

but pays a higher rent; the government gets the same old rate, and the idle zemindar gets the difference. So extortionate have the zemindars become, and so reduced the cultivators, that the government has passed a law, as in Ireland, fixing the conditions for enhancement of rent or ejection of the tenant. Railroads, telegraphs, irrigation wells and canals, sanitary provisions, public police, fire and military protection, have all intervened; but the rent remains the same—i. e., to the zemindars, but not to the occupant.

The rental received by these Bengal landlords, over and above the state rental, is said to amount annually to the sum of \$40,000,000, which, capitalized at four per cent., would represent a wealth of the valuation of \$1,000,000,000. This right, then, of collecting rent in Bengal is equivalent in its productive capacity to \$1,000,000,000 worth of property; and the statistics of Bengal show it to possess, either in its total sum or its average, a much greater wealth than many other provinces with temporary settlement tenures.

Yet Bengal is no more prosperous or better to do. The land is no more productive, though its value represents great wealth, while the land value in the other provinces represents none. Or, to state it otherwise, in the former case the landlords possess great wealth, while in the latter the government retains this wealth. In a republic this would mean the people retain this landlord wealth. And, now, instead of these landlords being a source of strength to the government, they are a thorn in its side. They claim exemption from all kinds of taxation, irrespective of the nature of local or general improvements. Even an income tax, paid willingly by others, is resisted by them as a violation of their permanent settlement rights, so called, whereby their annual rental to the state was fixed in perpetuity.

Not only did the English make a serious mistake in granting valuable permanent rights in land at insignificant temporary prices, for the benefit of a few, and at the expense of the many, in Bengal and certain other provinces, but they have failed to appreciate the glorious inherited opportunity to adopt the Henry George idea of the single tax. The English tendency seems to be to extend the tenures, which are partly from year to year, partly for ten years and partly for 30 years, renewable forever, so long as the rent as fixed by the government at the expiration of each agreed period is paid.

England's policy also tends towards a diminishing of returns from the land, and an increased indirect taxation in the form of import and internal revenue duties. During the time of Akbar, the great Mogul, in the year 1582, the following maxim is believed to have ex-

pressed the ruling idea of the revenue system maintained under him:

There shall be left for every man who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped, and that of his family and for seed. This much shall be left to him. What remains is land tax, and shall go to the treasury.

Accordingly, a land tax was collected which far exceeded the land tax now generally collected, sometimes even double the present tax. How easy it would have been upon the advent of the English to declare a tax of so much as is necessary for economical administration of the government, the balance to belong to the cultivator.

Instead of this direct and equitable method, the British government, like all governments, seeks popularity from its ignorant subjects by reducing the known direct tax and imposing continually increasing, uncertain, unfeeling, less known, and, therefore, less irritative indirect taxes. Instead of her policy tending towards equal opportunity, and, therefore, progress and "love," it tends toward unequal opportunity, special privilege, aristocracy, and unbridled authority and power.

Credible authority places the land revenue at one time far in excess of all present sources of income, including gross income of railroads, irrigation, telegraphs, post, opium, salt, etc. That is, if the same tax were paid to-day, all might ride on trains, send telegrams and letters, and transport freight, free of charge. In the boast of a diminishing land tax or rental is concealed the confession of ignorance that property and speculation in land arise in an increasingly menacing proportion as the state rental is diminished and the land relieved and exempted. Compared with other industries or avenues of trade or profit, the greatest speculation and property is created in land where it is least taxed.

But I started to show the importance of the land tenure systems as an explanation of continued British supremacy. Briefly stated, I believe that the communal system of holding property is one of the main secrets of English retention of power. Not only did the Brits find that the intermediate landlord was the exception to the rule, but also that by far the greater part of the land of India was held and occupied by communities organized as villages. These villages have their own government, make their own regulations, work the land conjointly, and constitute, in short, communal entities with which the rulers have at all times dealt as units. The larger part of the land of India is still held by villages which pay their rent to the government in a lump sum. The details are left to the village, which is the unit of assessment, rather than each particular lot or field.

The English found these local governing bodies large helps in administering

general affairs, and have, consequently, not disturbed them in their local affairs. And, as these represent the larger part of the affairs with which an ignorant population are conversant, we may say that in great part England preserves the local self-governments as she found them.

Many Englishmen maintain that they have been successful with their dependencies in proportion as they have permitted them to continue without interference; in other words, as England keeps her hands off, her colony prospers, and English rule is successful. It certainly seems to be the fact in the case of Australia and Canada. It was certainly so in the case of the lost flower of her colonies, the United States. It is so in a lesser degree on the continent of India. I am firm in the belief that her taking of these local villages as units in occupation, taxation, tenure and government, and her maintenance of Mohammedan and Hindoo laws and customs as she found them, is the very condition of England's continuing in India. But thereby she minimizes her influence as a civilizing, Christianizing power, and again proves that the "white man's burden" is to "stay on the black man's back."

JOHN A. ZANGERLE.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, May 19.

Reports of the week from the seat of the Russo-Japanese war (p. 87) indicate no change in the course of the conflict. The Russians are still retreating before the Japanese advance.

On the 12th it was reported that the Russians had blown up the docks and piers of their city of Dalny, a few miles northeast of Port Arthur, and these reports have since been confirmed, with the additional information that the whole city has been destroyed. Dalny is the old Manchurian city of Talienwan. It was rebuilt as well as renamed, 1899-1901, by express orders of the Czar, at a cost of \$20,000,000, with a view to making it the commercial center of the Russians on the Asiatic coast. Its bay, one of the finest deep water harbors on the Pacific, is free from ice in winter, and ships drawing thirty feet of water can enter at low tide without difficulty, and without the aid of pilots could sail or steam alongside the docks, where their cargoes could be loaded into railroad cars and run direct

for 6,000 miles to St. Petersburg. The Russian explanation of their reasons for destroying Dalny is cabled from St. Petersburg, where it is said to have been due to the probability that a force attempting to hold the place could be separated from Port Arthur and captured, thus inflicting further loss of prestige. The destruction is conceded in St. Petersburg to be complete, the breakwater and the buildings as well as the piers and docks having been blown up.

Although Port Arthur is still in the possession of a Russian force, it is cut off from the Russian main body. The declaration of the Russian viceroy, made public last week (p. 87), was on the 12th reported officially from Tokio to be untrue, and from St. Petersburg on the 13th there came an acknowledgment that railroad and telegraph communication with the place had been cut off again.

The most important war news of the week, however, is that of the 18th relating to the reappearance of what is supposed to be the third army of the Japanese (p. 87) which had not been heard of since it left the eastern coast of Corea. This news comes from St. Petersburg. It is to the effect that a Japanese army, believed to be the army which first landed in Corea and from which nothing has been heard since it pushed into the interior last March, has appeared about thirty miles northeast of Mukden, and that Gen. Kouropatkin's armies are retreating all along the line. Mukden, the Russian headquarters, is considered the strategic center of southern Manchuria. It lies in the mountains on the main railroad, about 100 miles north of Newchwang, and all roads converge upon it. The appearance of a Japanese army above Mukden, with two below it, is supposed to imply an enveloping movement threatening the destruction of the Russian army in Manchuria. On the 18th Gen. Kouropatkin was reported from St. Petersburg, upon the authority of the general staff, as making preparations to fall back upon Harbin, some 700 miles north of Port Arthur, and about 400 north of Mukden. But the Japanese claimed on the 19th, as per dis-

patches from Tokio, that these preparations are too late.

On the 17th the evacuation of Newchwang (p. 87) by the Russians was completed, Gen. Kandratoitch, who had been in command of the place, having left that night with his last regiment. Dispatches of the 18th, however, from St. Petersburg, tell of the reoccupation of the place by a Russian force.

The British expedition into Tibet (p. 87), is meeting a degree of opposition too great to be overcome with a small force. The Tibetans, armed with European weapons, are keeping up a bombardment of the British camp at Gyantse, and the proclamation and preaching of a "holy war" against the British is now reported. One of the later reports tells also of 2,000 warriors marching toward Gyantse to join the band bombarding the British camp at that point. In consequence of this stubborn resistance the British ministry have announced their intention of invading Tibet in full force. The announcement was made in the Commons on the 12th by Mr. Brodrick, Indian secretary, who stated that the ministry had decided that recent events in Tibet made it inevitable that the British mission must advance to Lhasa, the capital, unless the Tibetans consented to negotiate at Gyantse before a given date. The Chinese Amban, he said, has been notified to that effect. At the same time, he added, the ministry does not intend to depart from its policy regarding Tibet as previously announced.

The motive for this British invasion is explained in a dispatch of the 14th to the Chicago Record-Herald from London as follows:

Tibet is nominally a suzerainty of China, two of whose representatives called Ambans reside at Lhasa, the capital. In 1890, with the tacit consent of China, the Indian government arranged a commercial treaty with the Tibetan authorities. The terms of this compact not proving satisfactory to the people at Calcutta, another arrangement was desired, and the Grand Llama assenting, representatives of both governments met, in the spring of 1893, and perfected another convention. Under this arrangement Yatung, a town in the Chumbi Valley, on the Indian-Tibet frontier, was opened for trade, with an official

from Calcutta and a Chinese official stationed there. By the terms of the treaty all articles, except munitions of war, drugs and intoxicants, were to pass free of duty for the first five years, and the import of tea from China was prohibited for the same period. The latter clause was intended to protect the Indian market for the consumption of Indian and Ceylon tea. Affairs moved along amicably until 1902, when rumors reached Calcutta and London of Russian intrigues with respect to Tibet. It had been known that two years previously the Czar had made advances to the Grand Llama, and had sent him presents as "the lord and guardian of the Buddhist faith," a title generally conceded to the Chinese emperor. It later became known, however, that Russia and China had entered into a secret pact affecting Tibet, some of the stipulations being that in the event of any trouble arising in Tibet, Russia, "in order to protect her frontiers," should have the right to dispatch troops to that country after notifying China. This agreement, if carried out, would have made of Tibet a Russian province, but protests by Great Britain resulted in a denial being made that such a treaty was in existence. The negotiations opened the eyes of British officials, however, who at once decided to checkmate the designs of the Czar. There must be interference at once to preserve the domain of the Dalai Lama within the sphere of British influence, and with this purpose in view complaints were made officially to the Lhasa authorities that Tibetan compacts with the Indian government had been grossly disregarded, that the Tibetans had violated the English frontier, and that trade obligations had been systematically violated. The Indian government further demanded a conference at Khamba Jong to have matters righted at once. The Tibetans agreed, but when the appointed time came did not send suitable envoys. In fact, the English representatives reached Khamba Jong in July of last year. This place is about thirty miles on the Tibetan side of the frontier. The mission remained there until November, with no satisfactory developments, and the Indian government then decided that an advance should be made to Gyantse, which is about 150 miles from Lhasa. The mission was instructed further to occupy the Chumbi Valley, a wedge of Tibetan territory projecting between Bhutan and Sikkim, as a measure of military precaution. Colonel Younghusband, with large re-enforcements, started for Lhasa in November and crossed the Jalep Pass on December 15, 1903.

An official report of the recent ambushing of American troops in the Philippines (p. 88) was received at Washington by cable from Manila on the 12th, as follows:

While on a reconnaissance to locate Datto Ali, who had been sending in