

The Public

Fifth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JANUARY 10, 1903.

Number 249.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post Office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

A "knocker" is one who condemns the bad things that you approve.

Suggestion for a Republican toast: "Here's to a full dinner pail and an empty coal bin. Let the so-called trusts alone and stand pat, stand pat!"

There is something pathetically serio-comic about the lantern hunt that is being made for a conspiracy of local coal dealers to shut off the coal supply. There are no longer any local coal dealers who are independent of the great coal trust. For two years this trust has been freezing out local coal dealers, until now even the largest firms are only its clerks.

Attorney General Knox strikes a true note on the trust question when in his letter to the House judiciary committee he writes: "In my judgment a monopoly in any industry would be impossible in this country . . . if competition were assured in a fair and open field. . ." Let the administration follow that clue wherever it leads, and the credit of forever settling the trust question would be Mr. Roosevelt's. But the clue leads straight to the ownership of coal fields, highway rights and terminal sites. Mr. Roosevelt would again get "cold feet" when that goal came into view.

In view of the revelations Maj. Glenn is making at his trial in Manila for murdering Filipino prisoners of war, revelations that trace to high military authority full responsibility

for the atrocities committed by American soldiers in the Philippines, it is no wonder that American sentiment in Manila was opposed, as the Chicago Inter Ocean dispatch of December 6 announced, "to the reopening of the case and again exposing the troubles in the army." It was thought, so the Inter Ocean correspondent then cabled, that "the less said about these matters the better." And so it turns out. The great crime appears to be coming home to the guilty in high places.

President Roosevelt's appointment of a Negro to the post of collector of customs at Charleston and his suspension of a Mississippi post office because the Negro postmistress was forced by local intimidation to resign, are in themselves laudable acts as indications of a democratic spirit. But they lose all their moral value when it is considered that the President confines his manifestations of race democracy to the South. He appoints no Negroes to local Federal office in States that are dominated by his own party. Mr. Roosevelt should consider that political equality of the Negro is not a medicine to be administered to the South; it is a principle for universal application.

Dr. John Bascom, whose remarks about Rockefeller's contributions we commented upon favorably last week (p. 610), has come in, as might be expected, for an avalanche of abuse from newspapers and "leading citizens," for proclaiming the foulness of John D. Rockefeller's money and denouncing the educational and religious institutions that accept his gifts. As Dr. Bascom is professor of sociology in a college that gets none of Rockefeller's loot, it is easy to surmise with reasonable accuracy from the experience he is undergoing for

plain speaking, what might happen to professors of sociology, political economy, and moral philosophy, in colleges that do accept Rockefellerian plunder, if those professors were to speak with similar candor. Even professors of history in such institutions would be brave men if they brought Ida Tarbell's story of the Standard oil trust to the attention of their classes, or invited their students to examine Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth." It is encouraging to find Dr. Bascom standing courageously by his guns. He replies vigorously to his critics. And he does so with the same faculty of acute distinction that he showed in discriminating between unearned fortunes legally obtained (that is, given by the public) and unearned fortunes lawlessly obtained (that is, stolen from the public). Asked if all charitable gifts from Rockefeller should be rejected, he replied with scathing irony:

Well, I should say that if a beggar came up to Mr. Rockefeller and asked for a dollar and then discovered where the dollar was coming from, if he were a beggar who discriminated between one dollar and another, he would promptly refuse the money of the Standard Oil magnate.

It is refreshing to read outspoken condemnations by judges, even if not in their judicial capacity, of the tendency of police authorities to violate fundamental law in their efforts to detect comparatively minor offenses. Such a condemnation is that of Judge Gaynor, a Supreme Court justice of New York, in a paper he contributes to the North American Review for January. The following quotation from Judge Gaynor ought to be pasted in the hat of every police official, from country constable to city superintendent:

It is often of little consequence, and seldom of great consequence,

whether an individual suspected or actually guilty of a criminal offense, be arrested or convicted of it; but it is always of transcendent importance that he be not arrested or convicted except in accordance with those restrictions and safeguards which the people, taught by dire experience of arbitrary power, have by their constitutions and laws prescribed. We have in our fundamental instruments of government in this country, called constitutions and bills of rights, certain guarantees of individual liberties and rights, including freedom from unlawful arrests, invasions and searches, which we inherit from magna charta and the common law of England. . . . They are the warp and the woof of our system of laws and government, and without them free government cannot exist. But the police are not alone in need of reminders such as that, and Judge Gaynor takes occasion to admonish the people themselves of the dangers with which police lawlessness, even with good motives, is pregnant:

Crimes and vices are evils to the community; but it behooves a free people never to forget that they have more to fear from the growth of the one vice of arbitrary power in government than from all other vices and crimes combined.

Perhaps the last place on earth to look with confidence for a sensible explanation of the trust problem is in the editorial columns of the Chicago Tribune. Yet in those very columns, on the 1st of the month, the coming in of the new year was celebrated with just such an explanation. Referring to the fact that the steel trust "is in the market for iron mines and ore lands," and that it has recently bought up two competing steel companies, "not so much to get their plants as to get the mines they owned," the Tribune proceeds with its explanation:

The mere purchase of the steel mills of independent concerns will not give the steel corporation that monopoly of a great industry which the men at the head of it would like to acquire. There will always be capital available for the construction of iron furnaces and steel mills except in the contingency that a sufficient supply of ore cannot be obtained. If the steel corporation shall become the owner of the cream of the ore lands it will have a natural monopoly and will occupy an impregnable position. The supply of iron

ore is not so limited as is that of anthracite, but some ore beds are rich and are so near the surface that they can be cheaply worked. Other deposits are of inferior quality and are not so easily worked. The independent company which had to depend on the inferior mines would find effective competition impossible.

Nothing is more obviously true, and nothing so true could be better said. The key to the trust problem is not the monopolization of plants and other artificial capital. All that kind of thing can be easily reproduced, so long as labor is abundant. The true key is the monopolization of natural opportunities, which include not only ore mines and the like, but also, as the Tribune doubtless knows, transportation rights of way and terminal sites. Put an end to the monopolization of such privileges and the trust problem would be instantly solved.

A curious and possibly significant political tendency has become visible in Victoria, Australia, as a result of the state ownership and operation of the railroad system. It is nothing less than a proposal in the new Victorian parliament to disfranchise railroad servants as citizens and enfranchise them as a guild. The late parliament was dissolved over a labor question connected with railroad operation. The ministry having proposed to reduce the pay of railroad employes, the employes threatened to strike. This alarmed the parliament and it refused to sustain the ministry, which thereupon appealed to the country. General elections for the new parliament were consequently held last Fall. Upon the reorganization, the ministry, having in mind the cause of the dissolution, introduced a bill providing that civil servants be deprived of their votes in their districts, and in lieu thereof be allowed as a body to elect two members of parliament. Strangely enough the distinctly socialistic trend of this proposal does not attract the attention of those people on the watch towers who are peculiarly sensitive to anything "socialistic." All they see in it is a reduction of the

political influence of railroad employes. But if railroad employes are to become a guild with political representation as such, why not employes in other departments of industry? Is there not here an evident manifestation of a tendency toward the substitution in politics of industrial for territorial divisions?

If in any of our criticisms of government statistics we have seemed to insinuate that Mr. Austin, the head of the statistical bureau of the treasury department is guilty of misrepresentation in his boasting bulletins regarding the "favorable" balance of American trade, we humbly take it all back. After his display of enthusiasm last week over the "favorable" balance of India's trade, it is impossible to think of Mr. Austin as a man of fraudulent mind. Guilty knowledge seems to be wholly absent. Whatever other charge might lie at the door of a man who appeals to the trade of India to show that excessive exports make a favorable balance, it is certain that he cannot reasonably be charged with bad faith—not unless he thinks all mankind are fools.

According to Mr. Austin's innocent Indian bulletin, the exports of India have grown from \$79,000,000 in 1850 to \$392,000,000 for the fiscal year ending last March, when the excess of exports over imports was \$127,000,000. "This," writes Mr. Austin, full of enthusiasm for commercial progress in India, makes "India the sixth country to-day in the list of the world's exporting nations." It places her next to the head of the list, the United States still holding first place.

By one of those coincidences that are constantly occurring, Mr. Austin's enthusiasm over India's "favorable" balance was gathering volume about the time that a distinguished Parsee, Dadabhai Naoroji, made a speech in England, in the course of which he complained somewhat bitterly of that same "favorable" balance. And well he might. For the

balance is largely made up of shipments to England in the form of pensions and other British remittances for which no equivalent is received. India is a tributary country. Hence its "favorable" balance of trade. Does that account also for the "favorable" balance of the United States? If not, why not?

The offer which the steel trust makes its employes is somewhat complicated, but its essentials may be easily understood. The trust employs about 168,000 persons. These are divided, for the purposes of the offer, into six classes. Class A includes all who receive salaries of \$20,000 or over, while class F includes all who receive salaries of \$800 or less. In the intermediate classes are those whose salaries run from \$800 to \$20,000. During the current month each may subscribe for shares of preferred 7 per cent. stock in the trust, at \$82.50 per share, in amounts ranging from 5 per cent. of wages in class A up to 20 per cent. in class F, the subscription price to be deducted from his monthly wages in such sums as he may specify, not to exceed 25 per cent. of his wages in any one month. The whole amount must be paid within three years. Interest at 5 per cent. is to be charged on deferred payments, but meantime the purchaser receives the 7 per cent. dividends which the stock carries, thus getting a profit of 2 per cent. If the purchaser discontinues payments he may withdraw those he has made, surrendering the stock, but retaining the dividends less interest on his deferred payments. When fully paid for, the stock will be delivered to him. Any purchaser who retains his stock, remains continuously in the employ of the trust, and shows "a proper interest in its welfare and progress" (certified by a letter from "a proper official showing that he has worked to promote the best interests of the company in which he has become practically a partner), may receive annually for five years \$5 a share as a bonus; and at the end of the five years he will receive a fur-

ther bonus to be made up of the \$5 bonuses (and interest thereon) which other purchasing employes may have forfeited. In addition to this scheme of stock purchasing a system of profit sharing, based upon minimum annual earnings of \$80,000,000, is to be established. One-half of the employes' share of profits under this system is to be distributed quarterly in cash, while the remainder is to be invested in preferred stock of the trust to be held for the benefit of the employes who remain continually in the employment of the company for five years. It is evident from a careful reading of the official circular that three motives have controlled in the formation of this complex arrangement, all of which come within the idea of "benevolent feudalism." First, a sincere desire to do the workmen good and regulate their lives benevolently; second, an equally sincere desire to head off strikes; and third, a lively hope that when elections come around in which the special privileges of the trust are possibly at stake, the employes can be appealed to effectively in behalf of the concern as "fellow stockholders."

In an official letter from the sultan of Bacolod, one of the Mohammedan regions of the Philippines, a letter which the United States war department has just made public, Americans are described as "a lot of hogs that eat hogs." What makes this description peculiarly offensive is "ye fact yt ye condemned savage" has so closely approximated "ye gospel truth."

The whole history of our Philippine relations, from the time when we began to "edge" Aguinaldo's patriot army back and again back from its place of vantage, all the while pretending to be friendly, down to our lawless declaration of war against the Filipino republic in December, 1898, and through all the destruction we wrought, the anarchy we bred, the loot we took, and the cruelties we inflicted, until the present time, when our paternal government in the isl-

ands is asking for authority to extend from 5,000 to 25,000 acres the limitation upon common lands to be grabbed by American capitalists—from first to last our national conduct has been such as to make it almost an affront to the morals and manners of the lowly beast of Mohammedan detestation to refer to it as a symbol of Yankee character.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM AND THE TAXING POWER.*

I.

The philanthropy of municipal paternalism and the charity of rich individuals, may provide decent and comfortable housing for some of the working poor some of the time; but nothing can secure decent and comfortable housing for all of them all of the time, short of measures that would neutralize legislative and institutional hindrances to their providing such housing for themselves. This necessitates radical changes in taxing methods. It is a mistake to ignore the social potentialities of taxation. The power to tax is truly a power to destroy, and as truly a power to save from destruction.

When taxation hinders industry and diverts the full and regular flow of wealth from the producers of wealth, the working poor are prejudicially affected, and housing problems result. Taxation of that kind is destructive of normal social life. Conversely, a tax that would encourage industry and promote the free and regular flow of wealth to its producers (if any such tax there be), would operate favorably to the working poor, and abate housing problems by conserving and fostering normal social life. Methods of taxation, therefore, are a primary consideration with reference to the problem of housing the working poor.

II.

In that view of the matter it is imperative to ascertain at the outset whether existing methods of taxation do obstruct industry, discourage

*By Louis F. Post, editor of The Public, in the Fall number, 1902, of Municipal Affairs (New York). Reproduced here by special permission of the publishers of Municipal Affairs.

production, and divert the natural flow of wealth from its producers. Whatever helps to make the problem must be eradicated or the problem cannot be solved.

That existing methods of taxation have that effect is more than an inference. When William Pitt told the British parliament that there is a method of taxation whereby "you can tax the last rag from the back and the last bite from the mouth without causing a murmur against high taxes," he was guilty of no exaggeration; yet precisely that method is in operation in all our cities to-day.

If it does not yet tax away the last rag and the last bite from the working poor, it has, at any rate, taxed great masses of them down to the last rag and the last bite, and into squalid homes in the midst of influences physically and morally degenerative.

Pitt's allusion was to indirect taxation. He said it would be a dangerous experiment in a free country to levy a high direct tax, for it might excite revolt. But by taxing articles of daily use and necessity so indirectly that the people will pay the tax and not know it, you may tax them to the ultimate and they will only grumble at hard times, quite oblivious of the fact that it is oppressive taxation that really afflicts them.

When we speak of indirect taxation, however, we are apt to think only of customs tariffs. Though these do belong in that category, and do play an effective part in making housing problems, they are outside the sphere of municipal control and therefore beyond the scope of the present discussion. But customs tariffs are not the only indirect taxes. Nearly all taxation for municipal purposes is indirect. There is hardly an exception other than license taxes (which are inequitably apportioned), betterment assessments (which are crudely adjusted), franchise taxes (which are lightly levied), and so much of the real estate tax as falls upon the value of sites. Approximately, all but these are imposed upon such articles of daily use and necessity as have the magical quality of stealthily shifting the burden of the tax, in the comparatively innocent disguise of high prices, from the nominal tax payer to the final buyer of the article taxed.

Their influence in hindering the efforts of the working poor to house themselves decently and comfort-

ably, is incalculable. Since houses are taxed over and over again, first with a bewildering complexity of taxes on building material and then annually so long as they stand, and inasmuch as these taxes enhance the cost of building operations and maintenance, the prices and rents of houses, regardless of site, are increased to the extent of the taxes plus the accumulated profits upon the amount of taxes advanced. This whole increase, in addition to the natural cost of building operations and maintenance, must be paid by the working poor for the quarters they occupy. What is thus true of the bare housing of the working poor is true, also, of everything necessary to turn their bare houses into family homes—of their furniture, their clothing, their food, their ornaments, of all their necessaries and all their luxuries.

Further, this burden of taxation upon the working poor, when they are compared with the more fortunate classes who suffer from no housing problem of their own and whose means are larger and their benefits from the expenditure of public revenues greater, is appallingly disproportionate, whether the proportion be calculated with reference to the principle of taxation according to individual ability to pay, or of taxation according to public benefits received. Brotherly sympathy is not alone in pleading for the working poor of our cities; it is reinforced by the principle of fiscal justice.

But the depletion of their actual incomes is not the most serious burden which indirect taxation forces this tax-burdened class to bear. The resulting pressure upon industry is more serious still. By enforcing excessive economy, which puts a check upon normal demand for good housing, indirect taxation reacts upon demand for workers in the housing industries, making it less. This restricted demand for workers at house-building, cripples house builders in purchasing-power and checks demand for goods in general and consequently for workers in all occupations. Yet the workers increase, and with the march of invention their productiveness expands. They supply products easier than ever, but their own effective demand relatively diminishes. As an inevitable outcome, keener and keener competition for "jobs" increasingly gluts the

labor market and continually reduces wages.

Reflection will show, then, that indirect taxation deprives the working poor of their natural powers of decent self support in at least two ways. To the extent that it enhances rents and prices which they must pay, it takes from them part of what they actually receive for their work. To the extent that it enforces abnormal economies and thereby diminishes demand for workers, it restricts their incomes by contracting their earning opportunities. In both ways indirect taxation contributes to the development of slums and helps to make the housing problem.

To forestall misapprehension, perhaps I should digress at this point to note the astonishing contention, buttressed by statistics, that the incomes of the working poor, so far from falling, are steadily rising, not only in terms of money, but also in purchasing-power. Even the best of these optimistic statistics fail to prove their case. Though they were quite free from defects in detail, and they are far from that, they altogether ignore the manifest and determining fact that absolute necessities in the civilized life of our time are more numerous and in the aggregate more expensive than those of a generation or two ago. It is not quite legitimate, for illustration, to compare the purchasing-power of a money unit in times when car fares and store clothes are universal necessities in cities, with the purchasing-power of the same money unit when the working poor could walk to their work and their wives and mothers made their clothing. But whatever comforting story the statistics of wages may be made to tell, it should be enough here to note the fact in reply that the perplexing problem of providing housing for the working poor grows in magnitude and forces itself upon the attention of society with increasing persistency. This in itself is eloquent testimony to a stubborn decline in the purchasing-power of wages.

That the decline is explained in part by the heavy taxes the working poor actually but unwittingly pay, cannot be reasonably questioned. That it is further explained by the pressure upon wages of competition in a glutted labor market, due to economizing as an immediate result

of indirect taxation, is demonstrable. But in greatest part it is explained and the housing problem probably chiefly accounted for, by a collateral effect of indirect taxation which William Pitt did not suspect and which yet remains to be considered.

III.

The rentals of city real estate are determined partly with reference to sites, and partly with reference to structures. In both respects they are made excessive by indirect taxation. But the excess thereby produced in so much of the rentals as is determined by sites irrespective of structures, is peculiarly burdensome. It is doubtless the most influential factor of prevailing tax modes, in producing, perpetuating and expanding those industrial and social conditions which have culminated in the perplexing problem of housing the working poor.

For the obtrusive fact must not be ignored, as it so often is, that needs for housing imply needs for sites, and that housing sites must not be too remote from bread-winning localities. Alluding to this fact, Walter A. Wyckoff, the distinguished labor writer, observes in a recent magazine article, referring to the London housing problem, that "the demand is not simply a demand for dwellings," but that "it is a demand for dwellings near, or measurably near, the places of work;" and that "consequently the rentals of such houses were certain to rise, and with rising rentals there has been a contraction of living space on the part of many workmen's families." Why so acute an observer should have overlooked the difference between a rise in house rentals and a rise in site rentals it may not be important to inquire. But the difference itself is important. What Mr. Wyckoff observed was in reality a rise not in house rentals, for appropriate houses of a given cost for construction are no dearer in one place than in another. It was a rise in site rentals, which are determined not by cost, for sites cost nothing to construct, but by scarcity with reference to location.

Now, scarcity of sites is artificially promoted by indirect taxation. To the extent that houses and other products of industry are taxed, the necessity for taxing sites is lessened. Consequently, in most if not all the cities of the United States, building sites—both improved and unimproved—pay in taxes annually only a fraction of their potential an-

nual ground rent. In the cities of Great Britain they pay even a lower rate, if, indeed, they pay anything at all. Wherever definite amounts are raised by taxation, direct taxes upon sites are of course lessened by the amount of indirect taxes upon structures and personal goods. This favors the owners of the valuable sites upon which our cities stand, and enables them to withhold their vacant sites from the market, for higher future prices. It thereby creates an artificial scarcity of that kind of property, which gives to it an exorbitant value.

Just as the coal trust closes vast fields of anthracite deposits, to force its own terms for mining upon working miners, and its own prices upon consumers of coal, so city site owners withhold vacant building sites from the market—close them against present use—to force their exorbitant terms upon builders and tenants. The advances in site values are usually great enough, decade by decade, to encourage this, yielding as they do sufficient for ordinary taxes and a considerable profit over (1).

How enormous and steady are these advances in city site values was vividly illustrated in 1894 by F. R. Chandler, a real estate expert of long experience and high standing in Chicago, who tabulated the unimproved values, from 1830 to 1894, of the quarter-acre site at the southwest corner of State and Madison streets (2). In 1830 this quarter acre-site was worth \$20. Under the influence of a local land "boom," it had leaped in 1836 to \$25,000. The succeeding depression carried it down as low in 1842 as \$1,000. But in 1843 it rose to \$1,100, after which it went on rising year by year, until 1894, when it was worth \$1,500,000. At present it is even more valuable.

Few instances of rising site values can be so exactly described in figures, but this one is typical. Perhaps the most notable phenomenon of city life, next to the evolution of slums, is the enormous growth of site values, from corner lots in business centers like Mr. Chandler's Chicago example, down to little home sites on the city frontiers.

Within certain reasonable limits

(1) A select committee of the House of Representatives found upon evidence in 1892, that the minimum annual increase in Washington sites was ten per cent.—Fifty-second Congress, first session, Report No. 1469.

(2) Illinois Labor Report for 1894, p. 277.

the increase of city site values is normal, and under certain circumstances beneficent. But beyond these limits it is a deplorable result of that dearth of cheap city sites which light taxation of sites promotes. This dearth makes site rentals exorbitant. That in turn checks demand for good housing, thereby discouraging building operations and lessening opportunities for work. Lessened opportunities for work glut the labor market, and that reduces incomes from work. Lowered incomes force or induce lower stages of unwholesome economies, and these in turn again check demand, which further gluts the already glutted labor market and once more depresses incomes from work. So the process of action and reaction goes on, not only in the building trades but in all trades, until it meets a temporary check in one of our periodical depressions. An economic spiral is thus created, around and down which the working poor are chased by mysterious conditions that beat and baffle them and finally plunge them helplessly into the physical and moral degradation of the slums.

IV.

Other explanations of the housing problem there are, but none that explain it so convincingly as indirect municipal taxation. With its discouragement of housebuilding and encouragement of site forestalling, its discouragement of industry and encouragement of land speculation, its obstructions to income earning, its pressure upon incomes earned, and its depletion of incomes received, it is the principal and most effective cause of the wretched conditions that invite society so urgently to solve the problem of providing decent housing for the working poor. Were indirect municipal taxation abandoned in favor of taxation in proportion to site values, all other causes of the housing problem could be easily combated and overcome. The working poor themselves could overcome them. For site monopoly as well as tax extortion would largely disappear.

The weight of the load that would thus be lifted from the working poor of cities is incalculable. But its magnitude is not invisible to him who, having eyes, is nevertheless not blind. Look over any city, and though you see nothing else, you are sure to see two thought-provoking conditions.

One is crowded slums for the working poor; the other is an abundance of vacant building sites. A New York publisher of insurance maps testified in 1883 before the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Education, that half of Manhattan island was then vacant, and that a large proportion of the remaining half was much under-improved. Yet the working poor of New York were densely crowded even at that time. One of the East side wards was said to be so thickly populated that if turned into a cemetery it would not furnish ordinary burial space for its inhabitants. Doubtless there are fewer vacant building lots on Manhattan island now, though there are plenty still; but the values of those that remain have risen enormously and exorbitantly, and the crowding tendency is greatly accelerated. The addition to the city of large areas might have been expected to modify the congestion, but this expectation has much more perfectly served the purpose of exorbitantly enhancing site values.

In other cities, too, the working poor are crowded though there is vacant area enough and to spare if it were not held at prices so high that it cannot be profitably utilized. The average population to the acre in New York is less than 19. In Chicago it is less than 17. In Philadelphia it is barely 18. In San Francisco it is hardly 14. In New Orleans it is less than 3. In St. Louis it is 15 and a fraction. Boston alone of all these crowded cities has as high an average of inhabitants per acre as 21. Why should there be crowding where sites for building are evidently so abundant?

Is it not reasonable to infer that, in large part at least, it is because high indirect taxation, which enhances the cost of building and therefore the rental of houses, permits low site value taxation, which fosters exorbitant prices and high rentals for sites? And is it not, then, a reasonable conclusion that the reversal of this destructive fiscal method, by means of direct taxation of municipal site values for municipal purposes, would solve the problem of housing the working poor? More correctly, perhaps—certainly more desirably—would not this fiscal change leave them economically free and strong, according to the nature of man, to solve the problem for themselves?

V.

As to the objection that direct

taxation of sites would increase rentals, only the unthinking insist upon it. There is nothing more certain in human experience than that taxes estimated on the rent or value of land cannot be shifted to purchaser or tenant in higher prices or rentals. The reason that site value taxation does not increase site rentals, while house value taxation does increase house rentals, is not far to seek nor difficult to find. As we have already seen, taxes that are imposed according to the value of buildings and building materials tend, by augmenting the cost of construction and maintenance, to lessen the market supply of houses. Not so with taxes imposed according to the value of sites. By stimulating site owners to seek buyers, and making it less profitable to buy except to use, they produce a rising instead of a falling market supply of sites. The higher you tax house building the dearer you make houses; but the higher you tax site-appropriating, the cheaper you make sites. Site value taxes, therefore—unlike house value taxes—cannot be added to rentals. They are direct, staying where they are first placed, and owners of sites must bear the burden.

Not only could the owners of city sites be compelled by ad valorem site value taxation to bear the tax burden which is now unfairly and destructively distributed through indirect taxation, but they ought to bear it. All the value that sites acquire they derive from the complex energies of the community as a whole, and not from any industry, investment or other useful service, of their owners. When you tax houses, you confiscate part of the individual toil of their tenants; but when you tax house sites, you confiscate no one's toil—you merely exact for current public use a value which the public currently recreates.

Whatever may be thought of the right of individuals to own land in general, the current right of a city to the current value it gives to the building sites within its jurisdiction, and to all of that value, would seem in justice to be incontrovertible. No other conclusion is admissible when the alternative is not only the confiscation from the public by site owners of these public values, but also the depletion of individual earnings by indirect taxation, the consequent narrowing of employment, the resulting depression of wages, the

necessity, therefore, of submitting to unnatural economies, and the crowding thus engendered of the working poor into slums.

But in substituting site value taxation for the general property tax, it would not be necessary to exact the full current value of sites. Taking New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston as representing extreme variations, we should probably find that two per cent. of site values would yield in each of them more revenue than they now derive from the inequitable and destructive general property tax. Though exact figures are not available, enough is known to make reasonable estimates possible. Allowing 11 building sites to the acre, inclusive of streets, parks and other public places (3), the following table affords a basis of estimate:

	New York.	Chi-cago.	Phila.	Bos-ton.
No. of sites.	2,168,320	1,341,120	908,160	322,720
Present general property tax valuation (real and personal) per site	\$1,749	\$280	\$1,015	\$3.86
Present income from general property tax, per site...	\$36	\$14	\$21	\$6
Rate of site valuation tax, if sites were valued at no more than the present general property tax valuation (real and personal) and the same income were secured, per cent.	2.05	5.00	2.07	1.7

Here it appears that the present income of New York, Chicago, Phila-

(3) In New York, 11 lots to the acre, after making all deductions, is a low estimate. The usual estimate is more than 12. But in Chicago it is less. Not only is the conventional lot in Chicago larger than in New York, but allowances must be made for alleys. Chicago building plots are usually laid out in five-acre areas, or squares, the boundary line running along the middle of the street on all four sides; and this allows for 48 sites. By crowding some of the sites, 60 to the five-acre square are usually obtained, and it is generally assumed that, inclusive of streets, Chicago sites average 10 to the acre. Allowing also for parks, they would average fully 11 to the acre. For all the purposes of this article, however, an estimate of 11 sites to the acre for all the cities mentioned will not be misleading. Where the average is larger, the argument of the article will be strengthened; where it is smaller, the difference in site value taxes could be more than made up from such neglected or undervalued sources of site value taxation as street car rights of way and the like, sources that this article does not take into consideration.

delphia and Boston, from the general property tax, could be fully realized from a site value tax of 2.05 per cent., 5 per cent., 2.07 per cent., and 1.47 per cent., respectively, even though the sites were worth no more in the aggregate than the present aggregate valuation of real and personal property. But that valuation is absurdly low, not merely with reference to all property, but even with reference only to sites.

Of course there are sites in New York worth less than \$1,749, as there are sites in Chicago worth less than \$280, in Philadelphia worth less than \$1,015, and in Boston worth less than \$3,808. But in all these cities there are many sites of much higher values. With the barely possible exception of Boston, the average would doubtless be greatly higher than it appears in the table.

In Chicago, for example, a commission, composed of three well-known real estate experts and two builders (4), appointed by Mayor Swift to compare actual with assessed values, reported in 1896, with reference to the district bounded on the north and west by the Chicago river, on the south by Twelfth street and on the east by Lake Michigan—a district comprising only about one square mile, though the most valuable square mile of the 190½ square miles of Chicago's area—that the sites were then worth, exclusive of improvements, of exempt areas and of railroad rights of way, no less than \$337,342,880. In the light of that report it is evident that the site value of all Chicago must average much more than \$280 per building site of 11 sites to the acre; and that the present general-property-tax revenue could therefore be raised by a site value tax of much less than 5 per cent.

According to the report last referred to, the land values in the district described are more than 75 per cent. of the total real estate value (5).

(4) Illinois Labor Report for 1896, pp. 123-24.
(5) While the report in question is regarded in Chicago as authoritative as to its land value estimate, its building value estimate is discredited, because buildings were valued at cost of reproduction, a method which recognized as valuable many structures that are really an incumbrance. The true value of the land in the estimated area is probably a considerably larger proportion of the whole realty value than 75 per cent. Taking the city as a whole, however, good judges estimate the proportions of realty values at one-third for structures, and two-thirds for sites. Positive information is not available. The proportion in Boston in 1896 (Circular No. 5, United States Department of Agriculture, division of statistics, p. 9) was 42 per cent. structure values, and 58 per cent site values.

This would not hold good throughout the city; but 66 2-3 per cent. is regarded as the true proportion, and 50 per cent. would certainly be a low estimate. Now, the present tax valuation of Chicago real estate is \$259,254,598. On that basis, then, the site valuation of Chicago, half of \$259,254,598, would not be far from \$130,000,000; and under the one-fifth rule of assessment in force in Chicago this would indicate that the true value is at least \$650,000,000. Accepting that as the true value, though it is doubtless an underestimate, the revenue now obtained by Chicago from the general property tax could be secured by a site value tax of less than 3 per cent.

For Washington it has been proved by Congressional investigation (6) that one-quarter of the annual site-rentals, potential as well as actual, would support the city government; and that this would be less than 2 per cent. of the selling value.

But it is not necessary to go further into detail. The notoriously great site values that prevail in all cities, at the rate at some points of \$8,000,000 and more to the acre, are a sufficient assurance that city revenues from the general property tax could be fully replaced with a site value tax of little if any more anywhere than two per cent.

Even this low rate, accompanied as it would be with the exemption of houses and commodities, would appreciably relieve the working poor. It would take nothing in excessive house rents and excessive prices for necessities from the earnings they actually receive, as does the general property tax; and to the extent that demand for labor is diminished and wages thereby depressed by economies due to high rentals of houses and high prices of necessities caused by indirect taxation, it would considerably modify that condition. It would tend, also, to reduce site rentals and thereby to relieve the greatest necessity for crowding, while lessening the great glut of the labor market which is caused by dearth of cheap building sites; for site owners would find it distinctly more difficult to lock up vacant building sites under a tax of two per cent. than under the present one of less than one per cent.

Should it become necessary to increase this rate as site values declined or civic necessities expanded,

(6) Report No. 1469 of Fifty-second Congress, first session (1892).

so much the better. The nearer the tax came to making it absolutely profitless to monopolize building sites except to utilize them appropriately and immediately, the more completely would it enable the working poor to solve their own housing problem.

VI.

No actual experiments in site value taxation have been made with the express object of solving the housing problem, but the system is coming in use in Australasia simply for the purpose of raising municipal revenues.

Under the "optional local taxation" law of New Zealand, for instance, nearly 60 localities have adopted it. That law provides that the taxing authority of municipalities must, if the tax payers at any time so decide, exempt all improvements and thenceforth levy taxes on the "unimproved value" of sites. Votes had been taken under it, up to the 9th of July, 1902, in 53 localities. As some of these are counties, the votes have controlled 65 municipalities, for a county vote decides for all the subsidiary taxing divisions. Out of the 65 municipalities affected by the votes thus far, the site value tax was adopted in 58. The city of Auckland rejected it; the city of Wellington adopted it. After five years' experience with this law, the premier of New Zealand, R. J. Seddon, writes of the local site value tax (7) that "it has proved a success, and the opinion of the government, which is generally shared throughout the colony, is that it should be made compulsory." He adds that popular opinion is so strong in favor of the tax system the law permits, "that the repeal of it is out of the question." The same system is in successful operation in other parts of Australasia.

Permission to adopt it in Glasgow is being asked of the British parliament by the city authorities, supported by popular vote; while a large number of other British cities have followed Glasgow's example. Although this British movement is not exclusively nor specifically for the purpose of solving the housing problem, it has become related to that problem in England as a factor, if not the factor, in its solution.

Prominent Liberal leaders have declared that the taxation of site values must precede any decent solution of the problem; and the British Royal Commission, which first reported on

(7) Report of the Revenue Commission of Colorado, 2 ed., p. 49.

the housing question in 1885, recommended site value taxation to the consideration of parliament in these suggestive terms (p. 42):

At present, land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centers, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated, not in relation to the real value, but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the actual monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say, four per cent. on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two-fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the rateable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent landowners, a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves.

The conflicting policy, supported quite intelligently and not unnaturally by landlord interests everywhere, contemplates the purchase of sites at public expense and the building of workmen's dwellings upon them. It may be that some slum conditions do not admit of the delay necessary to secure authority to alter municipal tax systems. Where that is so, improvements should of course be made by the city at the expense of general taxation. This must be done even if in relieving congestion at one point it does make it worse elsewhere, as has been the case with the London experiments, regarding which Mr. Wyckoff writes that it is "part of the irony of the situation that the very remedies which are applied to the evil at one point result in its intensification at another."

But as a solution of the problem, the purchase of sites at public expense under the prevailing system of indirect taxation is an impossible one. In order to raise the necessary funds, taxes on housing would be increased and housing be made dearer even though supplied by the municipality. The economic friction upon house-building would consequently be greater, and, by reducing demand for labor would make the downward pitch of wages steeper. Moreover, the largest financial benefits at each stage in the process would go increasingly to neighboring site owners, for it would add to the desirability of their holdings. With site values thereby stimulated and sites becoming richer prizes in the market, house-building would be progressively obstructed and every improvement would increase the cost of sites for the next. Altogether each forward step along this line of policy would intensify the evil in general which it was designed in part to relieve, and make the housing problem progressively harder to solve.

Any solution, to be generally, progressively and permanently effective, must recognize the primary necessity of lessening the rents of city houses by exempting houses and house-building from taxation, and of reducing the rents of city sites by taxing site values. To ignore these conditions is to lay the foundations of the housing reform in a bed of quicksand.

NEWS

Although the news dispatches of last week reported that Venezuela and the invading European powers had virtually agreed to submit the case to The Hague tribunal (p. 614) no definite agreement as to terms of submission appears yet to have been made. President Castro's formal reply to the arbitration proposals was received at Washington on the 31st. Its contents have not been divulged, but it is described as satisfactory; and hints have been thrown out that while Castro agrees to the conditions of arbitration exacted by Great Britain, Germany and Italy, he demands in return that certain conditions imposed by Venezuela be accepted by them. The receipt of Castro's reply in London and Berlin was reported from both places on the 2d, and the joint response of

England and Germany was handed to the American ambassadors at Berlin and London on the 6th. The response of Italy was delivered at Washington on the 7th. Nothing more definite and probable about all this diplomatic correspondence has been published than the following from the report of the receipt of the joint response to Castro's reply, which was sent out from Washington on the 6th by the Associated Press:

The notes in substance state that if Venezuela wishes a conference with a view to submitting the differences between the two countries to arbitration the allies will accede. The conditions attached vary slightly from the original proposition, but in the judgment of officials here the differences between the allies and Venezuela in respect to arbitration are much diminished, and there is warrant for the expectation that the case will now surely go to The Hague.

The British-German response was promptly forwarded by the American state department to the American minister to Venezuela, by whom it was submitted to President Castro on the 7th.

It is the evident purpose of the European powers to maintain their blockade (p. 614). An announcement to that effect emanated from Berlin on the 5th. It came through the Associated Press, which stated that Great Britain and Germany had come to an understanding four days previously, to enforce the blockade of the Venezuelan coast precisely as though negotiations for arbitration were not going on. In connection with the blockade a force of 150 marines was landed from the German warships at Porto Cabello on the 3d, for the purpose, it was explained by the German commodore to the American consul, of making the blockade more effective by clearing the port of all small vessels. As soon as that could be effected they were to reembark. They took immediate possession of the custom house and the wharves.

Notwithstanding reports that Castro is hemmed in by the foreign fleets on the coast and revolutionists in the interior, the only definite news regarding the revolution is in Castro's favor. His troops were reported on the 5th to have come into collision with revolutionists under Gen. Ramoé (p. 614) at Guatire, and, after a four hours' battle, to have driven the revo-

lutionists from the field and the town of Guatire in disorder.

Crossing over to Morocco, where it was expected last week (p. 616) that the capital city, Fez, could not long delay capitulation to the rebels by whom it was beleaguered, we find it impossible to give further trustworthy news. The situation is reported as mysterious, and the only direct sources of news are Tangier and Madrid. Among the more or less dubious reports is one to the effect that as the rebel leader had proclaimed his efforts to dethrone the sultan to be for no other purpose than to enthrone the sultan's imprisoned brother, Mulai-Mohammed, the sultan has deprived him of all ostensible reason for the rebellion by releasing his brother from imprisonment and making a public reconciliation. Another of these dubious reports declares that the sultan has circumvented the rebels by breaking off his relations with Christians and agreeing to the immediate dismissal of his European officials.

Germany has notified Spain that she intends to observe a neutral attitude towards Morocco, similar to that of Great Britain and France (p. 616); but France has apparently taken military measures to protect her Moorish interests. A dispatch of the 2d from Paris tells of telegrams from Algeria, announcing that detachments of French zouaves had been ordered to the Moorish frontier and that one company had started.

In France, senatorial elections were held on the 4th, at which 94 seats becoming vacant by expiration of term, and 4 which had become vacant by death of incumbents, were filled. One-third of the senators of France go out of office every three years, the full term being nine years. The issue at these elections was the Waldeck-Rousseau policy and the programme adopted in support of that policy by the Combe's ministry, which became the friendly successor of the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry after the triumph of the latter at the elections for members of the lower house last Summer (pp. 90, 140, 150). Among the candidates at the senatorial election were the premier, M. Combes, and the finance minister, M. Rouvier. Both were elected, the former from two departments. The ministry claim a general net gain of 13 senators—a loss

from two departments and a gain from fifteen.

An important British election took place on the 2d. It was a by-election to fill the Conservative seat in parliament for Newmarket, and was regarded as a supreme test of the non-conformist feeling over the passage of the education bill (p. 585). The Liberal candidate, C. D. Rose, belongs to the Rosebery faction; but the party united upon him because he is opposed to the education bill. He was elected by 4,414 to 3,907 for the Conservative candidate, a Liberal majority of 507. At the previous election the Conservative candidate had carried the constituency by a majority of over 1,000.

Apropos of the wireless telegraph across the Atlantic (p. 600), an interview with Marconi, the inventor, which appeared on the 4th, is of special news interest. Mr. Marconi said:

"Wireless telegraphy across the ocean is now as practical as cabling. We have sent more than 2,000 words in all from Grace Bay to Poldhu and have reached a speed of fifteen words a minute, which, considering our clumsy sending apparatus—a mere wooden lever to connect and disconnect the current—indicates what we can do when we substitute a sending key designed for speed. With a proper sending key we can easily get off 30 words a minute, and I shall be surprised if we do not soon send at a higher rate. The Atlantic cables average about 21 words a minute in their regular work, I believe. And there is this vital difference in the two systems of transoceanic telegraphy: As the cable grows longer the rate of speed in sending messages decreases, while distance makes no difference in the rate at which we can send by the wireless system."

"Can you send more than one message at a time from the same station?"

"Yes, I have already demonstrated that we can send two at a time for a short distance. Whether more than two messages can be transmitted simultaneously by the same wires I am unable to say—probably not. But separate stations can be set up and worked in the same neighborhood without interfering with each other, so that our capacity for sending messages can be multiplied indefinitely."

"How can you prevent other people with similar wireless apparatus from reading the messages you send from continent to continent? The secrecy of telegraphic communication is vital."

"With properly tuned instruments," he said, "we can make the reading of

our trans-Atlantic messages very difficult. To read a wireless message an outside station would have to be in exact tune or vibratory unison with our stations at the same moment. It would cost a rival not less than \$50,000 to try the experiment on the smallest scale. Besides, we can arrange our apparatus so that the tune, or rate of vibration, can be automatically changing every moment at the same rate in the sending and receiving stations on each side of the ocean. Those who talk about the danger of having our messages read by outsiders do not understand the subject."

It is announced also, with reference to the wireless telegraph, that it is to be utilized within a few days for the publication of a daily newspaper on board one of the Atlantic liners, during her voyages.

In Congress, which resumed its sessions on the 5th after the holiday recess, the Senate has become involved in promising discussions of the trust question. These discussions had two distinct starting points—a bill introduced by Senator Hoar, the discussion of which he opened on the 6th; and a resolution offered by Senator Jones, calling upon the attorney general to disclose the testimony against trusts, which had been procured and submitted to him last Fall by Wm. R. Hearst, but upon which he appears to have taken no action. In addition to these centers of controversy there was published a long semi-official letter from the attorney general to the House judiciary committee purporting to set forth not only his own views but those of the President on the trust question. The Hearst evidence was the most important subject of the three.

The character of the issue may be inferred from the Jones resolution, which is as follows:

Whereas, on October 4, 1902, a sworn statement or petition was filed with the attorney general of the United States by William Randolph Hearst, charging the existence of an illegal combination or conspiracy among railroads therein named engaged in interstate commerce, the tendency and the purpose of which was the establishment of a monopoly in the business of transporting and selling anthracite coal, and in connection with said petition a request was made for permission to present evidence establishing the existence of such a combination; whereas, said petition was referred to the United States district attorney for the Southern District of New York, with instructions to receive the evi-

dence and report the same to the department of justice; whereas, a protracted interval has elapsed since the filing of said petition and the submission of such evidence; Resolved, that the attorney general be, and he is hereby, directed to transmit to the Senate the evidence presented by said petitioner, together with a report thereon by said United States district attorney.

Senators Spooner and Foraker spoke against the resolution, urging that the law officers of the government ought not to be hurried in so grave and complicated a matter, and the debate was cut off by the arrival of the hour set for the regular order of business.

Senator Hoar spoke in favor of his anti-trust bill on the 6th. This bill would prohibit all corporations and associations that do not comply with certain regulations, or shall conspire to restrain trade, from engaging in inter-state or foreign commerce. It would require their books to be open to inspection. It would inflict severe penalties for violation. In his speech Mr. Hoar outlined the evils he aimed to remedy, substantially as follows:

(1) Destruction of competition; (2) the management of local industries by absentees in the interest of absentee capital; (3) destruction of local public spirit; (4) fraudulent capitalization; (5) secrecy; (6) management for the private benefit of the officials; (7) the power to corrupt elections, and in some cases to corrupt the courts; (8) the want of personal responsibility to public sentiment; (9) the absence of personal liability for contracts or wrong doing; (10) the holding of vast properties in mortmain—in the "dead hand."

Attorney General Knox's long letter to the House judiciary committee is thus summarized by a trustworthy and well known Washington correspondent, Walter Wellman:

(1) That all acts of discrimination affecting interstate trade be made offenses and be punished.

(2) Railroads and other common carriers should be prohibited carrying freight for anyone at less than the published rate.

(3) Shippers who accept rebates should be punished as well as the carriers who pay them.

(4) The law should reach concerns which produce or manufacture wholly within a State but sell in other States, first by punishing them for accepting transportation rebates, and second, for selling below the general price in particular localities for the purpose of destroying competition. The suggestion being that commodities in-

tended for this purpose be prohibited crossing State lines.

(5) That a commission be appointed to investigate the facts relating to trust abuses and to make recommendations to Congress.

(6) That legislation should be had to facilitate decision of cases now raised or that may be instituted under the existing anti-trust law by enabling the attorney general to have original cases heard before a full circuit bench, with immediate appeal to the United States Supreme Court, so that all constitutional questions involved may be disposed of as speedily as possible.

Mr. Knox's general point of view is indicated in the following quotation from his letter:

The end desired by the overwhelming majority of the people of all sections of the country is that combinations of capital should be regulated and not destroyed, and that measures should be taken to correct the tendency toward monopolization of the industrial business of the country. I assume a thing to be avoided, even by suggestion, is legislation regulating the business interests of the country beyond such as will accomplish this end. In my judgment a monopoly in any industry would be impossible in this country, where money is abundant and cheap and in the hands or within the reach of keen and capable men, if competition were assured of a fair and open field and protected against unfair, artificial and discriminating practices. Two or more persons or corporations cannot by any combination or arrangement between themselves, either contract or expand the rights of others to engage in a similar business. The utmost they can do is to discourage the disposition to do so by restricting the opportunities, or by securing to themselves some exclusive facilities or the enjoyment of some common facilities upon exclusive terms. The country is filled with men whose lives have been devoted to industry, who have developed and made profitable the properties now possessed by the trusts at prices far in excess of the cost of modernized duplicates, who will not long remain idle when assured that their capital and experience can be securely employed in the business to which they were trained.

All this anti-trust excitement in official circles, coming as it has with significant suddenness, is doubtless due to the intense popular excitement of the past few days over the coal famine. The famine is reported throughout the West, and also from the East, and everywhere the price of coal is exorbitant beyond precedent. Factories have been com-

pelled to close and personal suffering for lack of coal is severe. To relieve New England, Senator Lodge has introduced a bill to suspend the tariff duty on coal for 90 days, while Senator Mason has introduced one authorizing the Federal courts to operate idle coal mines through receivers as in cases of insolvency; and on the 7th a resolution, offered by Senator Stewart, was adopted, under which an immediate investigation into the entire question of coal supply and the relation between wholesale and retail prices in the District of Columbia is to be made. Boston and Detroit are arranging to retail coal as a matter of public relief. In Cleveland threats of indictment for combining to make coal scarce are hanging over the heads of local dealers, and similar proceedings are threatened in Chicago. This phenomenon of coal scarcity is everywhere regarded as a mystery. Yet it is known that for weeks mile after mile of railroad sidetracks have been occupied by cars loaded with coal and waiting for—something. The more common disposition seems to be to place the blame upon local dealers, though rumors were filling the newspapers only a month or two ago to the effect that the coal trust, itself controlled by the coal railroads, which indirectly own the coal fields, was then making an effort to acquire a monopoly of the retail coal business of the large cities. What became of this effort is not positively known, but the mysterious coal famine with its enormous prices for coal would indicate that it succeeded.

The proceedings in arbitration of the anthracite strike (p. 600), which was proposed and agreed to with the express purpose of preventing just such a shortage of coal as now exists, were resumed on the 5th at Philadelphia.

A revival of public indignation over the cruelties inflicted by American soldiers upon Filipinos (p. 71) during the American war in the Philippines, is now imminent. It was allayed by the assurances of the war department and the President that these atrocities were only sporadic and committed by irresponsible soldiers or minor officers, and that in such instances the offenders would be tried and if convicted punished. Those assurances were strengthened by the institution of court martial proceedings. But the defense in one

of these prosecutions, that of Maj. Glenn (p. 586), has now brought forward charges which make the matter look blacker than ever, for they imply that the water cure, which killed Father Augustine (p. 603), was not occasionally inflicted by irresponsible soldiers or minor officers, but was a regular system of military atrocity conducted under orders from the general in command, Gen. Chaffee. We quote the Associated Press report of the proceedings before the court martial at Manila on the 6th:

When the trial by court-martial of Major Edwin F. Glenn, of the Fifth Infantry on the formal charge of unlawfully killing seven prisoners of war was resumed to-day, the defense renewed its request that Generals Chaffee and Smith and other witnesses be summoned from the United States. The court refused this request for the present.

The argument to-day developed some sensational features. The defense announced that it had declined to submit the interrogatories for depositions ordered by Secretary of War Root on the ground that the question of summoning witnesses rested with the court, and submitted a written argument urging the right and justice of having witnesses.

It was charged by the defense that the records of the Sixth brigade, commanded by General Smith, had been tampered with and that important documents had been abstracted. The defense wished to examine General Smith as to these documents and certain written and verbal orders, for the purpose of showing the character of the campaign General Smith desired to have waged.

General Chaffee was wanted as a witness for the purpose of obtaining certain orders and documents, which were not recorded at division headquarters. It was also declared that General Chaffee had sent a telegram to the department of southern Luzon where Caballe's force was operating, clad in American uniform. The text of this telegram is given as follows: "The division commander directs that no matter what measures be adopted information as to the whereabouts of this force must be obtained."

The defense argued that this order authorized the application of the water cure, and said that officers in the field so interpreted it. If this interpretation was proper, the defense said, General Chaffee was entitled to the opportunity to show that he had failed to interfere to prevent the court-martialing of officers for executing the order.

The defense produced a copy of a telegram sent by Secretary Root to General Chaffee when the former thought that Major Glenn's trial for

applying the water cure would take place in San Francisco, and in which General Chaffee was directed to send to San Francisco any witnesses Major Glenn desired. The defense pointed out that when this message was sent war existed, but now peace prevailed, and asked why this policy had been changed, why it was incompatible with the public interest to send General Smith, now retired, and Mr. Conklin, a civilian, to Manila. If witnesses were denied, the defense asked to have the documents enumerated in the witnesses' subpoenas. It claimed it could not properly defend Major Glenn without witnesses.

Major Lewis E. Goodier, for the prosecution, held that the decision given by Secretary Root in the matter of witnesses was final, and charged the defense with seeking to force the court to go on record as disapproving Secretary Root's decision. The testimony of the first witness will be heard to-morrow.

In his report, made public at Washington on the 4th, Gov. Taft declares the "insurrection" to be "entirely at an end," but complains that "ladronism" is threatening and that it is likely to "be necessary in a province like Cavite, where ladronism seems inbred in the people, to proclaim martial law and even to call in the military finally to suppress it," but he still hopes that this may be avoided. The Philippine commission's report, also published on the 4th, makes these recommendations: (1) The establishment of a gold standard and banks of issue; (2) a reduction of tariff duties; (3) increase of limit on public lands to be held by individuals or corporations from 5,000 acres to 25,000; (4) repeal of prohibition limiting interest of individual or corporation to only one mining claim; (5) freeing of Philippine bonds from all kinds of taxation in the United States; (6) admission of skilled Chinese laborers, with a head tax of \$50, the imported Chinaman to be returned to China within five years, and a Filipino apprentice to be employed with each such Chinaman.

On the 5th the papal bull regarding the Philippines was received at Washington. It ordains that the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the Philippines is now independent of Spanish patronage, and that the archbishop of Manila shall be primate with the islands for his province. Four archdioceses are created—Lipa, Tuguegaroa, Capizana and Zamboanga.

NEWS NOTES.

—The reported net earnings of the steel trust for the year ending Dec. 31, was \$132,662,000.

—At Delhi on the 1st King Edward VII. of Great Britain was proclaimed Emperor of India.

—Cable communication between San Francisco and Honolulu (p. 586) was established on the 1st.

—Senor Don Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, lately prime minister of Spain (p. 569), died at Madrid on the 5th, at the age of 75 years.

—In connection with a coal strike near Sheffield, England, 700 miners' families were evicted on the 6th from the company's houses.

—Prof. Geo. D. Herron lectured on socialism at the Socialist temple, Chicago, on the 1st, and at Masonic temple, Chicago, on the 4th.

—Gen. Reyes, ex-minister of war in the cabinet of President Diaz of Mexico (p. 614), has resumed his office of governor of the Mexican state of Nuevo Leon.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for December shows on hand December 31, 1902:

Gold reserve fund	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance	214,409,380 29
Total	\$364,409,380 29
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902.....	\$353,574,115 85
Increase	\$5,835,264 44

—The grand jury of Kings county, New York, made a presentment on the 31st, calling upon the attorney general to institute proceedings for the condemnation of the Brooklyn street car franchise for misuse. The presentment urges the adoption of municipal ownership and operation.

—At the Republican caucus for speaker of the Illinois house of representatives at Springfield on the 6th, John H. Miller was named as the party candidate over Lawrence Y. Sherman by a vote of 49 to 39. Miller was the candidate supported by Congressman Lorimer, the Republican "boss."

—By order of the President the post office at Indianola, Miss., has been closed, because the postmistress, Mrs. Minnie W. Cox, a colored woman, was forced by the threats of the white inhabitants to resign. The objection to her was because of her race. Personally she was a woman of unclouded reputation.

—The conference of Irish landlords and tenants (p. 600) issued on the 4th a voluminous report of its proceedings, in which it declares that the only satisfactory settlement of the land question is the substitution of an occupying ownership for the present system of landlord and tenant. No financial proposals are offered.

—W. F. Reitz, once governor of the

Orange Free State, and later the chief justice and finally the secretary of state of the South African Republic, will speak at the hall of the Y. M. C. A., Chicago, on the 10th, on the subject of British diplomacy in connection with South Africa. The admission fee is 50 cents. The lecture, which is exclusively for the benefit of Mr. Reitz, who is now an exile, begins at eight o'clock.

—In New York on the 29th Mrs. Sarah Blake Shaw, widow of Francis George Shaw, one of Henry George's earliest converts and to whose memory his "Social Problems" is dedicated, died at the age of 88 years. Like her husband, she was deeply interested in the single tax movement, as both had been in the anti-slavery movement. Their children included Col. Shaw, of the first Negro regiment raised in the civil war, and Josephine Shaw Lowell, the best known of the public-spirited women of the East.

—George de Lisle Zimmerman, a well-known single tax leader of New Jersey, died at Orange on the 16th. He was 39 years old and an influential citizen and architect of Orange.

The December treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the six months ending December 31, 1902, shows the following:

Receipts:		
Tariff	\$150,139,833 61	
Internal revenue ..	119,237,013 80	
Miscellaneous	19,266,501 44	
		\$288,633,448 85
Expenses:		
Civil and misc.	\$81,849,288 15	
War	86,220,772 24	
Navy	39,909,292 24	
Indians	7,396,460 32	
Pensions	71,669,920 64	
Interest	16,364,237 76	
		\$263,899,971 85
Surplus		\$24,733,477 00

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE WAR UPON VENEZUELA.

Manchester (Eng.) Guardian (Lib.), Dec. 16.—That we have a case against Venezuela cannot be denied, but it is hardly so good a case as one would have wished. It is grounded almost entirely on instances of high-handed interference with British shipping which was suspected of assisting the insurgents, and this is unfortunate, if only because it enables Venezuela to press its grievance against us with regard to the Ban Righ, a steamer equipped in the Thames, which has done excellent service for the Venezuela rebels.

Same, Dec. 18.—We have, it seems, been at war with Venezuela without knowing it. And we might have remained in our ignorance for quite a long time yet had it not been for an argument about pacific blockade with Sir Charles Dilke, which Mr. Balfour thought proper to illuminate by mentioning the fact that we were at war. Mr. Balfour is not good at details, but we have most reluctantly to accept his assurance that we are at war. There were many reasons for thinking we were not.

The Commoner (Dem.), Jan. 2.—The American people have not taken kindly to the report that the British-German alliance was operating against Venezuela under an agreement with the United States. While the Monroe doctrine is not to be invoked in order to aid any South American state to escape its just obligations, the United States is not expected to

encourage any European power in any policy that may have for its logical result a violation of that doctrine.

BENEVOLENT FEUDALISM.

Cleveland (O.) Recorder (Dem.), Dec. 30.—The feudalism of this time is the most dangerous which the world has ever seen. Men who work for great corporations are coming more and more to rally around any proposition which their bosses advocate. When it is shown to the satisfaction of the vassals of this day that this or that is for the benefit of the feudal lord of industry, the vassals, as a general thing, go out and fight for it at the polls.

THE FOUNDATION OF TRUSTS.

Duluth Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Dec. 31.—When the public sanctions ownership of the natural resources of supply, it approves and abets monopoly and puts itself at the mercy of monopolists. The earth is the storehouse of the people's necessities and because individuals control the sources, the masses are forced to acquiesce in the terms of individuals.

FUNSTON'S ASSISTANT SPY.

Pittsburg (Pa.) Post (Dem.), Dec. 29.—The spy whom Gen. Funston hired to personate a friendly Filipino and hold Aguinardo after sneaking upon him until the magnanimous and heroic Kansan arrived, has just been imprisoned for life in Manila for murder. The blot upon the American army by thus exploiting treachery is now completed.

LAND VALUE TAXATION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 2.—A land value tax is too thorough a solvent of present economic ills to suit the beneficiaries of prevailing conditions. It strikes a deadly blow at monopoly and privilege and is therefore the shining mark upon which economic cuttle fish most dearly love to squirt their ink.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION FARCE.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Dec. 29.—Mr. Hanna's Civic Federation having proven such a successful farce he is organizing a branch of it at Cleveland, if all reports are true. Does Mr. Hanna seriously imagine that he has founded a brotherhood of capital and labor that will become universal?

A PROFIT-SHARING DODGE.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Jan. 4.—That profit-sharing plan of Mr. Morgan's has all the appearance of a scheme to unload stock upon employes whether they want it or not, with a string attached for taking it away from them should they go on strike or disobey orders in any way.

FREE TRADE IN WHEAT.

Duluth News-Tribune (Rep.), Dec. 31.—So far as the observation of the News-Tribune goes, the men who urge the abolition of the grain schedule are millers, board of trade men, men in general business, or theoretical free traders; not those who have credentials to speak for the agricultural interests of Minnesota.

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The Commoner (Dem.), Jan. 2.—A large number of newspaper editors would be better off if they read the Congressional Record as much as they make fun of it.

MISCELLANY

THE SHYLOCK FLEET.

For The Public.

They swooped from the East for a carrion feast,

Like vultures from the sky;
And they howled for cash, and threatened to smash

If they didn't get cash reply.
When the poor little debtor failed to pay
They trained their guns and blazed away.
'Twas a glorious fight—with no foe in sight—

The fight of Cabello Bay.

As the shore they scanned they saw forts, unmanned,

And never a foe in sight;
So the signal flew for each battle-ship's crew

To go with all their might.
At the battle on the Nile Britons fought all the while,

And they fought all Trafalgar Day—
But there they had foes who had power to oppose;

There were none at Cabello Bay.

The sailors brave of the Shylock Fleet
Did glorious work in the battle's heat,
And they joined in the cry: "We will fight till we die,

Or get our pound of meat."
Hurrah for the flag of red and black,
And a kip-hurrah for the Union Jack
The world will ring as Kaiser and King
Give royal welcome back;—

As King and Kaiser unite to greet the heroes of the Shylock Fleet,
Who will bring back neither money nor meat—

But shame for the Shylock Fleet.
As they raise their anchors and steam away
Back to the East from Cabello Bay,
'Good-bye and good-riddance' the West will say;—

You can go to—The Hague—for your meat or pay—

To—The Hague—with your Shylock Fleet.

GEORGE CROUCH.

IT IS AN ILL WIND THAT BLOWS, ETC.

The Standard Oil company advanced the price of kerosene oil one cent per gallon on December 10. This makes 3½ cents' advance since the beginning of the coal strike. The New York Commercial says:

There has been no advance on the Standard Oil products shipped to foreign countries, because there is no coal strike there, and because there is competition with Russian oil.

The Standard Oil company has been using every possible means to develop the use of kerosene in heating and cooking stoves since the beginning of the coal strike. The increased consumption, a Standard Oil official said yesterday, had been very large. The general impression in Wall street yesterday was that the Standard Oil company is trying to make its profits large enough to pay a 50 per cent. dividend during the present fiscal year.

The coal strike is a godsend to the hungry Standard Oil Trust. It is coining money out of the misfortunes of the poor. B. W. H.

ON THE JINGO ROAD.

"What is this Monroe doctrine the papers are all talking about, Mr. Jimpson?"

"The Monroe doctrine? Why, everybody knows what that is—and you bet it's all right, too!"

"What's the nature of it?"

"Eh? The nature of it? You'll see what the nature of it is if those fool foreigners and their warships don't look out pretty careful. They understand it all right."

"It's some kind of a paper, isn't it?"

"You bet it's a paper! It's a great paper, that's what it is! That man Monroe knew what he was about. They couldn't get the start of him! No, sir. He was right there every time and all day."

"Is he dead?"

"Eh! Dead? Lemme see. Yes, I think he's dead. That's often the way, you know. Never appreciated till you're gone. Pity, ain't it?"

"But what about the nature of the doctrine? What's it all about?"

"All about? I guess you ain't up in diplomatics. That's what it's about. It's—well, it takes a diplomat to understand it. But don't worry for a moment—it's all right. You'll see. Just keep your eye on Venezuela. They know what it means down there."—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: This is the time of year when my corporations are making their laborers Christmas gifts of their own wages, and taking their dividends as rewards of merit from God Almighty; and we are all feeling as good as possible on short commons and no coal. I'm very prosperous, John, they tell me. Some of my corporations have held up and salted down as high as forty million a year; and I'm goin' to have my laborers count their cash on hand and compare it with their cash on previous New Year days, and if they all have more, or if any one of them has forty million more, I'll think I'm runnin' on a pretty even keel and that all this talk about special privilege is campaign nonsense; but I mistrust I'll not find a laborer so well heeled as that. If a corporation has forty million more, some fellows have forty million less, is the way I figger it. Of course we see no reason why a common man is not equal to a corporation, and shouldn't make forty million. I mind the time when Dan Webster, in the Dartmouth college case, argued that a corporation had the same rights as a citizen. If Dan had insisted that a corporation had the rights of a hundred thousand citizens I guess he'd have lost his case, even with John Marshall as judge.

Fact is, John, I'm gettin' disgusted with my boys. They never were so weak in intellect before. In all my big Republican party there ain't more than about two men who think;

and they are thinkin' how they can fool the Republicans some more. The rest read their stuff in the great trust dailies, and—think they think. Millions of mossback Republicans haven't had an original thought since Lincoln died.

The thinkers tell 'em that if they'll vote right they'll get part of the trust plunder in wages, or some way—get somethin' for nothin', and there is nothin' a Republican voter will stand crucifixion so long for as in gettin' somethin' for nothin'.

Once upon a time a boy was ridin' along the road on horseback, crying bitterly with the cold.

"Why don't you get down and walk, and warm up," said a man who pitied him.

"Because," said the boy, "because it's a b-b-borrowed horse, and I'll r-r-r-ride him if I freeze."

Some of the poor fellows will freeze this winter; but they'll never think of gettin' down off the horse.

I'm glad to see, John, that Theodore did not fall into your trap and arbitrate the Venezuela matter. It's bad form for an interested party to sit in judgment on his own case; and, besides, if Theodore had acted and decided that Venezuela should pay, and Venezuela wouldn't, or couldn't, I don't see how Theodore could then have set up that she need not pay because of the Monroe doctrine. You could have said, John, that Theodore knew of the Monroe doctrine before he went on the bench, and waived it when he undertook to try the case, and that having decided for you, you had a right to collect your debt in the usual way, by takin' the debtor's land and shovin' him off the earth. I don't see that he made it much better by recommending a court. Yours to command.

UNCLE SAM.

COAL TRUST MISERY.

The rapacity and greed of the coal barons is getting almost beyond endurance. The bituminous coal combine is equally as guilty as the anthracite trust, for it has advanced prices in about the same proportion. The coke combine has also increased prices on a par with its brother reprobates. The pretense is being made by the hard coal trust that it has a hard and fast price of \$3.75 a ton at the mines, to which is added the railroad freight rate, ranging from \$1.55 to New York, \$2.00 to Washington, D. C., and "whatever the traffic will bear" to other points,

which varies according to the competition of river and lake transportation. To these charges is added \$1.50 allowed the retailer for cartage and profit. The agents of the coal trust are, they say, obliged to agree not to charge above the prices given, that is on the basis of \$6.75 at New York, \$7.25 at Washington, D. C., and at other points according to the increased railroad charges. The facts, however, do not substantiate this scale of prices, for when the harassed householder puts in his order for coal to the agents of the trust he is informed that his order will be booked, but delivery cannot be promised. Compelled to find coal that will be delivered immediately, the buyer finds that the independent dealers have hard coal on hand, but the price ranges from \$9 to \$15 a ton. The natural conclusion to arrive at is that the trust is selling, at a large advance in price, to the independent dealers instead of supplying its own agents at the advertised rates.

The rich and well-to-do are, of course, able to obtain coal, but the largely increased cost to the poor vastly augmented by the profits of the small dealers, is so serious that great destitution and suffering is reported in the large cities. In New York, alone, it is reported that 5,000 families are unable to buy fuel and the corporation of Greater New York has appropriated \$100,000 to purchase coal to be given to such destitute persons.

There is no doubt that the misery and suffering on account of the high price of coal will lead to a great increase of sickness and a consequent great loss of life from pulmonary and other kindred diseases.

The criminal section of the anti-trust law covers just such a restraint of trade and monopoly as the coal trust is imposing upon the American people. The administration of that law is in the hands of the attorney general of the United States, and in each state the United States district attorneys can enforce the law in the federal courts. Thus the whole machinery for bringing the coal monopolists to the bar of justice can be put in motion by the Republican administration. One word from President Roosevelt would compel his attorney general to act. As he does nothing to curb the monopoly, it would seem certain that he does not want any action taken or, for political reasons, does not wish the extortion of the trust stopped.

The criminal statute would allow the arrest of the coal barons and, upon conviction of being parties to any restraint of trade, or of having formed a combination to control prices, they could be imprisoned for one year. A coal baron in jail would soon bring him and his brother robbers to terms, and the price of coal would soon tumble. R. M.

NEWS FROM ENGLAND.

For The Public.

It has been immensely gratifying to me to find in Great Britain such widespread popular sentiment in favor of the abolition of private ownership of land. No doubt the reason why this sentiment is more generally developed and has taken more serious hold upon the people of this country than in the United States is because of the concentration of the land problem. Indeed this close neighborliness of the people of the tight little isle has operated in many instances to the advantage of sociological progress; as, for instance, in the commercial cooperation which has been so splendidly built up in this country. Very many cooperative enterprises which have been begun in our own country have fallen through, because of distance, with all its inconveniences, which intervened between the promoters. So in like fashion I think municipal ownership in Great Britain has been advanced because of the proximity of the operating cities and the inspiration which grew out of the intimate acquaintance thus afforded concerning the initial experimentation.

I am furthermore afraid that I must confess, although I suffer patriotic chills in doing so, that there is a larger percentage of men and women here than with us who give serious, sustained and thorough study to social problems. This is, of course, a generalization which does not at all animadvert upon the many devoted and unsurpassed sociological students in America—it is simply a statement as to relative numbers. Certain it is that one can scarcely find here an intelligent person who does not recognize the land question as at the base of all reform problems. Everywhere it crops out, in conversation and in public discussion; whether the topic is housing the poor, municipalization of public service, or any sort of effort towards the betterment of social conditions.

How grandly worth while it was, to the whole human family, that Henry George lived and taught. How

I do hope that in the good Somewhere that received that great soul it is given to him to know of the superb acceptance of the truths he told. I think not any joy that other state has brought to him could satisfy him more than to know how at length his service to his fellowmen is growing toward fruition.

I wonder if The Public has told its readers of the progress of a movement begun in London called "The Garden City" plan. Briefly, it is an attempt to relieve the congestion of great cities, and also to systematize and humanize industry, by inducing manufactories to retire from large, unwholesome cities and to build for the industrial people model dwelling places wherein humanity may expand instead of decay; the inexorable and the vital provision being the everlasting holding of the ground whereon the Garden Cities are built away from private ownership and speculation. The plan further includes the mandate of perpetual preservation of an agricultural belt surrounding each Garden City. It is marvelous the interest which this movement enlists in London. The Pioneer Garden City will soon be in process of building—located not far from London. I believe there are measureless possibilities incarnate in this project. It interests me more than any other feature of progressive sociology which I have found on this side of the Atlantic.

ANNIE L. DIGGS.

London, England, Dec. 12, 1902.

THE SUNDAY QUESTION.

The Sunday question, while never swelling to the dimensions of an issue of widespread importance—like the silver or tariff questions—occupies a rather permanent position in the background of the public mind, and ever and anon surges forth to engage the attention of the masses.

The following lines are an attempt to arrive at some fundamental principles governing the consideration of the question.

Foremost in importance and underlying the whole discussion, is the principle that the government shall not interfere with the religious life of the individual, that it shall neither enforce nor prohibit the observance of religious rules. This principle is one of the cornerstones of American institutions; it animated the early emigrants when they turned westward for relief from oppression, and it inspired the heroes of the revolution when they drew up the consti-

tution of our country. Any Sunday legislation, accordingly, which has in view the enforcement of religious tenets—more specifically of the fourth commandment—is contrary to the spirit of freedom and tolerance.

Often, however—perhaps generally—this purpose is not thus undisguisedly avowed. It is the "quiet" and "rest" of the Sabbath which is the object of solicitude; the offensive Sunday amusements are stigmatized as nuisances and disturbances of the peace, and it is on this ground that their prohibition is demanded.

Now, I believe that this view of the matter, even when it is honestly entertained, is nevertheless very largely to be traced to religious sources. The nuisances and disturbances of peace are regarded as such, not because they are intrinsically offensive, but because they run counter to religious convictions and habits. Abstract from the desecration of the Lord's day, and they will appear perfectly harmless.

A candid and unbiased introspection, I dare say, would corroborate this statement; both in its historic origin and in its present incitation. The objection to Sunday amusements clearly draws its nourishment from religious soil. However, there is a perfectly definite, objective method of testing the matter. Besides our 52 Sundays, the year contains some half-dozen extra holidays, which are not freighted with the religious injunction against work and pleasure. In all other respects these days exactly resemble the seventh day of the week; the wheels of industry are slackened, the individual is released from his regular duties and is free to follow his own inclinations. Decoration day and the Fourth of July are Sundays without the fourth commandment, and Sunday is a holiday with the commandment attached. Now, what do our holidays teach us in regard to the amusements that are tabooed on Sunday? Not only are they considered perfectly allowable, but extra provision is even made for them. The theaters give special performances, the baseball games begin in the morning, music resounds on every hand, and an air of festivity and gladness pervades the entire community. This, accordingly, is the verdict of the purely human, natural man; and since the main difference between Sundays and the other holidays lies in the religious injunction, as already mentioned, the legislation against Sunday

amusements comes under the category of obnoxious religious lawmaking, which is so hostile to our American traditions.

The attempt to enforce such legislation is merely a masked and indirect recognition of religious beliefs and prejudices. We do not, to be sure, openly and boldly say: You must act in accordance with our beliefs, but we say: You must act in accordance with the feelings and habits which are the direct result of our beliefs. We do not declare a thing a nuisance because it fails to agree with our religious tenets; but we declare it so because it does not harmonize with the sensibilities nurtured by our tenets.

Nuisances and disturbances of the peace, to be sure, are not to be tolerated; but religious beliefs and sensibilities ought not to determine what are nuisances and disturbances of the peace. The decision, in such matters, ought to be made on purely human, common, universal grounds. Continual, sleep-disturbing noises, disgusting sights, offensive smells, and the like, ought not to be tolerated, because they are repugnant to mankind at large, without regard to their religious doctrines. When, however, a radical anti-papist assails the odor of incense as an unmistakable stench, we have reason to believe that his religious convictions have bribed his sense of smell.

A clear and unmistakable criterion of what is agreeable or repugnant to the unprejudiced, purely human man, it seems to me, is afforded by the extra holidays referred to. What is allowable on them should also be allowable on the seventh day of the week. What is not a nuisance or disturbance of the peace on them should not be so considered on the Sabbath. Human sensibilities are not keener on the seventh day of the week than on the 30th day of May, and what will not shock them at the graves of our soldier heroes ought not to be regarded as offensive at any other time. Let us not confine our admiration and reverence for the patriots of the revolution to the Fourth of July, but also grant them a thought every Sunday. Let us remain true to our traditions of country and race; let us apply the same broad principles of tolerance that were used by the makers of the constitution, and treat our fellow men with plain Anglo-Saxon fairness and justice.—Albert Gehring, in the Cleveland Press of Dec. 5.

College Professor—Now, Mr. Skimmitt, if an irresistible force should meet an immovable body, what would happen?

Mr. Skimmitt—Why—er—probably Bishop Potter and Mark Hanna would volunteer their services in the interests of arbitration.—Puck.

“Don't you think,” asked the timid customer, “that you've got the price of beef too high?”

“No, I don't think,” said the patient butcher. “What's the use when there's a dressed beef trust to do all the thinking?”—Indianapolis News.

Parke—What's the matter with your wife? She looks fagged out and tells me she hasn't slept decently for weeks.

Lane—She is forming a Don't Worry club.—Life.

MAYNARD'S "WALT WHITMAN."

There was never such a time as ours for writing books about books—books about the Bible, about Shakespeare, about Goethe, about Dante—their name is legion. One sometimes fears we may be reading more in the books about books than we are in the great originals themselves.

Yet there is a place for these books of elucidation and interpretation, if they will lead us to the direct communion with the masters, where the real inspiration is to be found. We may read a library on Homer, get all manner of views of him, learn all available facts about contemporary conditions, even get some reflected enthusiasm for his genius, yet after all, for ourselves, we shall know more of Homer and get more from him by reading twenty pages of the Iliad than by reading any number of critical essays.

As an introduction to a great, original author, we have rarely seen a better book than this on Whitman (Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago). In twelve chapters the author has brought forward the salient points in Whitman's doctrine of life, and has illustrated these points by copious quotations. What she has had to say by way of interpretation has been said simply and clearly.

The chapter on "The Eternal Self" strikes us as especially satisfactory. Whitman's "assurance of personal immortality," she says, "is so absolute that he announces the tenets of this faith with the oracular diction of prophet and priest."

You are not thrown to the winds—you gather certainly and safely around yourself, Yourself! Yourself! Yourself, forever and ever!

He is as insistent as Wordsworth's little maid, who would have her way in saying "we are seven," although two were in the churchyard laid. He sees the mystery, but what is not mysterious?

I know it is wonderful—but Come! I should like to hear you tell me what there is in yourself that is not just as wonderful.

And I should like to hear the name of anything between First-Day morning and Seventh-Day night That is not just as wonderful.

Whitman's wide-reaching, out-of-doors, democracy is of course known to all who know him at all. It is, as the author says, "the pivotal point of his enthusiasms." As to the poet's attitude toward political democracy, the author well says: "A government in which laws and officials are minimized and always directly subservient to the will of the people is the only form of social organization which Whitman can tolerate except as an evolutionary stepping stone." One of the marks of his greatest city, it will be remembered is—

Where outside authority enters always after precedence of inside authority.

The tenth chapter, dealing with Whitman's Democracy, and the last two on America and Comradeship, give an admirable presentation of the poet's splendid hopes for the triumph of democratic ideals and brotherhood. We may not share all his brawny ruggedness, we may feel that his hurrahs are sometimes too loud, we may miss in his descriptions certain pleasant features of refinement, which democracy shall one day claim, but surely no one can read Whitman without having his narrowness enlarged and his enthusiasm kindled for the "love of comrades."

J. H. DILLARD.

"IN THE COURT OF HISTORY."

Stately, judicial, circumstantial, merciless, appalling, is the indictment which Goldwin Smith has drawn (Toronto: Wm. Tyrrell & Co.) against the tory ministry and the jingo press and mob of Great Britain, in his "Apology for Canadians who were opposed to the South African war." In form only a modest essay, it embodies all that need be known and all that posterity will care to know about that gigantic conspiracy to hurl the powers of an empire against the patriotism of a pastoral people, whose land was wanted by imperial plutocrats. While almost devoid of incident, this little book of 71 pages marshals the great and conceded facts of that conspiracy in irresistible array.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"In Many Keys; a Book of Verse." By John Wilson Bengough, author of "Mottley," "Verses Grave and Gay," etc. Toronto: William Briggs. To be reviewed.

LITERARY NOTES.

The Shoe Workers' Journal (Boston) for December considers briefly the question of incorporating trades unions and makes a striking and convincing argument against it.

The handsome Christmas edition of the Seattle Mail and Herald contains an interesting illustrated article on "pathfinding to Puget sound," by George L. Cotterill, a civil engineer of the Pacific coast, who is also a well-known democratic Democrat. As the party candidate for Congress last Fall he ran 2,000 votes ahead of his ticket, which goes to show that in his district Democracy loses nothing by being democratic.

The Brooklyn Eagle has undertaken a work which might be useful to the public and profitable to newspapers if generally imitated. It proposes providing a



A HOMILY ON "FREEDOM."

Another Study in Rooseveltian Consistency.

daily summary and analysis of all bills presented, progressed and passed in the New York legislature, which affect corporations, real estate, railroads, banks, insurance companies, and questions of commerce, taxation, public franchises and municipal affairs. The department is to be conducted by a lawyer, who is a recognized specialist in drafting and analyzing bills, and the digest will inform readers not only concerning the purport of each proposed enactment but also what can be done under it if passed. One of the main objects is to give information that may disclose the hidden significance of measures apparently harmless, but which contain provisions injurious to private rights or prejudicial to public interests.

John C. Stewardson, of Lehigh University, contributes to the International Journal of Ethics for January (Philadelphia and London), an extraordinarily able and discriminating paper on the moral aspects of the referendum, which, as he well says, "is not proposed as a substitute for the representative system but as a modification or corrective of it." Though the paper deals chiefly with the subject in its moral aspects, a broader field is opened and to some extent traversed. It is the product of a scholarly statesman of the democratic type. One well made point is especially valuable. We mean the distinction the writer

draws between expertism in religion and politics and in other affairs. The captain of an ocean liner, for instance, is properly absolute master as to its navigation. But in matters of state and of religion, the situation is different. "Man is not a seaman by nature, but he is by nature a religious and political being." The divorce of expert and people, in such matters, "works harm to the expert by developing all those haughty and corrupt affections which lead to tyranny, knavery and greed," and "works harm to the people by depriving them of those inherent rights of function whose loss means moral and political enfeeblement."

"In Many Keys"

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