but redounded to the aggrandizement of the landowner. But it is just as real from a national point of view, for the peace, the safety, and the good government of a state are the conditions of the land having any value at all. Land value is the natural measure of the benefit derived from expenditure, whether national or local, and so land value should be the natural measure for the levy of taxes or of rates.

You speak of a shop in a busy thoroughfare increasing in value. It commands more rent. But the structure is of the same value whether the land is worth £1 a yard or £50 a yard, for if the shop is burned down the cost of repairing it is the same in either case. It is the land it stands on, and that alone, to which the exertions of the surrounding community have given a special value.

2. The second point, the beneficial social results of such a form of taxation is, I am sure, patent to you all. Our towns are fenced in as by a ring of iron; our workers are crowded into unwholesome squalid streets and lanes, because the landowner in the suburbs is waiting for his price. You cannot compel him to sell—unless, indeed, a gas or water company, or a railway company need his land, and then they obtain compulsory powers, and buy at a compulsory price. We do not want to resort to that expensive machinery. We want something which will apply a gentle stimulus.

I find a curious analogy here with the conditions which seem to prevail in the gold fields. There the need is for native labor. But the natives can live without labor, or with very little labor, and, unreasonable beings that they are, do not see that they should work harder than they want to work, merely to make foreign capitalists a good deal richer. So these foreign capitalists descant on the good that would be done to the natives themselves if they were obliged to work, and so recommend that enough taxation should be imposed upon them to make it necessary for them to work a little harder. Well, that's just the sort of friendly pressure we want to bring to bear on the landowners. Just enough to make it necessary for them in order to pay the tax to bring their land in for the public use, and not leave it lying idle. And surely that is a much more justifiable application of compulsion!

I believe we are not too sanguine when we look forward with hope that the application of this principle in building land, in allotments, in small holdings, in the keeping of people on the soil of the country, instead of them crowding the towns to congest the labor market, would do much to solve the most pressing of our social problems.

But the pressing question for us all is how shall we best make progress? The first step is to establish a separate assessment. Do not believe in the assertions of impossibility with which we are inundated. Even now vacant land is valued for estate duty. All leasehold vacant land has been valued for 50 years. And occupied land is worth just the structure and the site, with the structure subtracted—and a structure is easily valued. I believe the easiest way to secure the adoption of this principle is to take the present system and extend it. Urge that un-

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occupied land shall be included for rates, and that it shall pay on its fair value for property tax. Here we have at once the adhesion of the municipalities, and a simple bill of three or four clauses—if only we could get it to a second reading—would secure large support from the other side. So urge your members to ballot for such a bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer suggested, when last week I took advantage of the finance bill to urge that this principle should be applied to property tax, that if land were rated it would be for local purposes. Let us then try this. I need not tell you how strong the case is. In Halifax I hear that the inclusion of unoccupied land would ease the rates by 1s. 6d. in the pound sterling. We have to satisfy the small landowner that his rate will not be raised. They will, in all cases when the land is fully occupied, be reduced. It is idle land, or land not occupied, according to its best use, that will pay.

Consider the anomaly of the present situation: if a man leaves his land idle, he is allowed to keep it all to himself. If he builds, the community comes down on him for one-third of its value, and not only of its value, but of the value of the building he puts on it. Thus industry is taxed, simple ownership is favored.

In the city of London the deduction of 15 per cent. for repairs means that £670,000 a year of the value escapes taxation altogether, although it is used. All legislation has favored the land, because it has been enacted by landlords. In moving the resolution I venture earnestly to hope that the delegates present will go home to their respective localities, and urge the electors to examine carefully the merits of the suggestion we make, in order that at the earliest possible date so wide-reaching and beneficent a reform may be enacted for the common benefit.

No man is good enough to govern another man without his consent. . . . Our reliance is in the love of liberty, which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit, which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere.—Abraham Lincoln.

Mark H.—I saw Teddy to-day, and he still refuses to be our candidate for vice president. He harps on his foolish assertion that he will never play second fiddle for anyone.

Tom P.—I should like to know what he is doing now. G. T. E.

BOER ENVOYS.

For The Public.

Had ye failed to learn that a direful disaster
Has lately befallen our "land of the free,"
That envoys ye come to us over the sea—
Your lode star of hope our imperial master?
Our ill news, methinks, should have traveled much faster,
And warned you how futile such errand would be.

Ye could never have known that the British lion
Has the weight of his paw on our nation's neck,
Ever ready to swerve at his covert beck;
Long before ye were born he had it to try on,
But then it had men at the helm, like our Bryan,
Not plotters and puppets to sneer at its wreck.

Ye are not first to fall, since our retrogression,
With petition for peace at the White house door;
They whose trust we betraved had sought it before—
Thrice hoping to gain the one rightful concession;
Thrice coldly repulsed with a pompous profession
In sanctified phrases, all false at the core.

Would ye turn from this fetish by money created,
To the people, whose will he is setting at naught?
Alas! they must bide by the image they wrought.
For news of his treacherous war they have waited,
Yet lies and concealment go on unabated;
To what lower depths can a people be brought?

Well may history note your achievements with wonder,
Such triumphs as warfare may never repeat.
Well may we envy your glorious retreat.
The greed of a tyrant may trample ye under;
From homes ye could die for, may wrench ye asunder;
But your death-grasp of freedom all nations will greet.

Proud record, that shames our most pitiful story;
A boasted republic gone madly astray,
A people who wait for its fall with dismay,
A meaningless flag, with foul murder all gory,
Floating over "our islands," and nicknamed "old glory,"
While our privileged robbers swoop down on their prey.

D. H. INGHAM.

Is thy person powerful and thine army great; make not on that account an inroad upon the land of thine enemy. To subjugate by thy valor every kingdom of the earth, it would not be worth while that a drop of blood should trickle to the ground.—Sadi.

"The president was right," exclaimed the exultant undertaker as he perused the bills of lading that had arrived from the Philippines, "trade does follow the flag!" G. T. E.

Competition is the form which the law of heaven assumes in a selfish world.—Rev. John Goddard, of Cincinnati.

BOOK NOTICES.

The June number of "Why" (Cedar Rapids, Ia.: Frank Vierth) contains a reprint of the most famous and most widely circulated single tax tract ever written, "The Case Plainly Stated," by H. F. Ring, of Houston, a well known member of the Texas bar. This tract was written in 1887 as a speech for delivery at a K. of L. celebration of the Fourth of July. A full newspaper report of the speech coming under the eye of T. L. McCready, then managing editor of Henry George's paper, the Standard, Mr. McCready gave it the title it has ever since borne, and published it in the columns of the Standard. In tract form it was then put out by the Standard, and has since in several different languages found its way all over the world. This concise but luminous explanation of Henry George's doctrines is a historical landmark in the cause which George originated.

In a pamphlet entitled "The Financial Plank of the Allied Reform Parties for 1900" (New York, 64 Fifth avenue: The Humboldt Library), George H. Shibley makes a comprehensive argument in favor of simply reaffirming the money plank of the Chicago platform of 1896, as against a specific demand in new terms for the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. His reason is that inasmuch as the volume of money is now increasing and the price level rising or stable, an unqualified demand for immediate free coinage would be an abandonment of the quantity theory of money and consequently a reckless departure from the financial principles of the Chicago platform, which demanded free coinage expressly as a means of expanding the currency when it was contracted. In support of this contention Mr. Shibley makes a long but closely knit argument, illustrated with statistics of prices and money volumes.

Among the publications of the "Sound Currency" committee of the Reform club (52 William St., New York city), are three on banking, which are of special interest for both historical and economic reasons. Two by L. Carroll Root deal respectively with "deposit currency," such as checks, and the farmer's interest in the banking question. On the subject of deposit currency Mr. Root undertakes to explain the identity of bank deposit credits and bank note credits as money substitutes, and the advantages of their free interchangeability. His essay on farmers and banking is supplementary to the other, being an effort to show that bank note credits are peculiarly the currency of country districts while bank deposit credits are peculiarly that of cities. The third publication referred to above is by Everett Birney Stackpole and relates to the history of state banking in Maine.

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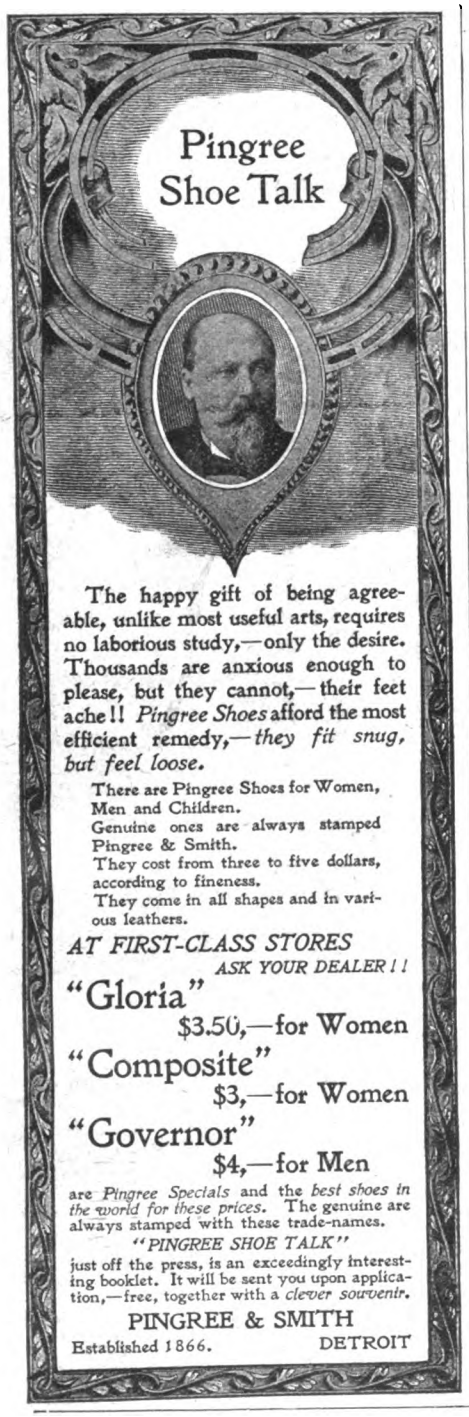

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4. **Department Stores** (from THE PUBLIC of November 12, 1898).
5. **The Remedy for the Evil of the Trust,** by the Rev. Robert C. Bryant (from THE PUBLIC of June 24, 1899).
6. **Monopoly and Competition** (from THE PUBLIC of August 19, 1899).
7. **Documentary Outline of the Philippine Case** (from THE PUBLIC of May 19, 1900).

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