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What kind of judge, what manner of man, does President McKinley conceive Justice Harlan to be, when, upon the eve of a decision by the supreme court, in which Justice Harlan is to participate, a decision regarding Puerto Rico which concerns the administration most profoundly, he appoints that justice's son to the position of attorney general of Puerto Rico? The act is so suggestive as to fall little short of an affront.

Congressman Carmack, who has by acclamation been chosen by the democratic legislators of Tennessee as their caucus candidate for United States senator, is a democratic democrat—one of the very few with which the south seems disposed to favor the party it so unanimously supports.

The necessity of asking congress to allow the coinage for our Philippine subjects of an unlimited number of 45-cent silver dollars to be sold at 50 cents apiece in gold, must make Mr. McKinley dizzy in the head if he allows his thoughts to dwell upon the monetary theories his administration has fathered.

Mark Twain has had the courage to say what so many good Americans have felt without daring to say it. At the New York "City Club" he spoke of the McKinley policy in the Philippines as having polluted our flag. This expression was resented by the republican editor of a democratic paper, the Brooklyn Eagle, but it is true, nevertheless. Loyalty to the flag does not imply that one must say it is clean whether it be clean or

not. Safer far would it be to trust the patriotism of a Mark Twain, who frankly says that the flag is polluted with the Philippine infamy, than of a St. Clair McKelway, who defends the infamy that pollutes it.

If the republicans, in striving to enlarge the standing army, do not contemplate misusing it for domestic purposes in the interest of the great consolidating corporations, why do they balk at the proposed amendment to the army bill, offered in the senate, which would make it unlawful for the president, except upon direct request from the local authority, to order federal troops into any state to act as a police force? The army bill has a suspicious flavor, merely as a labor law.

When Lord Roberts was received in London by the prince of Wales, the prince exhibited in his speech a keen appreciation of a delicate situation. "I am glad," he said, "to think the war is now nearly approaching conclusion." Considering that the war is worrying the British now worse than ever, yet that Lord Roberts had to be received as the conquering hero who had ended it in a blaze of glory, the prince's allusion to the situation was extremely felicitous in choice of phrase. To say not that the war is concluded, nor nearly concluded, nor approaching conclusion, but that it is "nearly approaching conclusion" just about describes it.

Cleveland is on the edge of a long street railway fight, which Mayor Farley opens by repudiating his campaign promises to the people who elected him and throwing the weight of his official influence in with the monopolists. With cynical candor he takes the ground that campaign promises

are only for campaign purposes, anyhow, and "not for keeps." The fight arises out of an application by the companies for a renewal of present franchises for 25 years. As the existing franchises have from seven to eleven years yet to run, it is evident that considerations of public benefit have had much less influence in prompting the application by the monopolists at this time, than a shrewd calculation on their part that the growing popular recognition of the plundering character of street franchises makes it a case with them of now or never.

The house of representatives of Missouri has adopted a resolution of sympathy for the Filipinos. Modeled after resolutions adopted heretofore by congress in behalf of distant peoples struggling for independence, it reads:

Whereas, the sympathies of the American people go out to all nations and all people struggling for liberty; therefore, be it resolved, that the house of representatives of the Forty-first general assembly of Missouri extend sympathies to the people of the Philippine archipelago in their heroic struggle for freedom.

The resolution carried by the large majority of 75 to 47. It is a credit to the patriotism of the men who voted for it.

The outlook for tax reform in the right direction grows brighter. It is but a few weeks since we were able to announce the report of the Bucklin revenue commission of Colorado recommending the Australasian system of local option and land value taxation; and now the New York chamber of commerce, one of the most influential commercial bodies in the world, deliberately and unanimously endorses a legislative measure of the same character. The measure now in question is a slight modification of the bill introduced in the New York

legislature last winter by Senator Elsberg. We explained and commented upon it last summer at page 342. As now modified, only in some details and with Senator Elsberg's approval, and as unanimously endorsed by the chamber of commerce, this bill has two commanding features. **Primarily, its purpose is to remit the question of the taxability of property to local governing bodies—counties and cities.** That is the Australasian system recommended by the Colorado commission. **Secondarily, for the purpose of perfecting that system by depriving the state equalization board of all power of favoritism, it substitutes for that body a tax apportionment board having no discretion whatever.** This is done by basing the apportionment of taxation each year upon data furnished by the taxation of the previous year. The apportionment board is to ascertain the percentage of state tax which each county must pay in the given year, "by dividing the sum of the gross revenue, for the preceding calendar year, of each county, including all the tax districts within the county, by the sum of the gross revenue of all the tax districts of the state for the same year." This purely clerical process is to determine "the percentage of state tax which each county shall pay." In other words, the proportion of state tax to be paid by each county in the given year will be determined by the amount of its own revenues of the previous year. Counties, therefore, may regulate the amount of their share of state taxes by their own range of expenditure. Inasmuch as with this plan of apportionment—or, rather, as underlying it—would go the right to each county to raise its taxes, both state and local, from personal property, or land, or landed improvements, or from any two or all three, as to the taxed voters might seem most beneficial to them, the new Elsberg bill should prove to be a satisfactory measure.

Before endorsing this bill the New York chamber of commerce referred

it to a committee which carefully examined it with the aid of Lawson Purdy, of the New York Tax Reform association, and under the advice of such eminent lawyers as Samuel B. Clarke, George W. Wickersham and Wheeler H. Peckham. In their report this committee discussed the general property tax which prevails in New York, and which, though designed to be equal, has proved, as they declare, to be "in actual operation unequal." They look forward, of course, to reform in taxation itself as the result of an enactment of this bill; but they aim immediately only at securing a more elastic system, believing that a right principle of taxation "can only be secured by granting to the several political divisions a certain discretion"—in other phrase, by establishing local option.

It is surprising to learn from the report of this chamber of commerce committee how great a hold the local option idea has taken upon the minds of men actively interested in taxation problems. At a state commerce convention held at Syracuse last June, which consisted of forty presidents of villages, twenty-six mayors of cities and sixty-one delegates of boards of trade and other like associations, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved, That the best way to reform the system of local taxation is to grant local option in taxation to the cities and counties of the state.

To the same effect, the report proceeds, have numerous local bodies expressed themselves. Among these are the boards of supervisors of Oswego and Oneida counties, the Merchants' exchange of Buffalo, the chamber of commerce of Rochester, the Manufacturers' association of New York and the Workingmen's Federation of the state of New York. Such newspapers are cited in favor of the reform as the New York Tribune, Times, Post, Journal, Commercial Advertiser and Daily News; the Brooklyn Standard-Union, and Citizen; the Albany Argus and the Syra-

cuse Herald. Mention is also made of the actual operation of the reform in New Zealand since 1896, and of the fact that in Ohio, Michigan, California and Colorado one house has passed local option bills. To this record is added the statement that Glasgow, in Scotland, and over 266 municipalities in Great Britain, have petitioned parliament for local option in taxation.

It is no secret that the followers of Henry George regard this local option tax reform as the probable practical beginning of the great industrial and social reform which George expounded in "Progress and Poverty." Not that this tax measure would be an entering wedge in any unfair way or misleading sense, not that it would amount to stealing a march; but that local option privileges in taxation once given, localities would grow in intelligence regarding the principles of taxation and the economic laws of wealth production and distribution until, step by step, the people would come to accept George's proposal in its fullness. It was in that spirit that the late Thomas G. Shearman proposed, and George himself adopted this line of practical, as distinguished from agitating work, and that Mr. Shearman in 1888 prepared the first local option bill ever drawn. After twelve years of persistent effort, unrelieved by spectacular displays which are naturally dear to the reformer's heart because encouraging to his hopes, effort whose astonishing success has for that very reason been singularly underestimated, the practical beginning of George's fundamental and far-reaching reform seems to be now almost at hand.

One of the many signs that this day is near is the recent action of the London county council. At its last meeting before the Christmas recess that metropolitan body debated a proposed parliamentary bill for the local taxation of site values. The bill provides for the appointment of a site valuer in each parish, who is to make valuations every five years. The rate

of taxation proposed is two shillings of tax to the pound of site value—about 50 cents to five dollars, or ten per cent. It is to fall exclusively upon the value of sites, improvements being exempt; and unoccupied property is to be taxed for site value as if it were occupied. The burden is fastened upon the owner, tenants who pay it being allowed to deduct it from their rent. This precaution was necessary in order to reach the owners of land under lease. Economic conditions would, in new transactions, make the owner bear the burden better than legislative provisos could. Though ten per cent. of site value has a confiscatory sound on this side of the Atlantic, where site value means selling or capitalized land value, it is really a very light tax; for in London site value means annual site value. If the bill becomes a law it will yield about \$8,000,000, the estimated site value of London being about \$80,000,000 annually. And there is strong probability that it will become a law. At the conclusion of the debate upon it, mentioned above, a hostile motion to refer the bill back to committee was defeated by a vote of 63 to 27, and thereupon it was adopted without dissent. So the bill will be introduced in parliament at the next session with the backing of the county council.

Still other signs of a single tax ground swell are observable. One of these is a long and thoughtful editorial in the Detroit News-Tribune, perhaps the most influential paper of Michigan, under the initials of its proprietor, Mr. J. E. Scripps. Mr. Scripps strenuously urges the abolition in Michigan of all taxation save upon land values—the abolition, that is, of all taxes on personalty and improvements—doing so not as a follower of Henry George, a distinction which he is at pains to disclaim, but as a hard-headed business man speaking for and appealing to his class. The article, which appeared in the News-Tribune of December 23d, is calculated to command serious considera-

tion. There is, to be sure, no thought on Mr. Scripps's part of readjusting general economic conditions by this method. He is not an adventurer upon the billowy sea of social reform. For that reason some of us who want the world made over completely and immediately may be disposed to see nothing significant of radical economic progress in his business-basis advocacy of land value taxation. We may even wish to doubt its efficacy for social reform because a business man advocates it for business reasons. Such a disposition, however, is a pious temptation that should be sternly resisted.

There are but two ways of achieving social reform. One is by revolution; not violent revolution necessarily, but revolution. The other is by steady, patient, commonplace advances in the right direction. Now, revolution seldom finds its opportunity. It almost never finds it except in violent commotions. And when it does find it, whether in peace or war, conditions slip back after the climax almost or quite to where they were before. Somehow, the race seems incapable, when advancing by leaps and bounds, of holding to the advances it makes. Social progress, like vegetable growth, to be firm and enduring must be slow and persistent. The plant that grows up in a day withers in a night. The oak, hardening as it grows, endures. No small matter, then, are these uninspiring indications of deliberate progress along the lines that Henry George laid down, even though made by men who are out of sympathy with his ultimate purposes and for reasons that could never have appealed to his higher aspirations. It is from such men, moved by such reasons, that the popular support necessary for the first practical steps in any enduring economic reform will have to come.

There are disquieting rumors from Washington to the effect that our government contemplates forcible interference with the government

of Venezuela in behalf of a private American corporation. A concession of asphalt deposits had been made by the government of Venezuela to this company. Later the government revoked that concession and made a new one to another American company. The original concessionaire, arming its employes, defied the government; and in the expectation that the government of Venezuela would attempt to enforce its decrees of revocation, our government is preparing, according to the Washington rumors, to support the original concessionaire with the army and navy. Though this story rests upon rumors, there is nothing improbable about it. No one need be surprised, after our imperial experience of the past two years, if the Washington government assumes the function of forcing weak nations to keep improvident contracts with American monopolists. Yet nothing could be more reprehensible. When Americans obtain concessions from foreign powers they take them at their own peril, knowing full well that repudiation, be it immoral or not, is one of the inherent and necessary rights of national sovereignty. To enforce their repudiated claims by making war upon the repudiating country is to make war wantonly in defiance of one of the first principles of international law and of every principle of morality whereby war can at all be justified. Making public war to enforce private contracts or collect private debts is as infamous an excuse for getting glory by slaughtering people as could well be conceived.

Though ex-President Harrison's article on colonialism, which appears in the North American Review for January, is not open to the criticism of incoherency which he preferred against the "verbatim" newspaper report of his Ann Arbor speech of last month, being in point of literary workmanship fully up to its author's well deserved reputation, it is in sentiment neither weaker nor stronger than the speech. Like the speech, the

article is a comprehensive and unequivocal condemnation of President McKinley's colonial policy. Recalling our national history of expansion, Mr. Harrison declares that we have now done something out of line with it; not in the fact of expansion, "but in the character of it." Instead of acquiring unpeopled or sparsely peopled and adjacent regions for settlement, we have gone to the antipodes and "have taken over peoples." This he condemns. His argument centers, however, about the question of the legal status of the annexed peoples, who, he says, "have become American—somethings." Are they citizens or subjects? In seeking an answer to this question Mr. Harrison contends that the Paris treaty cannot abrogate the American constitution. It is the supreme law of the land in no other sense than acts of congress are; that is, so far only as it is constitutional. Inasmuch, then, as the constitution declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States," the inhabitants of Puerto Rico, for instance, are citizens. The only ground of contention to the contrary is that Puerto Rico is not part of the United States and that point he negatives emphatically. No territory, he argues, can be at once part of the United States and not part of it. It is either one or the other. And being part of it for any constitutional purpose it is so for all. From which it follows not only that the Puerto Ricans are American citizens, but that they are as completely within the protection of the constitution, with reference to equality of tariff taxation as well as to personal rights, as are the citizens of any of the states. Regarding the Philippines, Mr. Harrison leaves a door open on the question of citizenship. The citizenship of the Filipinos depends upon whether we acquired the country. Spain possessed Puerto Rico when she ceded it, but he is not so sure that she possessed the Philippines. If she did not, it might, he hints, be urged

in analogy with a familiar principle of real estate law, that she sold "a lawsuit and not a farm," which "the law counts immoral." Disclaiming any intention to make a legal argument, Mr. Harrison has, nevertheless, made an exceedingly impressive one, yet without departing from his main purpose of considering the matter in a popular way.

In his argument before the supreme court against the colonial policy, Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., made with peculiar distinctness a very vital point of constitutional law. Answering the contention of the administration that this nation is sovereign, capable of exercising the functions of sovereignty that other nations exercise, and therefore capable of setting up subject colonies, Mr. Coudert said:

The American nation is sovereign. It can go where it wishes, act where it wishes, acquire territory where it wishes, treat inhabitants as it wishes, and its powers are only limited by the physical force which may be brought to bear against it by other sovereigns. But the government is not sovereign. The great salient fact, which those who contend for the government's position now do not recognize, is that the people of the United States are sovereign and that the government is not, which is the great fact that distinguishes the constitutional law from that of most of the civilized nations of Europe. It did not make the United States a crippled nation, as the attorney general suggested, but a nation which has permanently protected itself against usurpations by its own agents.

This distinction between the American nation and the American government should never be neglected.

Following the same line of thought Mr. Coudert, with singular brevity, yet with remarkable accuracy and lucidity, set forth the constitutional principle that negatives the whole colonial theory. "The constitution," he said, "is a charter or grant of powers conferred upon the federal government by the people of the United States; and hence the federal government has no existence outside the constitution. It is, therefore, an im-

possibility for the United States to possess territory beyond their constitutional boundaries."

Economic professors who make it their principal function to find or manufacture apologies for plutocracy have at last got so far away from the true causes of hard times, which are obviously the climacterics of an unnatural and unjust distribution of wealth, as to place the responsibility upon the fluctuations of sun spots! This sounds like a joke, but it isn't. It is as serious as the thousand and one other absurdities with which the mumbly-cum-spludge science of economics has patched the brains of the university cult. This particular absurdity is honored with an editorial note in the January issue of the Popular Science Monthly. "There is now reason to believe," says this authority, "that the hypothesis is not a rash guess based on some specious coincidence." It then goes on to explain that two scientists of the name of Lockyer have traced a connection between sun spots and famines. This is most excellent boys' play for the purpose of diverting attention from parasitical industrial systems which produce the phenomena of famine where plenty abounds. But even if it were accepted as being the cause of famines, how could it be adopted as an explanation of periodical hard times? Is not the cult agreed that periodical hard times are due to overproduction? How, then, can they be accounted for by sun spot variations causing underproduction? Can the cult reason that hard times are due to overproduction; that overproduction is equivalent to underproduction; that underproduction is due to "the central points or mean conditions between minima and maxima" of sun spot areas; and that, therefore, hard times are related to fluctuations of the sun spots? Not improbably. Some of its votaries have done worse.

Concrete cases will sometimes carry a principle into minds that are im-

pregnable even to the clearest abstract reasoning. We think it worth while, therefore, to give the following particulars of a typical transaction in illustration of the beneficence of the protective tariff. The house of C. N. D. Robbins Co., of Columbus, O., bought a consignment of cloth from a Glasgow firm through a New York commission house. The bill rendered to the Robbins company by the commission house was \$233.00—seven per cent. off for cash. Deducting \$16.31 (seven per cent. of the face of the bill), the Robbins company paid a balance of \$216.69. Of that amount \$64.52 was sent to the Glasgow house in a London draft, that being the foreign cost of the goods. The remainder, \$152.17, was the expense of getting them to Columbus. This expense consisted of \$7.17 (\$23.48 less discount for cash) in commission to the New York house; \$12.00 freight from Glasgow to Columbus; and \$133 for tariff duties. What profit the Robbins company realized upon selling the goods to retailers we do not know, but assuming it to have been 25 per cent., and that the retailer disposed of them at like profit to the consumers, the matter would stand like this:

Cost of goods in Glasgow.....	\$64 52
Freight	12 00
Commission	23 48
Tariff duties.....	133 00
	<hr/>
	\$233 00
Less discount for cash.....	16 31
	<hr/>
Cost to Robbins Co.....	\$216 69
Robbins Co.'s profit at 25 per cent	54 17
	<hr/>
Cost to American retailer.....	\$270 86
Retailers' profit at 25 per cent.	67 71
	<hr/>
Cost to American consumer..	\$338 57

So those Scotch goods, which brought the Glasgow manufacturer only \$64.52, cost the American consumers about \$338.57.

Some of the extra expense to consumers consisted, of course, of freightage, commissions, and profits, inclusive of labor; but the bulk of it was neither more nor less than tariff

duties plus profits on tariff duties. Thus:

Tariff duties.....	\$133 00
Importer's profit on same at 25 per cent.....	33 25
	<hr/>
Paid by retailers on account of tariff duties.....	\$166 25
Retailer's profit on same at 25 per cent.....	41 56
	<hr/>
Paid by consumers on account of tariff duties.....	\$207 81

Deducting the tariff duties, then, from the cost to consumers, as shown above, namely—

Cost to American consumers with tariff duties.....	\$338 57
Less tariff duties and profits on same.....	207 81
	<hr/>

Cost to American consumers without tariff duties.....\$130 76

we find that but for the tariff American consumers, instead of paying \$338.57 for those goods would have got them for \$130.76—only \$66.24, instead of \$274.05, more than they were bought for in Glasgow.

OBJECT LESSONS FROM NEW ZEALAND.

When we of this country felt the need of a reform in election methods we turned to Australasia for a ballot system which had for years been in successful operation in those obscure countries of the antipodes. And now the Australian ballot is used, with more or less imperfect adaptation, in nearly if not quite all the states of the union. When we began to weary of our expensive and exasperating method of transferring real estate titles, an inheritance from feudal times only slightly reformed, we turned again to Australasia, for their simple Torrens method which is infinitely better in every way than our relic of antiquity; and though the Torrens system has but just begun to work its way into American use, against the stubborn opposition of selfish special interests, there is no longer any good reason to doubt that it will in time, and perhaps in no very long time, be accepted here as generally as is the Australian ballot system. But these two reforms are not likely to measure the full extent of our borrowing from Australasia. Those countries, fast coming to be recognized as the happy hunting ground of the reformer,

are not only experimenting extensively and radically, but are attracting the attention of the outer world by the success of their experiments.

In a former issue (page 564) we commented upon the official visit to Australasia which a state senator of Colorado, James W. Bucklin, had made for the purpose especially of investigating the experiments of those colonies in taxation.* The result of Senator Bucklin's visit, so far realized, is a majority report of "The Revenue Commission of Colorado," of which he is chairman, recommending the adoption by Colorado of the Australasian land value tax; and a unanimous report recommending the Australasian system of local option in taxation. We have now before us another New Zealand report. Somewhat earlier than Senator Bucklin's official visit to the enterprising Australasians, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, the author of that tremendous indictment of the Standard Oil company and its defenders—"Wealth Against Commonwealth"—made a private visit to New Zealand, one of the countries of the Australasian group, for the purpose especially of gathering materials for an American book on its politico-industrial experiments. The result of his visit is a volume about New Zealand, which he has suggestively entitled "Newest England."***

New Zealand approximates Italy in area, but has a population of only 780,000, of which 40,000 are Maoris or New Zealand natives. It is half as far away from Australia—which is as large in area as the United States without Alaska and has hardly more than one-twentieth of the population—as America is from Europe. "Its isolation," writes Mr. Lloyd,

* Senator Bucklin's exceedingly interesting and instructive report has since been published by the Smith - Brooks Printing company, the state printers, of Denver, from whom copies can doubtless be obtained upon remittance of stamps sufficient to cover postage—say five cents. The same remittance to Senator Bucklin at the capitol, Denver, might more certainly secure attention.

** "Newest England. Notes of a Democratic Traveler in New Zealand, with some Australian Comparisons. By Henry Demarest Lloyd." New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

"protects it from tidal waves of heat, cold, immigration, fashion, speculation or invasion."

The soil in the valleys and between the mountains and the sea is in patches wonderfully fertile; but great stretches are fit only for sheep and cattle ranges. Mineral wealth, including gold, iron and coal, is abundant.

Politically the country is a British colony, which, like Canada, is practically free from British authority, the actual government being in the hands of a local ministry, which is responsible only to the local parliament. Great Britain is represented by a governor general, appointed by the queen, who, though he has nominally a veto power, as the queen herself has, follows the time-honored example of the British executive in never using it. He is simply a figure-head. New Zealand is more independent than a state of the American union, and her people are in all respects as free as Americans and in many respects freer still.

In the exercise of her freedom she has within living memory raised the native Maoris from a state of cannibalism into citizenship and admitted them to seats in parliament. She has enfranchised all women as well as all men. And she has made marked progress in social experimentation.

Among her experiments is a public insurance department. Also a public trustee. The one does business in competition with private insurance companies; the other accepts and administers all sorts of private trusts. This public trusteeship is ranked by Mr. Lloyd, among the important additions which New Zealand has made to the art of society, as second only to the system of compulsory arbitration in labor controversies, a subject which has been discussed more fully in a previous book.***

The system of publicly owned and operated railways figures extensively, of course, in Mr. Lloyd's account of his New Zealand visit. These are run virtually at cost, any profit ex-

ceeding three per cent. on the cost being returned to the people in lower rates and better accommodations. In freight rates there is no discrimination between shippers. One ton or a thousand makes no difference; the rate per ton is the same. Railroad employes are not allowed to strike. When their complaints to superior officers are not redressed, they may appeal to an appeal board and thence to parliament. The construction of private railway lines is allowed, but the plans must be approved by the government. Land for right of way cannot be condemned; private lines must buy their right of way under private contract. Telegraphs, telephones and the post office also are under public ownership and operation; and with the post office go postal savings banks and some other minor banking functions.

Subletting of contracts in the construction of railroads and public buildings has been abolished. Contracts are let directly from the government to the workmen themselves, upon a cooperative plan which has proved, after a trial of five years, to be better and more economical than the old contract and subcontract, or sweating, system. This result is attributed by Mr. Lloyd to the fact that "under the cooperative system every workman is a contractor and has a personal interest in the economical and the successful carrying out of the work." He adds that the workman "is also his own master."

Another New Zealand reform is the public loaning agency. A settler in New Zealand who needs to borrow money has only to go to the nearest post office to get into communication with a governmental loaning department, which will lend from \$125 to \$5,000, on approved security, repayable in installments and at low interest. There has never been a foreclosure.

A system of old age pensions is also in operation. "The idea of the law is that the wornout veterans of work shall, with the help of the state, have an income, if possible, of £52 a year. To such a one, therefore, who already possesses £34 of income, the state pays £18 more, making the £52 which is the minimum set by New Zealand as the income which it thinks the old

soldiers of the industrial army should have."

The compulsory arbitration law, mentioned above, was devised by the Hon. William Pember Reeves. It is characterized by Mr. Lloyd as one of the landmarks in labor legislation in Australasia, the other being the minimum wage law of Victoria, one of the states of the Australian commonwealth. But he emphatically prefers it to the Victorian law. The arbitration law is based upon the Massachusetts law for arbitration and conciliation, but is compulsory, whereas that is voluntary; and so, says Mr. Lloyd, "New Zealand has succeeded where Massachusetts failed." Under this law labor disputes come before a court of arbitration, both striking and locking out being meanwhile prohibited. Each side is represented by a committee.

In concluding that compulsory arbitration in New Zealand and the minimum wage in Victoria are the two landmarks in labor legislation in Australasia, Mr. Lloyd evidently regards as labor legislation only such reforms as operate directly upon specific manifestations. For his book discloses other reforms that have been more beneficial to labor than the compulsory arbitration law. That this is true of the land reforms, his account of New Zealand affairs leaves no room to question, though he repeatedly emphasizes what appears to be his own conviction that ameliorative expedients, compulsory arbitration for instance, are more important to workingmen than such fundamental labor reforms as those relating to the land.

From one point of view it is an objection to "Newest England" that it deals thus superficially with New Zealand reforms, considering each by itself, somewhat after the manner of the doctor who should lay stress upon the value of his numerous external applications for the numerous manifestations of dyspepsia and ignore the value of radical treatment for the disordered stomach, which is the seat of all the trouble. From another point of view, however, this defect in Mr. Lloyd's book is a virtue. By giving the reader the facts, very fully, without attempting to compare

*** "A Country Without Strikes. A Visit to the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand." By Henry Demarest Lloyd, with introduction by William Pember Reeves, ex-minister of labor in New Zealand and author of the compulsory arbitration law. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.

them critically or to connect them at all, he has made a more interesting book, and doubtless a more instructive one, than if he had indulged in economic philosophy. And in truth he has given the facts with much detail and evident fidelity.

In only one or two important particulars does the book appear to be defective on that score. The more important of these relates to the law permitting local bodies to raise their revenues in accordance with the "single tax" method. To this law Mr. Lloyd gives but one short paragraph (page 120), saying that public opinion in favor of it "is so feeble that in the three years the law has been in force only twenty local bodies, none important, have voted on the proposition," and adding that "twelve adopted and eight rejected it." Yet the premier of New Zealand writes to Senator Bucklin, under date of February 13, 1900 (Colorado revenue commission report, page 39), that the law "has proved a success, and the opinion of the government, which is generally shared throughout the colony, is that it should be made compulsory." That does not indicate that the public opinion in favor of the law is feeble.

As to the true number of localities that have adopted the single tax under this permissive law, Mr. Lloyd's figures are not far wrong, but they are not right. Up to May 15, 1899 (see New Zealand Official Year Book for 1899, page 414), twenty-three instead of twenty local bodies had voted on the question and thirteen instead of twelve had adopted, while ten instead of eight had rejected. And since then (Colorado revenue report, page 22) two more have voted on the question, both of which have adopted the reform.

But these discrepancies are not very important. What is objectionable in Mr. Lloyd's slight upon this, the most democratic of all the New Zealand reforms, is his omission to explain why so many localities have rejected the single tax, when, according to the New Zealand Year Book for 1899, page 414, in all but two of the twenty-three in which the single tax had been voted upon, it was supported by a large majority of those voting. The reason for its de-

feat in the ten localities in which it failed was that less than the minimum number of local tax payers required by the law had voted. The law had been so constructed, in the interest of the landlord class, as to give those not voting a weight in determining the result. That defect in the law has been remedied, however, and up to February 19, 1900, says the Bucklin revenue report, page 22, "over 82 per cent. of all the votes cast were in favor of the land tax." These facts, omitted by Mr. Lloyd, discredit his view of the feeble popularity of the law.

But if in his treatment of the local option tax law Mr. Lloyd has lessened the value of his book as an account of the radical reforms of New Zealand, and in his partiality for the compulsory arbitration law has exhibited a tendency to prefer patchwork legislation to radical reform, his story of the colonial land tax confirms his enviable reputation as a fact collector.

New Zealand was cursed with monopolies. Though these are variously classified by Mr. Lloyd, they were all either land monopolies or monopolies resting upon or buttressed by land monopoly. In 1891, 1,600 persons owned 18,000,000 acres of land and 11 owned \$24,000,000 worth of land. Land was so monopolized that settlers were forced to cross vast areas of thinly populated country to find homes in the wilderness. Great fortunes grew out of increased values of land, and enormous estates were threatening the country with something worse than feudalism. It was in these circumstances that the leader of the liberal party, Premier Balance, decided to attack land monopoly with "that ancient, constitutional and inalienable weapon—the tax." At that time the general property tax, which is familiar to the people of this country, was in vogue. It was abolished and for it was substituted a progressive land value tax, under which improvements are exempt.

An income tax was tagged on, but this, though it raises revenue—more revenue than the land tax—clearly plays no part in the industrial regeneration of New Zealand. Men of Mr. Lloyd's way of thinking doubtless suppose it does. But in his book

Mr. Lloyd appears to lay no stress upon that feature of the reform, and it needs no argument to show that a small tax which opens up land to use would diminish the evils of land monopoly, whereas a large tax levied upon incomes without regard to their source, would have no such effect.

Besides the progressive land value tax laws, land tenure laws were adopted in the early nineties for the prevention of future monopoly in the public lands and to break up the existing monopoly of private lands through purchase—compulsory if necessary. The tendency of these laws is to create 999-year leaseholds under the state, in place of freeholds. The rent for these leaseholds is fixed at the time of their creation, but increasing values of the land may be appropriated through the land value tax. It is the tax reform, therefore, rather than the land tenure reform, that stands between the people and landlordism.

These laws have operated, says Mr. Lloyd, to break up the large holdings that formerly cursed the country.

The land tax went into effect in 1892; and nearly every year since then its operation has been extended. The beneficial effect has been marvelous. Not because the tax is high, for it is not; but because it can so easily be increased. "One of the most effective features of these taxes," said a high official to Mr. Lloyd (page 112), "is not that they are heavy, for they are very light, but that they can be so easily made heavy by a few words of legislation." The possibility of an increase is a constant menace to land speculation. To the same effect is the Bucklin report, page 37, wherein the bank panic of 1893 is attributed to speculation in land, and the escape of New Zealand from its ravages is accounted for largely by the land value tax. "It may be asked," reads the report, "how such a small tax could produce such prodigious results? The answer is that in so far as the land tax contributed to these results, it was not entirely the existing tax that prevented land speculation and the collapse following thereupon, but, more largely still, a wholesome fear of its increase. Certain it is that no land boom or serious financial panic ever yet occurred

where the Australasian land value tax has been established for general purposes." That is undoubtedly the true explanation of the reformatory efficacy of this tax. By discouraging land speculation it lessens the power of land monopoly, and thereby eases the labor market.

This is what justifies the Colorado labor commission (report, page 35) in taking issue with Mr. Lloyd as to the relative benefits of the land value tax and the compulsory arbitration law. The compulsory arbitration law does not fix wages. They are fixed—as Mr. Lloyd himself well says in his "A Country Without Strikes"—by the facts of the economic situation. All that the board of arbitration can do is to pass judgment on the rate of wages that the economic situation fixes, and enforce their judgment. But the land value tax modifies economic conditions. By diminishing the power of land monopoly it enhances opportunity for labor and thereby increases wages.

But for the Bucklin tax report, Mr. Lloyd's enthusiasm over the reform of his newest England would not be encouraging to social students with individualistic tendencies. Indeed, his ideal of the goal toward which New Zealand tends, "Government & Co., Unlimited," would be somewhat shocking to not a few among us even of those who label themselves socialists. There is little satisfaction in looking forward to a time when government will manage all our affairs, even though the government be one of popular majorities. One might like to see a distinction made between functions that are governmental and those that are not. "Government & Co., Limited," has a more assuring sound than "Government & Co., Unlimited." We can see the propriety, for instance, of government ownership of railways, since railways are public highways and their control is, therefore, essentially a public function. It is assuring, consequently, to be told by Mr. Lloyd that the government railroads of New Zealand, however they may compare with American and European private railroads, are superior—and this is the true test—to the private railroads of New Zealand,

of which there are one or two, and that upon no terms would the people abandon their government roads to private control. But Mr. Lloyd makes no distinctions as to function. The whole question is with him a question of public control or private control, regardless of the nature of the function controlled. Consequently he regards indiscriminately every step of interference with private management as a progressive step, and attributes to each some share of credit for the improvement of New Zealand's social conditions. Like the old toper with his whisky theory, Mr. Lloyd thinks that some of these reforms are better than others, but believes that all are good. In his philosophy there can be no bad reform which tends toward the complete establishment of "Government & Co., Unlimited."

Not so with the Bucklin report. It traces the improved conditions in New Zealand not to reforms that subject private contract to governmental supervision and lead on to unlimited government, but especially to one which tends to the retirement by government from interference with private rights and to its resumption of its own proper functions. This is the reform in taxation that takes land values for public use and leaves improvement values to the improver.

Even Mr. Lloyd, enthusiastic as he is over what he regards as successful experiments in socialism, finds himself, when he enumerates the reforms that have been made and those that are to come, almost exclusively limited to some reform or other with reference to the control of land—to reforms, that is, which are essentially the same in social purpose and economic effect as the tax reform which the Bucklin report commends. And throughout his discussion of the evil conditions which the New Zealand reforms were intended to remedy, it is apparent that one and all were rooted in land monopoly.

The failure of the senate to ratify the Hay-Pauncefote treaty without amendment will be a grievous blow to those idealists that hoped our nation was a tangible expression of altruism.

G. T. E.

NEWS

South Africa is the center of interest, though but little war news is allowed to come from there. With the exception of a few details, all that is known of the progress of the war is that the Boer invasion of Cape Colony continues and that Cape Town is in a state of panicky fear. The most important detail is mentioned in a dispatch from Lord Kitchener. He tells of an engagement near Lindley, in which Gen. Knox, who is still chasing DeWet, lost 2 officers and 15 men killed and 2 officers and 20 men wounded.

But if Gen. Kitchener suppresses war news, he has taken pains to forward a report of a speech by himself in which he makes the first peace overtures that the British have permitted. The policy of unconditional surrender appears from this speech to have been abandoned. It was delivered on the 21st at Pretoria to a Boer peace committee just formed in that city. Gen. Kitchener expressed his pleasure at meeting a committee desirous of bringing the war to a speedy end, and promised his assistance in every way calculated to further that object. Speaking in general terms of the benevolent intentions of the British government, he urged the uselessness of further strife. Then complimented the Boers upon having made so good a fight that they can without dishonor acknowledge that they have been overpowered, he specifically promised that if they would surrender no one should be sent out of the country but all who had fought fairly, including the leaders, would receive the consideration due their rank. After making this conciliatory speech Lord Kitchener issued orders modifying the policy of burning farmhouses. The new policy of conciliation was further promoted on the 3d at a meeting at Pretoria of surrendered Boers. The chairman stated that the British authorities desired the meeting to consider suggestions looking to the ending of the war. A committee was accordingly appointed and instructed to circulate among the Boers a statement of the hopelessness of further resistance, together with copies of Lord Kitchener's conciliatory speech.

The appointment of Sir Alfred Milner as British governor of "the Or-

ange River Colony" and the "Transvaal" was announced on the 4th. He will be succeeded as governor of Cape Colony by Sir Walter Hutchinson, governor of Natal and Zululand since 1893. A more stirring item of London news in connection with the South African war is the change of policy of the Daily News. It had been the liberal organ, but through supporting the war policy it lost subscribers heavily to the Morning Leader, which has made a courageous single handed fight against the jingoes. Loss of subscribers entailed financial suffering upon the News, and Labouchere, Arnold Morley, Massingham and other anti-war leaders have secured control.

The British war office issued on the 4th a list of the British casualties in the war, as follows:

Deaths (officers)	604
Deaths (men)	11,554
Deaths of officers and men from wounds after return home.....	247
Total	12,405

Regarding the Chinese treaty, the rumors of last week (page 617) that the acceptance by the Chinese envoys of the terms of the joint note proposed by the powers was coupled with a request for particulars upon certain points appear now to have proceeded from this Chinese imperial edict:

We have duly perused Prince Ching's and Li Hung Chang's telegram, and it behooves us to agree to the whole twelve articles. But our commissioners shall devise a plan to discuss the details of the sections complacently with the ministers.

Li Hung Chang, however, has declared his own and his colleague's intention of accepting the terms of the joint note without condition as to details. He is reported as explaining that China would "never again be offered such easy terms," and that "hostilities will no doubt be resumed" if these terms be not accepted.

Fighting here and there in a small way is reported from the Philippines. One of the engagements took place at Cavite Viejo, near Manila, where several Filipino officers and some 50 men were captured. The Philippine commission has "enacted" a law providing for the trial—by the "supreme court of the Philippines," subject to review, should congress so determine,

by the supreme court of the United States—of the question of whether the San Jose Medical college belongs to the Catholic church or to the government. The question grows out of the Spanish institution of church and state. Meanwhile Gen. MacArthur has adopted one of the Spanish methods of dealing with "rebels." He purposes exiling to Guam prominent Filipino prisoners, now residing in Manila on parole, and detaining them there until the fighting ends. This is done under instructions from President McKinley, "the policy of freeing prisoners" having, according to a Washington report of the 7th, proved to have "been disadvantageous to the American cause."

The American casualties since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington January 9, 1901, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91	1,847
Killed reported from May 16, 1900, to the date of the presidential election, November 6, 1900.....	100
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period	468
Total deaths to presidential election	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election	22
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period	103
Total deaths	2,540
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....	2,382
Total casualties since July, '98... 4,922	
Total casualties to last week..... 4,908	
Total deaths to last week..... 2,635	

The final arguments on the question of Philippine and Puerto Rican colonialism are being made before the United States supreme court as we write. The first arguments were made in December. Two cases were then before the court. In one a soldier who has returned from the Philippines seeks relief from tariff duty on diamonds he brought with him, contending that the Philippines are part of the United States and that, therefore, tariff duties on imports from those islands cannot be imposed. The other case was similar in character, but related to Puerto Rico instead of the Philippines. After the argument of these cases the court postponed action until the 8th, when argument in five others involving different phases

of the same general question were begun. Upon the decision of these tariff cases hinges President McKinley's colonial policy—the policy, that is, of governing Puerto Rico and the Philippines regardless of constitutional limitations.

Jackson day, celebrated in Chicago on the 8th, brought out from William J. Bryan the most pointed speech he has delivered since election. Alluding to the use of his name as a presidential candidate at the next election, he said:

I am now a private citizen, with excellent prospects of remaining such. I intend to continue actively in the discussion of public questions, and do not desire to be embarrassed by being placed in the attitude of a candidate for any office. In selecting journalism as the best field for usefulness, I am aware that I am placing myself in a position where I can give more aid to others than to myself, but the field is chosen deliberately, because I am more interested in the promulgation of democratic principles than I am in enjoying any honors which my countrymen can bestow.

He advised those who attribute the recent defeats of the party to the platforms adopted or to the leaders in the fight, to remember that—the defeat of 1896 came at the close of an administration entirely satisfactory to those who are most anxious to reorganize the party; and that defeat of 1894, which occurred under a similar administration, was more disastrous than any that has taken place since.

Of the money issue he declared that the question of its figuring prominently in future campaigns—will depend upon circumstances which no one can measure with certainty. What is desired is a sufficient quantity of money to keep pace with the demand for money. If an unexpected and unpromised increase in the output of gold restores the level of prices and protects the producers of wealth from the evils of an appreciating dollar, those who have labored for bimetallism will rejoice more heartily than the financiers who advocated the gold standard at a time when gold was scarce and the dollar was becoming dearer.

On the subject of anti-imperialism, he dwelt at length. We quote:

If in the cases now pending the supreme court holds that the constitution follows the flag, a large portion of the republican party will oppose the retention of the Philippine islands. If, on the contrary, the court holds that a president and congress can govern colonies without regard to the restric-

tions of the constitution, many republicans will be able to realize what imperialism means. But if fate decrees a change in the ideas and ideals of our nation and we are to witness a return to the brute-force doctrines upon which empires rest, our struggle will still have answered a purpose and the work of our party will live in history and inspire the lovers of liberty in future years, when mankind again takes up the fight for the principles of self-government. We are advocating truths that cannot die and we can afford to share in temporary reverses that may come to them. The love of freedom will live while the human race endures, and those who suffer for the right will receive their reward in history even if their eyes do not behold the victory.

Under the direction of J. Pierpont Morgan, a huge consolidation of railroad interests, comprehending also the complete monopoly of the American anthracite coal field and not improbably of the bituminous fields as well, has for several weeks been taking definite shape. The circumstances are more or less involved in the mysteries of stock speculation, so that no complete story of the affair has been given to the public. It is known, however, that the New Jersey Central railroad has through Morgan been acquired by the acquiring. It is also known that prior to that transaction Morgan had purchased the Pennsylvania Coal company. This purchase was regarded at the time as the initial step in organizing a gigantic coal trust. The purchase of the New Jersey Central completes it. It is believed also that Morgan has acquired control of all the principal railroad lines east of the Mississippi, and that his coadjutor, E. H. Harriman, dominates most of those to the west, these two men thus possessing the mastery of the great railroad systems of the United States. As this consolidation of railroad interests proceeds, it will doubtless transpire that it is a culminating phase of the landlording of railroads which we predicted editorially last year. See No. 89, page 4; No. 96, page 2, and No. 104, page 1.

NEWS NOTES.

—The city of Heidelberg, Germany, has just purchased and begun to operate the street car lines.

—Turkey has abolished all internal customs and duties except a two per cent. tariff on traffic by sea.

—An overwhelming vote was cast in Toronto on the 7th in favor of having the city municipalize its gas service.

—Chili and the Argentine republic

have agreed to submit their disputed boundary question to the arbitration of Queen Victoria.

—Philip D. Armour, the famous millionaire pork packer of Chicago, died on the 6th, at the age of 69. His fortune is estimated at \$100,000,000.

—The Chicago Teachers' Federation gives an entertainment at the Coliseum on the 18th to provide funds for prosecuting the suit to enforce the franchise tax law against public service corporations.

—Sixto Lopez, the Filipino planter of Luzon, a friend of the martyr poet Rizal, a supporter of Aguinaldo, and now in exile, has presented the cause of the Filipinos to several Chicago audiences during the current week.

—At a meeting of the Illinois state committee on the 9th, ex-Mayor John P. Hopkins, of Chicago, a gold democrat, was elected chairman by a vote of 18 to 12. A resolution indorsing the Kansas City platform was adopted.

—The army canteen, which the house of representatives prohibited in the army bill, has been prohibited also by the senate. The question arose in the senate on the 9th over an amendment allowing the canteen. The amendment was tabled by a vote of 34 to 16.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for December shows on hand December 31:

Reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash balance..	140,107,336.31
Total	\$290,107,336.31
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1900	305,705,654.78
Decrease	\$15,598,318.47

—The treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the federal government for December, shows the following:

Receipts for December:	
Tariff	\$18,496,634.46
Int. Rev.....	25,260,693.80
Misc	3,089,179.92
	\$46,846,508.18.

Expenses for December:	
Civil & Misc. \$	9,694,811.45
War	10,940,100.22
Navy	4,487,514.47
Indians	1,045,995.42
Pensions	18,803,055.25
Interest	3,233,145.53
	\$40,204,622.34

Surplus	\$6,641,885.84
Receipts July 1 to Dec. 31:	
Tariff ...	\$118,497,381.70
Int. Rev...	157,120,159.86
Misc	16,224,319.67
	\$291,841,861.23
Expenses July 1 to Dec. 31:	
Civ. & Misc.	\$61,747,869.16

War	84,341,828.36
Navy	29,753,232.30
Indians	5,859,971.17
Pensions ..	71,959,530.70
Interest ...	19,431,724.27
	\$273,094,155.96
Surplus	\$18,747,705.27

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.

January 3-7, 1901.

Senate.

Upon the reassembling of congress on the 3d after the holiday recess, the army bill (S 4300) was by unanimous consent taken up out of its order for consideration; and on the 4th, after the adjudge resolution (p. 590), calling for the international protection of uncivilized people by preventing the sale to them of fire arms, opium and intoxicants, had been agreed to without dissent, consideration of the army bill was resumed. The 5th also was devoted to consideration of the army bill, the debate being interrupted, however, for the passage of a bill (H. R. 11821), to ratify an agreement with the Creek Indians. Consideration of the army bill was continued on the 7th.

House.

The first day's session of the house, after the holiday recess (the 3d), brought out a privileged resolution from Olmsted (pp. 575, 576) demanding a reduction of congressional representation from states that limit the suffrage. It was offered in connection with the debate on the apportionment bill (H. R. 12,740). In the midst of the debate on Olmsted's resolution the house adjourned for the day, resuming the debate on the 4th, when Shattuc offered a substitute (p. 618). In supporting his substitute with a speech on the 5th, Shattuc presented a table (printed p. 664) showing the character of suffrage restrictions in the several states. The apportionment proposed by the majority and the minority reports, respectively, of the census committee, was tabulated in one of the speeches, and is printed in the Record (p. 669). The reapportionment debate continued on the 7th.

MISCELLANY

DESTINY.

For The Public.

Hark to the drums! to the far faint roll of the drums of God.
 Look down the years! where faint as a star my Country comes.
 With her proud head high, and her flags afloat, she's smiling trod
 Her first firm step in the way of death; and the muffled drums
 Of the living God her downward, deathward march begin to beat.
 It is roses now, and cheers, and all things seem to wait
 Her proudful nod. It is roses now about her head, about her feet.
 But her star-white feet are set toward the skull-crowned gate.
 They shall come at last to the scaffold steps, where wrong, and hate,
 And lust of blood, and the cry of the weak, are explete.
 Her wretched head shall sink beneath time's sullen sod.

Still triumphs through the silent years
the living God!

It is roses now, and flags, and high exultant cheers.

Red is the cup, the wet red cup our mad hands lift on high:

But dim on the wind I hear the children's cry through tears,

As they reap, back bent, in the field of tyranny.

Thorns they shall reap, thick sowed, and know the armed heel

Of fattened insolence. The low shall whine and whimper in their dread.

They shall pray one breath of freedom, and shall feel the thrust of steel;

And wives shall lie a-tremble in the bed.

Liberty is dead! Stabbed in her chosen house, and stripped all bare,

Her white corse thrown unto the birds of air.

And blood smeared, like a pirate, see! the Great Republic paves

An oozy path to Death with red unholy graves.

And thou of highest post and lowest deed!

Smooth tongued to speak the lie in saintly chosen words—

Not God himself shall keep thee from thy certain meed—

Adulterer with villainy and Moloch of the swords.

Go, blazen on our banner, crown and bolt and scepter rod.

Bow all ye grinning people to your overlord's behest.

Gone are the sons of Freedom with the trumpet voice of God.

Blind in the stony mill of shame, treads the giant of the west.

Hear my voice of truth-wrought prophecy and blame,

Oh, ye traders of bright honor for dull gold,

Ye have bartered soul for sodden gain and shame;

Ye shall tread the paths destructionward to desolation cold.

Not yet—not yet! The sea is old, the earth is very gray.

It is roses now, and burnished gold, and drunken lusty cheers.

But earth is old, and sea is old, and downward lies the way

To the judgment and the scaffold in the shadow of the years.

O! ye fools, dull fools, ye people! ye! the burdened ones, and blind.

What is your gain, ye shouting ones, for the fetters which ye bind?

Look home! ye ridden cattle; look not with lust abroad.

Ye are puppets of your masters. Hark! I hear the drums of God!

C. E. S. W.

"OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF BABES."

For The Public.

The High School Professor wore bifocal glasses and was very wise. He had studied in a \$40,000,000 university and had a diploma to prove it. It was written in Latin. As I remarked a moment ago, he was very wise. He was especially strong in applications of algebra to the problems of economics. Some day, he fondly hoped, he

would be able to show by a proper solution of the equation

$$\frac{3 \text{ payx}}{2x \div (y \div z) - ab} = rot$$

that the idle and riotous classes are up against the inevitable, and that protest is of all things the most futile.

The Little Girl who was preparing the oration was all right, but she had somewhere absorbed the heterodox notion that, with two continents and five oceans to produce things from, and modern machinery to do it with, the people of the earth could keep themselves from hunger and cold if there were not something wrong with the system. So she chose for her topic "The Man with the Hoe." She showed that he is a type of the downtrodden and disinherited the world over. Then she considered some of the ways proposed for getting rid of him. She spoke of Gen. Booth, and Karl Marx, and Edward Bellamy and their various ways of doing away with the Man. Finally she referred to Henry George. She said that in her humble opinion this great philosopher had put forward the only really adequate mode of abolishing the Man with the Hoe. There was unused land in plenty in America, and in every other part of the world, she said, for all. Give the workless a chance to get upon the land, and the labor problem would be solved.

The Professor smiled indulgently and said to the Little Girl: "Your language is very good. Your sentences are well formed, and the marshalling of ideas quite effective. As to the data upon which you have founded your conclusions, perhaps you will accept a little criticism. You speak of permitting the working classes to go upon what you call the unused land. Now, if you will carefully study the reference books in the library, you will learn that the United States have no considerable area of unused land which is capable of any productive use. All the good land is taken up. You are therefore basing your oration upon false premises. Do you not think, in view of this error, that it would be better to choose another topic, or give the one you have chosen a different treatment?"

The Little Girl said to the Professor: "Please come to the window."

They looked out over a city of scattered buildings, with many vacant lots between, and out still further into suburbs of untilled and sparsely settled "additions."

"Do you see any unused land there?" said she.

"Why—why! Is that what you mean?" asked the Professor.

"That is the land I mean," replied the Little Girl; and there was silence for a long time.

"We'll look this oration over again," said the Professor. "I have some engagements coming on soon, now. I shall have time next week to give you a few minutes again, and I have no doubt that we shall be able to make a very good oration of it."

And the Little Girl, having received much help, went home.

H. Q.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Remarks of John Sherwin Crosby, at services in memory of Thomas G. Shearman, Plymouth church, Brooklyn, N. Y., December 30, 1900.

It is now a score of years and more since Henry George instituted in the high court of a world-wide public opinion his all-embracing, still pending suit in universal equity, a suit to recover for and to secure to each one of the children of men his equal, rightful share in the common heritage of the race—a suit to which you and I, and all men everywhere, are necessarily parties on one side or the other, and in which no man may enter a disclaimer, for the rights in issue are inherent and inalienable.

However often that great cause may come up for hearing, and whenever and wherever it shall be finally submitted, neither counsel nor court will need other brief than that filed by Thomas G. Shearman. How long the cause may linger upon the calendar no man can tell, but it will not be dismissed; it will hold its place until there shall be a final hearing and a decision upon the merits. Of the result there can be no doubt. All the evidence points but one way. There is no conflict of testimony, no flaw in the muniments of title. In Nature's great parchment deed we read that one man has as much and the same right on earth as another, while in the inspired record of a Divine Testament it is written: "The earth hath he given to the children of men;" and we know that some day sooner or later a decree will be entered in accordance with the prayer of that grandest of all bills in equity: "Progress and Poverty." However distant that day may be, and however many and able advocates may from time to time, from term to term as it were, appear in behalf of that

cause, whenever the judgment roll shall be made up, all through it from beginning to end will stand the record entry: "Thomas G. Shearman, of Counsel."

There can be no higher honor in human achievement than that which attaches to distinguished service in some great, unpopular movement essential to human freedom. There is no especial honor in espousing what is popular, however worthy it may be. "Then to side with truth is noble, ere 'tis prosperous to be just." The mental and moral characteristics necessary to the winning of such honor are those which possessed in large degree constitute true greatness in man. They are ability, honesty and courage. There must be ability to perceive the significance and appreciate the merits of the particular movement, to distinguish between the true and the false. Some men are ever ready to run after anything new. To others everything new is always a "fad" or a "mere theory," although the oldest and most revered custom must certainly at some time have had a beginning. The so-called existing order has been in every age only a greater or less degree of disorder, of departure from the one only true order, that which nature ordains. Ability is necessary to decide whether any proposed movement leads toward the natural order, or merely to a further complication of existing disorder. There must also be honesty, the sincere desire to be right and to do justice, a willingness to surrender and forego any personal advantage or advancement that may seem to stand in the way of right thinking or doing. And there must be courage, sufficient strength of purpose to withstand and as far as possible overcome any and all opposition brought to bear upon the cause and its adherents.

That Mr. Shearman possessed all these characteristics in a marked degree was clearly demonstrated by his distinguished service in the George movement, one of the greatest and most important ever inaugurated in behalf of universal freedom, a movement whose unpopularity was second only to its righteousness.

Striking proof of intellectual ability appears in the fact that he had already advanced to middle life when first called upon to give his assent to the then novel theory advanced by Mr. George. It has been said that when Harvey made known his discovery of the circulation of the blood no physician in all England over 40 years of age would accept the theory as true. It

would seem that whatever circulation may be necessary to intellectual progress does have a tendency to stop at about that time in the life of an ordinary man. Or is it pride of opinion, that most pernicious of all forms of pride, that so closes the mind to the reception of newly-discovered truth? Happy the man who can indeed grow old. With most of us ageing is anything but growth.

That Mr. Shearman's treatment of the single tax was able goes without saying; he never treated any subject otherwise than ably. He brought to it rare faculties already trained to the special service he was to render. Mr. George, by a course of deductive reasoning, had arrived at the conclusion that land values were sufficient to provide all public revenues. Mr. Shearman inductively demonstrated the correctness of that conclusion, as well as the justice of appropriating those values to public use, and the necessity of so doing if we would abolish the great and ever-increasing industrial and social evils inevitably arising from the prevailing modes of taxation which he showed to be unnatural and denounced as crooked. He made it so plain that it ought to be seen by professors of political economy, who tell us that nature gives no hint as to taxation. But some folks can't take a hint, and man has for the most part been kicked into whatever he enjoys of natural, rational mode of life. Mr. Shearman was a statistician who could distinguish between statistics and principles. Standing on principle he routed time-serving statisticians with their own guns. His honesty was no less evident than his ability. His remarkable book, entitled "Natural Taxation," so full of logic and of facts, reads more like the opinion of an able and disinterested judge than the argument of an advocate.

He was, indeed, able and honest, but what especially challenges my admiration is the splendid courage of the man. Ability, honesty and courage, these three, and the rarest if not the greatest of these is courage, that courage which, like charity, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, beaveth not itself unseemly. Mr. Shearman was peculiarly exposed to the force of that great, powerful, stupid though unnecessary tyrant, public opinion, that mob which is ever ready to lynch an idea if it be new, and often would if ideas were not immortal. His friends and associates were prominent, influential and conservative. He had already on former occasions, in the discharge of professional duties and the obligations of a

strong friendship, incurred no small degree of unpopularity, and he must have been especially anxious to conserve as far as possible the respect and good will of those upon whom he was mainly dependent for continued professional success and social standing. He could not expect any of them to understand why he should espouse a movement which seemed to menace the existing order. They would not take the time, but would honestly, and we know how honest ignorance may be, consider him if not vicious at least weak, lacking in common sense, and most men would rather be thought knave than fool. Under the imperious pressure of this deterring influence how readily would many a man have excused himself from active participation in the work, taking counsel with prudence and fear against the promptings of his better nature. Not so Thomas G. Shearman. He wasn't built that way. He had the same magnificent courage as that of his friend, that great preacher who brought the poor slave girl with her chains into the house of God, and from this very pulpit sold her into freedom.

I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom
to think,
And when he has thought, be his cause
strong or weak,
Will risk t'other half for the freedom
to speak;
Caring naught for what vengeance the
mob has in store,
Let that mob be the upper ten thousand
or lower.

To such men the world owes the progress it has made; to them it must look for that which is to be. We do well to honor them even in death, but greater honor to us as a people will it be when we are wise enough to honor them living, to give them at least the honor of an intelligent hearing. We build triumphal arches to the living hero of a single naval victory, but pay little heed to the heroic souls whose strong endeavor is fast conquering for us the time when war shall be no more.

I would not blame the timid and conservative. Courage of any sort is a kind of ability and a man may be no more responsible for the lack of it than for any other inherent defect of character, but I would warn young men not to worship at the shrine of conservatism. I would say to them in the words of Beecher:

Listen not to the everlasting conservative, who pines and whines at every attempt to drive him from the spot where he has lazily cast his anchor. Every abuse must be abolished. The whole system must be settled on the right basis.

Settle it ten times and settle it wrong, you will have the work to begin again. Be satisfied with nothing but the complete enfranchisement of humanity, and the restoration of man to the image of his God.

But how are abuses to be abolished? How shall the whole system be settled on the right basis? The abuse must become apparent, known to be an abuse, even though it be called a vested right. The right basis must be discovered. Some man must think of these things, and when he has thought he must speak of them again and again; must even shock the dull, inattentive ear of a sluggish, conceited public opinion. Of what use all the long struggle for that freedom of thought, of speech, and of the press which we are now said to enjoy, unless we do indeed and in truth enjoy it; unless we do freely think and speak, aye, and listen to what is spoken? The truth, now so plain to us all, at some time shocked our conservative ancestors. They were shocked when Locke wrote against the divine right of kings, when Garrison denounced slavery, and when Lincoln declared there could be no vested rights against human rights. And so we are shocked when Henry George points out that land monopoly is the gigantic abuse of the age, a sin against God and man, and when Shearman demonstrates that land values constitute the true source of public revenues, the right basis of a system of taxation. We need to be shocked. Let us, as Beecher says, be satisfied with nothing but the complete enfranchisement of humanity, and when admittedly able and honest men tell us such enfranchisement can never come under existing conditions for whose continuance we are responsible, let us at least try to understand what it really is that they propose.

What an uprising on all sides there now is in a crusade against that social vice and civic corruption which is as old as civilization itself. And the methods which we for the most part would use for the repression and dissipation of these diseases of society; are they not equally old? Have they not been tried again and again; and have they not always failed? Are we willing to go to the seat of the disease? The overcrowding of tenement districts with all its resulting poverty, sickness, vice and crime, is the inevitable effect of land monopoly. Civic corruption is due in large measure to corrupt basic modes of maintaining the body politic. It grows by what it feeds on. There is that which by nature's law is mine; there is that which is thine, and there is that which is ours. We have

gotten them strangely and wickedly mixed and confounded.

O, for more philosophers like Henry George, more clergymen like Edward McGlynn, more statesmen like Thomas G. Shearman. A hundred such men could, and, with the help of God, would, save New York. And how would that help come but through the cooperation of thousands of other brave men and women who believe in God and man, who welcome justice, and who fear not to follow freedom!

It is often remarked when a man of prominence passes away that his place will soon be filled, that he will not long be missed by the world at large. This is ordinarily true. Hundreds stand ready and eager to take the place made vacant by the death of a leader in business or professional life, and the work he had done so well continues to be no less satisfactorily done. But who speaks for Thomas G. Shearman's place? It will be hard to fill. That of Edward McGlynn is still vacant. Henry George's never can be filled. There is, indeed, room at the top. George, McGlynn and Shearman, benefactors of their race, servants of the Most High, saints who from their labors rest.

THE "TRIBES" IN THE PHILIPPINES.

A tract written by Senor Sixto Lopez, and published by the New England Anti-Imperialist league, Boston, Mass.

Statements have been made to the effect that we are divided into 84 tribes, speaking different languages, and of all degrees of barbarism and civilization; that these "tribes" are at enmity with each other; that they would never agree to form a united, strong government; and that one warlike "tribe" is seeking to dominate all the others, and to rule with an iron hand the weaker and peaceable citizens of our country.

These statements are entirely incorrect.

That there are a few uncivilized or semi-civilized peoples still inhabiting the northern part of Luzon and the interior of the island of Mindanao is a fact which no one disputes. They correspond roughly to the uncivilized or semi-civilized remnants of the Indian tribes still inhabiting certain parts of the United States.

The Schurman commission is responsible for the statements about these 84 different "tribes." But it is clear that the commissioners' list has been compiled from imperfectly kept and still more imperfectly spelt Spanish records. The confusion into which they and others have fallen

in reference to the so-called "tribes" is due to the fact that our country is divided not only into provinces but into provincial districts; wherein slightly different dialects are spoken. The inhabitants of these provincial districts have been confused with the few mountain peoples. The latter have been subdivided by purely artificial boundaries, by which means a small community has been subdivided into two or more "tribes." Additional "tribes" have also been created by the incorrect spelling of local Spanish officials, and by giving two native equivalents for the same people—as for instance, when two "tribes" are created by calling the one Buquils and the other Buquiles, which is equivalent to saying that there are two "tribes" in England, the English and the British.

Examining the list still more in detail, we find that there are said to be two tribes of Aetas, two more of Attas, and one of Atas. These are not tribes at all. The word "Aeta" is the Tagalog equivalent of "Negrito." This word has been spelt in three different ways by careless Spanish officials, and thus multiplied by the commissioners into three separate and distinct "tribes." The word "Baluga" is another native equivalent for the Negritos, and this word is also given by the commission as the name of a separate and distinct "tribe." It would be just as absurd to regard the Americans as one tribe and the "Yankees" as another, and then to increase these two tribes into four or more by misspelling the word "Americans," or by translating it into French. The names are also given of "tribes" which do not exist in the Philippines at all, as, for instance, the Manguianes of Masbate, the Manguianes of Ticao, the Negritos of Tayabas. I have been in all of these places, but I never saw or heard of these "tribes," nor have I ever met anyone who had seen or heard of them.

Thus, by the process of imagination, bad spelling, translation, subdivision and multiplication the 15,000 Negritos are split up into 21 "tribes!"

There are also said to be 16 Indonesian "tribes" in the island of Mindanao. It would be interesting to know where the commissioners obtained this information. The interior of Mindanao has never been explored; all that is known of it with any degree of certainty is that the inhabitants are Indonesians, and that they are divided into sections under small chiefs or head men.

It would be impossible, in the time

at my disposal, to even attempt to explain all the errors and confusions of this list prepared by the Schurman commission. It is sufficient to say that by the processes which I have indicated the few semi-civilized people and the civilized inhabitants of the provincial districts in Luzon and the Visayas have been multiplied into 84 "tribes."

Now, as a native of the country, and as one who has given some attention to the ethnography of the archipelago, both by personal research and by a study of the best works on the subject, I may be permitted to give a brief statement of the facts.

There has been a considerable amount of speculation about the Negritos, who are erroneously regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole archipelago. But Pedro A. Paterno, one of our most capable ethnologists, and others have shown that the Negritos are the surviving remnant of the slaves brought to our islands by the Moros in the eleventh and subsequent centuries. They are not especially negroid in appearance, and only those inhabiting the province of Bataan in Luzon have curly hair.

In the large and only partially explored island of Mindanao there are several Indonesian "tribes," the chief of which are the Subanos, estimated to number from 50,000 to 70,000; the Mendayas, who are estimated to number 35,000, and the Tagabauas, comprising about 30,000. The Mendayas and the Manobos are said to practice the one human sacrifice, and the other ceremonial cannibalism. But the evidence of this is conflicting and untrustworthy. It is also said that the small "tribe" of 4,000 Ilongotes in Luzon are head-hunters. This has been denied and asserted on equally untrustworthy authority. I have never met or heard of anyone who had witnessed any of these practices. The information has always come from a neighboring people. The idea has probably arisen by travelers having seen the heads of criminals erected on spears, just as one might have witnessed the same thing a century or two ago on Temple Bar or London bridge. But if that proved head-hunting on the part of the Ilongotes, it also proves that the English people were head-hunters.

If, however, these statements are true, they are paralleled by the scalp-hunting Indians of the United States, and by the human sacrifices and ceremonial cannibalism of the Canadian Indians.

There are also the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulus. They are of course Mohammedans, and some of their institutions are contrary to the true ideals of morality and liberty.

There are a few natives on Mindoro who have not been Christianized nor tyrannized by Spain. But they have a religion and a code of morals of their own, the latter of which they adhere to and which in many respects is superior to that practiced by the Spaniards. They believe in one God and are monogamists. They are a moral and hospitable people who do their duty to their fellow man, worship God in their own way, and do not believe in any kind or form of devil.

The so-called wild men of Luzon are the Igorrotes, who are "a warlike but semi-civilized people, living in villages, owning farms and cattle, irrigating their rice fields, mining and working gold and copper and forging swords and spear heads of iron," but who have never been converted to Christianity or subdued by Spain. They are, however, prepared to submit to and recognize Aguinaldo's government and have sent him presents of gold dust to assist in the war. The Igorrotes are probably an early branch of the Malayan race which originally populated the island.

These uncivilized and semi-civilized people are not separate genealogical tribes. The inhabitants of Mindanao are a homogeneous people of common Indonesian descent, who have become divided into sections under petty chiefs or head men, some of which have slight differences of dialect which have arisen gradually owing to there being little or no intercommunication. But most of them speak the same dialect.

Let us now glance very briefly at the remaining millions of Filipinos, who are generally regarded as belonging to the Malayan race.

They constitute more than nineteen-twentieths of the entire population of the archipelago, and are divided into provincial districts, inhabited by Visayans, the Tagalogs, the Bicolos, the Ilocanos, the Pangasinans, the Pampangans and the Cagayans. All of these provincial people belong to one race and all of them are Christian people practicing the morals and arts of civilization, and speaking dialects which are as similar to each other as are the dialects of the different provinces in England. The divergence between these dialects is much less than that between the Spanish and the Italian languages. I

have traveled alone in Italy; I do not know Italian; but I have had no difficulty in understanding and in making myself understood by the Italians. Similarly, I have traveled in the Visayas and elsewhere in the Philippines and have had very much less difficulty in communicating with the Visayans and the Bicolos. A Tagalog will become proficient in the Visayan or other dialects within a fortnight, and vice versa.

As a matter of fact, the difference between the dialects of the seven provincial districts would not be a real difficulty to independent self-government. First, because the difference is so slight, and secondly, because Spanish is the official language of our country, spoken by the educated people of all provinces; and, as the Schurman commission declares, these educated people are far more numerous than is generally supposed. When Tagalogs, or Visayans, or Bicolos meet they never dream of speaking in their own dialects; intercourse between them is carried on in Spanish. And I may state parenthetically that the Filipinos have so excelled in Spanish as to have won valuable literary prizes in competition with the Spaniards themselves. Dr. Jose Rizal, at the age of 17, took the first prize in the Cervantes literary competition at Manila, which was open to Spaniards and Filipinos alike in both Spain and the Philippines.

But if the language were a difficulty under Filipino rule it would be a still greater difficulty under American rule, due to the necessity of the introduction of English, which would form a third language in our islands.

Other countries do not find that a difference in language forms a difficulty to self-government. In every country in the world, with perhaps the exception of the United States, there are two or more languages or dialects spoken by the people.

The only difficulty with regard to language in any of these countries has been due to jealousy as to which language should become the official one. This difficulty has already been settled in the Philippines.

Now as to the supposed enmity between the so-called "tribes." Such enmity is quite unknown among our people. There may be, and no doubt there is, enmity between individuals, but the enmity does not exist between the so-called "tribes" or provinces. During the short term when our government was not interfered with the most perfect harmony and unanimity

existed, and provincial and racial differences were never even thought of.

When our government was first established, emissaries came from almost all the provinces and islands declaring their support on behalf of those from whom they came. Even the Moros of Mindanao and Igorrotes of North Luzon who had never been subdued by Spain, acclaimed Aguinaldo and were prepared to recognize his government. Our "asamblea" or representative chamber, under the new constitution, comprised representatives of all the provinces. Some of these provinces include two or more islands, while some islands are divided into two or more provinces. Thus the province of Romblon includes the islands of Romblon, Tablas, Sibuyan and other smaller islands, while Panay is divided into four and Luzon into many provinces. It should be remembered that these provinces are separated by artificial boundaries.

They are geographical but not racial areas. Frequently in one province two dialects are used, as in North Camarines, where Tagalog and Bicol are spoken. On the other hand, in some cases two or more provinces use only one dialect, as in the 13 provinces where Tagalog is spoken. A Spaniard or other foreigner cannot distinguish any difference in the accent of the inhabitants of these 13 provinces, although a native may in some cases, but not in all, be able to tell whether a speaker is from, say, Batangas or Bulacan. But to imagine that the inhabitants of these provinces generally are at enmity with each other, or that they would be likely to tear one another's throats, is as absurd as to suppose the inhabitants of Massachusetts would naturally desire to rend the men of New Hampshire or Rhode Island.

The inter-relations of the people of the several provincial districts show that no such enmity has existed or does now exist. For instance: In the schools and colleges, especially in Manila, there are representatives of all the chief provincials, and it would be impossible to tell which were which. I may be pardoned for here referring to myself. I am a Tagalog; but it would be impossible for another Filipino to say, judging from external appearances only, whether I was a Bicol, a Visayan, a Tagalog, or a Pangasinan. The only way of discovering from which provincial district I came would be by means of the dialect.

There are many institutions in the Philippines the benefits of which are

not confined to the people of any one province. For example there is an educational institution (purely Filipino) granting scholarships which enable the winners to study in Europe. These scholarships are open to all Filipinos in the archipelago.

In Japan the official representative of the so-called "Tagalog Despotism" is an Ilocano. In Madrid all the Filipinos have formed themselves into a committee and are working unitedly for independence. The president of the committee is a Bicol, the vice-president an Ilocano, the secretary a Visayan, the treasurer a Tagalog and the remainder of the committee are Tagals, Visayans, Bicol, Ilocanos and Pangasinans. In Barcelona, in Paris and in London the same diversity of province and the same unanimity of purpose obtain. Among all the Filipinos resident in Europe, who represent the educated and moneyed classes, and who know something of European methods of government, there is not one "Americanista."

This is an important fact, because all these men are entirely free from the supposed despotism of Aguinaldo or Gen. MacArthur. They are thus free from all external influences, yet every one of them has voluntarily chosen to support Aguinaldo and to work for the independence of our country.

As a matter of fact, with the exception of the few uncivilized tribes in central Mindanao and the Sulus, and the semicivilized Igorrotes and Negritos of Luzon to which I have referred, the Filipinos are a homogeneous people belonging to the Malayan race. They speak several dialects, but they are one people. They constitute an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Philippines. They are opposed not solely to American, but to any foreign rule; and they are united in the desire for independence and for the purpose of maintaining a stable, independent government.

In conclusion, I again assert without fear of contradiction, that the alleged antagonisms between the inhabitants of the provincial districts, or between the so-called "tribes," have arisen not in the minds of the Filipinos themselves, but in the minds of those who do not understand our peoples and who have reached conclusions in no way warranted by the facts.

I have also been asked to say a word about a so-called "tribe" not included in the commissioners' list. It has been stated that "the Macabebes are fighting on the American side." The statement has been made in a manner which would convey the idea that the Maca-

bebes are a large tribe somewhat like the Tagalogs, and that it is therefore clear that all the Filipinos do not desire native rule. You will no doubt be surprised to learn that the Macabebes, or Macabebians as they should be called, are simply the inhabitants of the town of Macabebe in Pampanga. The population of this town has been estimated at from 4,000 to 10,000 all told, and of these only 200 are scouting for the American forces. If that shows disunity on the part of 10,000,000 Filipinos—well, "make the most of it!"

I should like to mention that these same Macabebians also fought for Spain against the Filipinos in the insurrection of 1896. Apparently they prefer foreign rule of any kind, whether it be Spanish or American, to that of their own. We are glad, therefore, that such men as these are not fighting on our side.

"JUDGED PREMATURE."

For The Public.

A plain, common, back-country farmer
Is all that I set up to be,
And I never have looked for distinction
To come within arm's length of me;
But I'm nursing an idea, in common
With millions, as I have no doubt;
And as far as I know I'm the first man
Of all to risk speaking it out.

The idea is this, briefly stated:
That William McKinley should be
The first of America's presidents
A third term in office to see.
We have authorized him to interpret
Constitution and statutes himself,
And he may with preeminent fitness
Lay that "unwritten law" on the shelf.

I well understand there are others,
Impressed with the need of the hour,
To lead our adventurous nation along
The path of empire and world power;
But what other man has the genius
McKinley has shown for this game,
Who sanctifies criminal aggression
And conquers in liberty's name?

A third term for William McKinley!
With his no man's claims can compare.
He hunts with the hounds to acceptance,
And also runs well with the hare.
He backs up our boldest transgressions
And at the same time acts the part
Of a salve for the national conscience
And a balm for the national heart.

JAY HAWKINS.

Haskell Flats, N. Y.

Uncle Reuben—I jes' com' t' town
t' git a couple o' sideboards, an' tho't
I'd drap in t' see you.

City Niece—Why, Uncle Reuben,
what do you expect to do with two
sideboards in your house?

Uncle Reuben—Say, I'm talkin'
about my farm wagon; what air you
talkin' about?—Ohio State Journal.

"But all Chinamen are not so capable as their minister at Washington, are they?" asked the learning maiden.

"I should hope not," responded the congressman from the Pacific coast; "if there were where would we be?"

G. T. E.

She—I'm glad we went. It was an excellent performance—and for such a charitable purpose.

Her Husband—Yes, indeed! We all feel a thrill of satisfaction when we do something for charity and get the worth of our money at the same time.

Anteprophet—I don't see the pressing need of a cable to the Philippines.

Antiperialist—You don't, and the war continuing for months just because we have not been able to send to the yellow rebels the news of Bryan's defeat!

G. T. E.

BOOK NOTICES.

"A Book of Verse" (J. V. Pierce, 220 Randolph street, Chicago) is an exquisitely printed, prettily bound, but modest little book of poems, dedicated to M. M. Mangasarian by the author, Jerome V. Pierce. All the verses are agreeable and musical. "The Wronged" is especially strong, and indicates a true diagnosis of the social disease.

JANUARY MAGAZINES.

—Leading with a symposium on "Christian Science and the Healing Art," by ex-Judge W. G. Ewing, Charles Brodie Patterson, John Brooks Leavitt and J. W. Winkley, the Arena (New York: the Alliance Publishing company; subscription, \$2.50; single numbers, 25 cents) contains also contributions on the spiritual in literature, by Sara A. Underwood, on the relation of labor to credits, by William H. Van Ornum, and on the possibilities of socialism without revolution, by Waldorf H. Phillips; besides a Chicago university study on "The Criminal Negro," by Frances A. Kellor, and a conversation on great actors in the classical drama, by Joseph Haworth. The editorials are by B. O. Flower.

—The International Journal of Ethics (Philadelphia: International Journal of Ethics, 1305 Arch street. London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Patenoster square. Subscription, \$2.50 or 10 shillings; single numbers, 65 cents.) leads with a discussion of "War and Peace," which is followed by John Jay Chapman with a fine democratic article on "The Unity of Human Nature." The subject of two of the other articles is the late Henry Sidgwick, the English philosophical writer and teacher; and the rest deal with education in Japan, a paper by a Japanese writer, with an ethical aspect of Prof. Dewey's psychological theories, with children's classes in ethics, and with a consideration of the ancient Greek view of life.

—The old North American Review, now in its eighty-sixth year, begins the new century with a leader on "Our New Possessions," by ex-President Harrison. Among the other articles is one on ship subsidies by Louis Windmuller, one on

British politics by the duke of Argyle, one on Australasia, by Hugh H. Lush, and one on American verse for a hundred years, by W. D. Howells.

—The tenth chapter of Booker T. Washington's biography, "Up from Slavery," is the feature of the illustrated monthly number of the Outlook.

The edition of "The Public" this week is 6,000.

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