

THE STANDARD

NO. 124---VOL. V, NO. 20.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 18, 1889.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

THE GOVERNOR'S VETO.

The Saxton ballot bill has been vetoed by Governor Hill.

It had a narrow escape last week. As originally drawn the bill provided that no ballot should be deposited in the ballot box unless it contained the indorsement of the ballot clerks. When the bill was under consideration before the judiciary committee of the house, of which Mr. Saxton is chairman, it was objected that by means of the indorsement a voter's ballot might be afterwards identified. To meet this objection the plan of one of the western states was adopted, whereby it was required that every ballot should have a stub, that the indorsement of the ballot clerks should be upon the stub, and that when the ballot was identified as official and just before being deposited, the stub should be torn off and thrown away. But in making the amendment the original provision that no ballot not containing the indorsement of the ballot clerks should be deposited, was accidentally overlooked, and the bill went to the governor in a form that made it inconsistent if not inoperative. Governor Hill, who was on the alert for defects, was not slow to discover this error. He was under a "machine necessity" of vetoing the bill, but was at the same time anxious to avoid a veto upon the merits of the measure, and the serious defect referred to afforded him the opportunity he most desired. Accordingly he began the preparation of a veto message, but some one in his office was indiscreet enough to tell some one out of the office of the grounds of the veto, and Mr. Saxton being advised of the defect, recalled the bill. After some opposition from the governor's friends in both houses, the error was rectified and the bill returned to Governor Hill. Had it been vetoed for such a defect, the governor would have escaped all responsibility for the defeat of ballot reform this year. As it is, though ballot reform is defeated the responsibility is not upon the friends of the Saxton bill, but upon the governor.

In endeavoring to justify his veto of the bill, Governor Hill speaks of "the reckless haste with which it was originally rushed through both houses, without listening to suggestions, criticisms or amendments presented by the minority, with the evident intention that the bill should not be approved."

Whether or not machine republicans, though opposed to the bill, were willing to join in passing it because they knew the chief machine democrat would be forced to veto it or kill his own machine as well as theirs, is of no moment. If this is what the governor and his friends mean by charging the republicans with trying to put him "into a hole," they are probably right; but it is a hole which he might have kept out of by disappoint-

ing the republicans with his gubernatorial signature. It is queer conduct for the chief magistrate of a great state to scold his partisan enemies for trying to put him "into a hole," when what they did was to offer him a good bill, though they wanted a bad one or none at all, on the chance that he would veto it and thus give them at once the credit of trying to reform an abuse and the advantage of a continuance of the abuse. Assuming this to have been the object of the republicans, Governor Hill has proved that they were not mistaken in their man when they took it for granted that of the two evils of signing a bill that would destroy political machines or by a veto taking upon himself the stigma of preventing reform, he would choose the latter as the less.

That the bill was rushed through with reckless haste is not true. Nor is it true that suggestions, criticisms and amendments proposed by the minority were not listened to. The bill was before the judiciary committee of the house for months. Several hearings were had, at which any one who favored or opposed the bill, or had any suggestions to offer, was listened to. Among those who so appeared was Mr. Cochran, Governor Hill's principal supporter in this city, who conferred with the governor before addressing the committee, and spoke in behalf of the governor's views when he addressed it. So far from making suggestions, or proposing amendments, Mr. Cochran confined himself to an elaborate attempt to show that no reform was necessary, a pretense that the governor contradicted when in his message he says "the evils which this bill pretends to remedy are startling, widespread and dangerous beyond all others which threaten our government." When the bill, after being amended to meet all reasonable objections that had been made, came before the house, the minority offered no suggestions, nor criticisms, nor amendments which did not go to the heart of the measure.

The governor now points out several provisions of the bill which he regards as defects. If they are defects, and he had really favored the essential features of the reform, it would have been easy to point them out and veto because of them. In that case the defects could have been cured and the measure made a law at this session. But it is not on account of these defects he vetoes the bill. He does it because its official ballot feature is objectionable to him; and that is objectionable to him because by securing secrecy it would prevent bribery and intimidation, and by abolishing the stock in trade of party machines it would free political parties from the domination of bosses and elections from the mysterious influence of "deals."

Of course Governor Hill does not give expression to these reasons for his veto.

His first expressed objection is that "citizens should never surrender the right to bring with them to the polls their own ballots, and see that they are properly deposited in the box." It would be as sensible to demand for them the right to bring their own ballot boxes, for ballot boxes are no more a necessary part of the machinery of elections than ballots.

Another objection is that if no nominations were made no election could be held. How easy it will be to catch larks when the skies fall! If nobody is voted for nobody will be elected; and it is just as probable that no citizen will vote at an election as that fifty in a local division or five hundred in the whole state will not be found willing to make nominations.

The governor is unalterably opposed to any system of elections which will pre-

vent the people from voting for any person up to the very last moment before the closing of the polls. This is intended as a criticism of that part of the bill which requires nominations to be made a certain number of days before election; but it is equally applicable as a criticism of registry laws, under which no one can vote unless he has been registered for a certain number of days before election. We may expect a message from the governor next winter recommending a repeal of the registry election laws on the ground that any system of elections which prevents the people from voting up to the very last moment before the closing of the polls violates an inherent right under our free institutions.

A new and exceedingly unique objection is that the bill violates the constitutional right of a citizen to vote "a ballot containing the names and only the names" of those for whom he desires to vote. The authority for this objection is found in that provision of the constitution which requires that all elections shall be by ballot. This the governor construes to mean that all elections shall be by the kind of ballot in use at the time of the adoption of the constitution, which contained the names of the persons for whom the elector intended to vote. "According to this bill," says the governor, "the ballot must contain the names of all the candidates for whom the elector does not desire to vote," and therefore, though it must also contain the names of all the candidates for whom he does desire to vote, the governor thinks it unconstitutional. According to such reasoning we are now voting in an unconstitutional way. When the constitution provided that all elections should be by ballot, ballots were printed on paper of different colors, and in type of different kinds, and bore distinguishing legends in great variety; but our laws now require them to be printed on paper of the same color and in uniform type and without any distinguishing mark. Governor Hill should recommend the repeal of the uniform ballot law as unconstitutional.

But Governor Hill did not feel quite equal to the task of descending to the very lowest depths of absurdity in his search for objections, and to complete his mosaic he quotes a sentence from an anonymous but "distinguished jurist." The remainder of the message is absurd enough, but not sufficiently out of the ordinary to justify quotations. The "distinguished jurist," however, has produced a star "freak" in constitutional law:

The system of voting provided in this bill is not voting within the meaning of the constitution. The elector has a right guaranteed by the constitution to vote a ballot which on its face shall express, in the English language, exactly what he means. The vital part of the ballot which under this bill the elector must vote is not in the English language at all, it consists of a cross—two marks made with a pen or pencil. The elector is compelled to vote a ballot which on its face is in favor of those against whom he wants to vote, and against those for whom he desires to cast his ballot. Take the case of a ballot containing only two groups of candidates nominated respectively by regular conventions of the republican and democratic parties. The republican desires to vote for the candidates of his own party; he is required to make a cross against their names, which to the ordinary mind means that such names are crossed off. The names of the democratic candidates will have no cross against them. So that the republican, on the face of his ballot, votes the democratic ticket.

In withholding the name of this "distinguished jurist" the governor exhibited great consideration for the feelings of the jurist's friends; but it is a name that ought to be known. It would be unjust to future generations to leave to them two such problems as that of the author of

the letters of Junius and this of Governor Hill's "distinguished jurist."

It is to be hoped that the legislature will not yield to the governor respecting this measure. If it is not perfect in detail, it should, of course, be corrected. But the principle of the official ballot is as important as secret voting, and is indeed essential to secrecy. It has been adopted in Massachusetts, Indiana, Montana, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Minnesota and Missouri. In New Jersey it was defeated by the democratic machine; in Maine and Ohio by the republican machine, and in New York by a democratic machine governor. In Connecticut both machines are opposed to it, but there is no mistaking the public sentiment in its favor there, and it is quite possible that it may yet be adopted. Soon, in at least seven states, it will be in practicable operation; and though we may be obliged to await the election of another governor, it is only a matter of a few years when it will be in operation in the state of New York.

The veto of the Saxton bill and the defeat of Cleveland will be a heavy load for Hill to carry before the people of the country. He protests his anxiety for ballot reform while killing a ballot reform bill, just as he protested his loyalty to the National democratic party of the nation while enjoying the fruits of his treachery to its candidate; but these protests will avail him little. No one expects him to admit that his motives are bad, but it is not by what he says his motives are, but by his acts and the plain relation of his acts to his motives, that he is to be judged. As the World says he seems to be walking around in a small circle," and as it wisely observes "the natural tendency of this sort of locomotion is to make the circle smaller and smaller."

Henry George's Lecture Engagements.

Saturday, May 11, Glasgow. (Under auspices of Land restoration league.) Conference and public meeting.

Monday, May 13, Wolverhampton, the Exchange.

Tuesday, May 14, Coventry.

Wednesday, May 15, Dudley, Public hall.

Thursday, May 16, Wednesbury, Town hall.

Saturday, May 18, Birmingham, Town hall.

Monday, May 20, Reading.

Wednesday, May 22, English Land restoration league, conference and annual public meeting at Holborn Town hall, Gray's inn road, London.

Friday, May 24, Woodford, Essex.

Sunday, May 26, mass meeting in Hyde park.

Monday, May 27, Lynn.

Tuesday, May 28, Lincoln.

Thursday, May 30, Woolwich.

Mr. Shearman's Western Trip.

Thomas G. Shearman in his trip west, spoke at Grand Rapids, Mich., on Tuesday, May 14. His engagements thereafter will be at Kansas City, Mo., May 16; Topeka, Kas., May 17; Denver, Col. May 19 and 20; Pueblo, Col., May 21. The Pueblo people are corresponding with those of Denver to have him on the 20th instead of the 21st, and if the meeting has not been fully announced at Denver for the 20th they may succeed.

Boom! Boom! Land Grab Boom! Wait Until the People Find They Haven't Any Boom!

New York and New Orleans capitalist have purchased 100,000 acres of mineral lands in northern Alabama, where they propose to start another town, and also develop some rich coal and iron lands below Florence.

An eastern syndicate, headed by General A. H. Alger and other prominent men, have bought a tract of 18,000 acres of coal fields in Tennessee, bordering on the Alabama state line, and only nine miles north of Stevenson. Several other tracts of mineral lands of from 30,000 to 60,000 acres, and within a radius of twenty-five miles around Stevenson, have been bought within the last month or so by syndicates formed in various places. Altogether, lands around Stevenson to the aggregate value of \$1,350,000 have changed hands within the last couple of months.

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE.

SPEECH BY HENRY GEORGE IN ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, ENGLAND.

A Typical Meeting of the Single Tax Campaign Across the Water—The Kind of Sentiments to Which the Liberal Party is Lending its Approval—Radical Utterances of the Chairman of a Liberal Association—Questions and Answers.

THE STANDARD has repeatedly been asked to publish a full account of one of the typical meetings of the single tax campaign which Mr. George has been for the past two months, and is now, so successfully conducting in Great Britain. The following verbatim report of the proceedings of the meeting at Ashton-under-Lyne, for which we are indebted to the Reporter of that city, is presented. The meeting, which was a large and enthusiastic one, was held under the auspices of the Liberal association of the district, at the Ashton Town hall, on April 13. The chairman of the Liberal association, Rev. Thomas Green, M. A., presided, and a number of city officials and representative men occupied places on the platform.

On calling the meeting to order the chairman said he was very glad to see so large an assembly met to consider so large a subject. He continued: The subject is one of very great and increasing importance. (Hear, hear.) It is one of those subjects that affects all classes of the community. All of us will be disposed to regard the question as one that will bear a great deal of discussion, and one of which some of us, at any rate, will be glad of a good deal of information. For myself I will make a great many admissions to begin with. I will admit that the same God Almighty that created the earth created the human beings now living upon it, and that it is quite obvious that He intended the earth should be the possession of the men and women who are here. (Hear, hear.) Nor do I mind admitting that, remembering the selfishness of human nature, those who have annexed, as I think very unfairly and unwisely, a very large portion of the earth for their particular use, are persons of whom it will be true to say, in regard to many of them, that if they could they would annex the air and the sky and the sunshine and the sea—(hear, hear)—and would extract rent for these things if they possibly could. I will make another admission that most of us, at any rate, in time gone by, would have been so silly that we would have paid the rent if we could. (Laughter.) Some persons seem to have a very great desire to possess land. I must confess I have not. I will be content if I can possess about six feet of it when I am dead. (Laughter.) Indeed, I am not very ambitious for that. (Laughter.) I am in no hurry to enter upon that inheritance, and for that matter I have no very great desire to enter upon it all, as I would rather be cremated. (Cheers.) One thing I know quite well, and that is that we live in a country that is densely populated, a country where, with shame be it said, land is largely lying waste (hear, hear) and I am perfectly clear that those two things ought not to exist together; and I do not see any reason why they should. Our land laws have been made by landowners, and have been made very largely in their own interest and any justice that has been obtained has been got with great difficulty after prolonged argument, and sometimes only on the very brink of revolution.

Now, though I am a radical, I am not a revolutionist, and it is precisely because I am not a revolutionist, but yet a believer in the necessity of some very great changes that I find myself here to-night. I do not want to see our people swayed by passion or governed by ignorance. I want to see everything done with intelligence, with reason, and with equity; I am sure that it is on these lines that true progress ought to be made. (Hear, hear.) To-night we shall have a valuable contribution to the subject. We have met to hear a well known speaker and lecturer, a gentleman of wide influence and very great power, and who deals with a subject that he has long paid the very greatest and closest attention to, and the audience are prepared to listen attentively and intelligently to everything he may say. I call upon Mr. George. (Cheers.)

Mr. George's Address.

I do not want to talk to a class. I would like to talk to the whole people. What I advocate is for the benefit of the whole community, land owners as well as landless, rich as well as poor. (Hear, hear.) I have not come here to attempt to excite the cupidity of any class. I have not come here to advocate the pulling down of any class, and I have not come here to uphold self-interest so much as I have to uphold a duty, to uphold, above all, the sentiment of religion; to ask women and men to do what they can to uplift the oppressed and to relieve those who suffer. There is everywhere poverty and distress; where wealth is greatest, where the inventions and discoveries that have made this century so wonderful, have had their fullest application, we find a class of peo-

ple on the very verge of starvation; a class to consider the problem that confronts our nineteenth century civilization; (hear, hear) who themselves, by the hardest toil, can make but a poor living, a living which will only serve to supply animal needs. We find in a country such as this, and in countries across the Atlantic, a class of people even below that point who, if they live at all, are only supported by degrading charity. We find hundreds of thousands of little children growing up under conditions that forbid their full development; under conditions in which it seems that only a miracle can save them from the brothel and the penal prison, and which inures and educates them to vice and crime. If we look we shall also see hundreds of thousands of little children dying before their time—literally crowded out of the world because the things necessary to healthy life cannot be got. Here is the question: Whose fault is it?

Those who contend that this must be so—that poverty and vice and crime are the results of natural laws—what answer are they giving to this question? Whose fault is it? They say, though not in words, that it is the fault of God Almighty, the Creator. Either it is His, and it must be if it cannot be remedied, or it is ours—not of any select individuals, not of any class, but of all of us. All are responsible. You remember that parable in the Gospels, to my mind the most awful of them all, where, at the Last Judgment, the Judge asked those who were before him, "When I was sick and in prison, did ye visit me? when I was hungered, did ye give me food; when I was a thirst did ye give me drink?" And they said, "Lord, Lord, when did we see thee, and not do this?" and he answered, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me."

ALL ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESENT SOCIAL ILLS.

Through all society there is a dim consciousness of some general responsibility. Look at the enormous sums that are lavished in charity. Look at the enormous sums not merely paid out of the public money, but drawn from the churches, from charitable individuals for the relief of the poor, for the education of their children, for the care of the destitute. There are some who carry to my mind unconscious blasphemy to its very last pitch when they say that it is the intent of the Creator that poverty should exist among men in order that the well-to-do may gratify their sympathies by relieving the poor. No man who believes that this is the result of the Creator's laws can help but think the Creator is rather lower in his feelings than a good man, or that he is a bungler. No good man, had he the power, would have created a world in which some of the inmates should be condemned to the conditions that so many are condemned to in our very highest civilization. (Cheers.) But it is not the fault of the Creator. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) No, whoever looks will see that He who made all things—He who made this world, and who has brought men upon it, was not a bungler, has not been a niggard—that there is enough and to spare for all—(hear, hear)—and that there is no reason why any child of God on this earth should, without his own fault, lack either the necessities or the conveniences and moderate luxuries of life. (Cheers.) Anyone who looks will see that, if we were but to obey the fundamental laws of justice, none should worry about any of the necessities of physical life, any more than the lilies of the field worried about their clothing.

What sort of a world is this, and what sort of a being is man? Physically considered man is one of the weakest of the animals. He has not the speed of some, nor the clothing of others; his natural weapons with which to defend himself from other animals are weak, and he does not, like some of them, find things provided for him here. His clothing does not grow upon him; there are very few natural products that he can use for food without chemical changes produced by cooking. He has want upon want, but he has that power which shows that he was made faintly and dimly and afar off in the likeness of God. Man is the maker; man is the producing animal. His muscles, guided by his mind, can set forces in motion that can alter the relations of the things that he finds here. He brings forth his food, he produces his clothing he constructs his dwelling places, and he makes his living by his labor.

Now, what is work? Everything fitted to man's needs is produced by work. We say, for instance, that this country is richer than it was a thousand years ago. What do we mean? Do we mean that there is more land than there was a thousand years ago, or do we mean there are more people here? When we speak of that we use a different phrase. We mean that there are more things produced by human labor, more houses, more machines, more clothing, more ships, more of all those numerous things that man works to produce, and though we sometimes speak of a man as a wealthy man when he is a shareholder or land owner, or something of that kind, it all means, if we analyse it, simply, that he has the power of taking the things that labor produces. All wealth is the product of labor. Some one has worked for it. There is not wealth enough in our communities to-day. Some have more than they can profitably use, but even if we were to make a general average, and divide up all equally around, there would not be enough. The vast mass of the

population are under clothed, under fed, and under housed, have not conveniences not to say elegances, enough. And yet we are told that in all civilized countries there is a surplus of labor. The supply of labor, it is said, is in excess of the demand for labor, and in this country there are people who say that the only remedy is in emigration, that there are more hands in this country than can be employed; and yet if they will go to the other side of the water, they will find the same problem confronting the nations. Men willing to work and anxious to work yet find difficulty in obtaining it. Even in what we call good times there are many such; but when industrial depressions sweep over the civilized world then the hundreds of thousands of unemployed mount into millions. What is the reason? It is not God's fault. When man first appeared upon the earth what he found was simply the earth. There was no capitalist to give him employment. It was from the earth that man's labor brought all that we call wealth. Has the earth grown too narrow? Is there not land enough that we cannot find employment?

HEAVEN'S ANSWER TO AN APPEAL FOR WORK.

We have committees and inquiries; schemes for giving employment to labor, and for relieving the poor. What answer would we get if it were possible to send a committee up to the high court of heaven, and to there make a complaint that there were people on the earth ready to work, and willing to work, but could not find employment—that there were hands condemned to involuntary idleness, and that the wants of men were not satisfied? What answer would we get? Would we not be asked "No employment? Have you no land? Is your land all in use? Until it is all in use—until it is all put to its use, there is no natural reason why there should be any willing hands idle. Why should there be any want? (Cheers.) What is the reason? Why, it is clear and plain. The Creator has been no niggard. Here in the earth is all we can use, and more. There is an exhaustless reservoir for us to draw from. What we have done is to make the property of a few that which by natural right, that which by the law of the Creator, is intended for all. (Cheers.) Why, let us consider—I do not say it irreverently—but let us consider, so long as God's laws are what they are, it will be utterly impossible for the Almighty Himself to relieve the poverty that festers in the midst of modern civilization. (Hear, hear.) When we parcel out the earth as we do; when a certain class under the planet, the great minority, take all they can, what can we expect? (Hear, hear.) Supposing God were to undertake the relief of poverty. Supposing He were to rain wealth down from heaven, or make it gush up from the bowels of the earth, who, in a country like this, who, under our laws would it belong to? (Hear, hear.) Why, there would be poverty in the very kingdom of heaven if it were treated as we treat this earth. (Hear, hear.) Now what would happen in heaven, no matter how fruitful, no matter what the natural abundance was, if the people who got to heaven first were to divide it up amongst themselves—(laughter)—and the people who got there afterwards were to find it all taken? (Applause.) Why, were wealth to gush up from the bowels of the earth, as it has done in recent times—you have heard of those great oil wells of Pennsylvania and Ohio, from which a great spout of oil comes, and of those wells of gas—which makes the finest kind of fuel—to whom does this gas and oil belong? Why, under our laws, to the owners of the earth. And even if it were to pour down a stream of groceries, or ready made clothing, or anything of that sort, it would belong to them all the same—(laughter and applause)—and would even though it fell down from heaven.

THE ISRAELITES AND THE MANNA.

Why, you remember how it is written, that in the journey of the Israelites across the desert, manna was sent down to feed them. If that desert had been divided up like England, who would have owned the manna?—(Hear, hear.) Though enough and to spare came down, how could the common Israelites, who had no legal right to use a square inch of that desert, have got any manna. Why, only by selling their labor. They might have sold their labor to the rich Israelites, gathering up the manna, and got in return part of the manna they gathered. That would not have been enough for them. Then they might have given in return for more manna all they brought out from Egypt. When that was exhausted, how then? Why, here would have been great heaps of manna, and there would have been Israelites wanting manna; and then the mannaed class in all probability would have talked about the overproduction of manna. (Laughter.)

Now, labor produces all wealth. That is perfectly clear. What, then, is the basis of the right of property? There is only one basis, and it is a curious thing that if you look through all the apologists for the rights of property in things that are not produced by labor you will find that they all come to that basis. The sure foundation of the right of ownership is in the right of each individual to himself, the right to use his own powers and to enjoy what he can fairly obtain by them. It is a natural principle that the man who produces a thing—that is, brought it forth from its natural reservoir and fitted it for the satisfaction of human

wants—has the right of ownership in it, and to it the sacred right of property attaches. What a man produces is and ought to be his—his against all the world, to use, give away, sell, bequeath, to make any use of that he pleases, so long, of course, as he does not use it to the injury to others. This is the foundation of the right of property. Now the right of a man to himself to the produce of his labor in itself condemns the right of any one to ownership in the earth. If he has the right to what his labor produces would he not be robbed if anyone were to take a part of it from him as a return for the privilege of allowing him to breathe the air, or to warm himself by the sun? Does he not do the same thing when he takes part of the produce of that same labor for the right to use the earth. The chairman has said that there have been classes in the past who, if they had thought of it, no doubt would have made a property of the air and water. But, the reason they did not was perfectly plain.

WHO OWNS THE LAND OWNS THE AIR AND WATER.

The man who owned the land owned the air as well. (Laughter and applause.) The man who owned the land owned the water, the man who owned the shores owned the sea. There has been only one attempt that I have ever heard of to make air property, and that was by a man who could not make a claim to the ownership of the land. Near Strasburg, in Germany, about the 12th or 13th century, there was a convent of monks, who put up a windmill. One of the lords in that neighborhood—they would be called robbers now—(cheers)—finding he could not get any tribute from them, set up a claim to the ownership of the air, and when they put up their windmill said, "All the wind in these parts belongs to me." (Laughter.) The monks sent in hot haste to the bishop, and told him of this claim. The bishop "got up on his hind legs"—(laughter)—and cursed in ecclesiastical language. (Renewed laughter.) He said the baron was a son of Belial; that he did not own the wind in that province; but all the wind that blew over it belonged to Mother Church—(laughter)—and if the baron did not take back his demand for rent, he would launch at him with bell, book and candle the curse of Rome. (Laughter.) Mr. Baron backed down. But if he had owned the land he would not have needed to set up a claim to the wind. Men cannot breathe the air unless they have land to stand on. What would happen to the men who went down to the sea in ships if, while they were away at sea, the land were to disappear? (Laughter.) (Chairman: "Can you answer the question?" (Laughter.) Well, they would have to keep on sailing—(laughter)—and after a little time they would die. Why, some people think that land is only one of the elements of production. An English statesman recently told the people of Southwark that they had no concern with the land question, which was purely an agricultural question—a sort of three acres and a cow question. (Laughter.) It is natural to think of land as the superfluities of the globe, but you will see, if you think for a moment, that it really means to us the material universe. Land as a term of political economy includes everything outside of man himself.

It is only on the land and through the land that we can live at all. All our production, our manufactures, our wealth consists but in bringing forth from the land the raw materials, of working them up, and changing them either in place or form. Without land no man can work. Why, our very bodies come from the soil, and to the soil they return again. Take from a man all that belongs to the land, and there remains but a disembodied spirit. Therefore it is that this land question is not merely an important question; it is the important question.

THE FACTS THAT MUST BE CONSIDERED.

Out of the primary wrong in our treatment of the land has grown all those social difficulties which perplex men, and will perplex those who dare not look the facts in the face. (Applause.) Consider that while invention after invention, and discovery after discovery have increased, during this century, the productiveness of labor, multiplied it a hundredfold, pauperism still exists, and vast classes are suffering through poverty. These great inventions seem to have only widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. We prate about the abolition of chattel slavery, but to-day, in our so-called free countries, there exists an industrial slavery.

The chattel slave was at least sufficiently fed, the children were taken care of, and the old had the comforts they had been accustomed to. Look in this country at the laborer, who has worn away his life in toil, and who comes in the end to the workhouse or degradation worse still. Children were torn from their mothers, wives from their husbands, in chattel slavery. Mothers even killed their children to escape slavery, but they did not kill them for the sake of a few shillings of insurance money. We might do worse by men or women than put them to death. There is a death of the soul that is worse than the death of the body. Go through London and see in its streets the thousands of young women who ought to be happy wives and mothers. Is there a man here who would not rather see his daughter in her coffin than that she should come to such a fate? We have abolished slavery on my side of the Atlantic, and we are proud of it now, but I remember the time when a man

who dared to say a word about property in flesh and blood was deemed everything that was bad, was ostracized in society, was considered an infidel in the church. But now, no man is found, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, that will say a word in defense of chattel slavery. We are proud that under the American flag to-day no longer is the clank of the slaves' chain heard. (Hear, hear.)

We have abolished that form of slavery, that crude, rude form that only grows up in countries where population is sparse and land is plenty, and never where population is dense and the land can be fenced in. Why did the men who went to Ireland refrain from making slaves of the men they found there? Simply because they knew a trick worth two of that. (Laughter.) When they took the land then they were the masters of the men who had to live upon it. (Cheers.) The chattel slave owner, if his slave ran away, had to chase him; if his slave would not work, had to whip him; but the man who owns land that other people must live on, if they live at all—his slaves do not have to be chained up. No, they came with hats off to beg permission to work. (Cheers.) He does not have to whip them, nor does he have to take care of their children, nor has he to provide for them in old age when they have been his servants and worked hard all their lives. You have heard in that English classic how Robinson Crusoe drove off the cannibals, and how Friday came up to him and put Crusoe's foot on his neck in token that he was from that time Crusoe's chattel and slave. Now, supposing Robinson Crusoe had drawn back and told Friday that they were equal, but that that was his island (laughter), what would have been the difference? Friday would have been his slave, and he would have been Friday's master. If there had been a number of Fridays, if inventions had been made, Robinson Crusoe would have profited by them. The value of the island would have risen, rents would have risen, and by and by it would have been found that they were suffering from a want of wealth by labor going to waste.

A NATURAL RIGHT IN THE LAND.

Now, I think every one who thinks can see the importance of this question, every one who thinks of it will see that no matter what our ancestors did in the past, in the present, to-day, every human being has a natural right in the land of his birth—(cheers)—that every child that comes here, comes here with a title from Almighty God, not merely to the equal right to live, but to the equal right to the use of all the necessities for life and for labor. (Hear, hear.) The question is how can we apply it? There is no difficulty about it. Let us make sure of this, if we can make up our minds to follow justice, we will find a straight and an easy way. All difficulties arise from the indisposition to do justice. (Hear, hear.) The way? Why it is easy. We cannot, in a state of civilization like this, divide up the land. There was a primitive state of society in which land might have been divided up—for instance, that state of society contemplated by the Mosaic code—in that primitive state of society where each family was self-contained, no complexity in the system of industry and no great towns, the simple device of allotting to each society a sufficiency of land and making the lots, as the Mosaic code did, unalienable would have secured for every child that came into being a foothold on the earth. But this will not do now.

Let us make no mistake; the people who are asking them to buy the land of Ireland from one set of owners and sell it again to a larger set of owners do not propose to do justice. (Hear, hear.) They are proposing a scheme that cannot last, a scheme that will merely make for the time being a larger class of landowners instead of a smaller class of landowners. It will do nothing whatever for the people who are not agricultural tenants, nothing whatever for the artisans of the towns, nothing whatever for the agricultural laborer or for the poor of the slums of Belfast and Dublin; and it will not do anything permanently for the agricultural tenants. In the United States we know that. We started from a condition of things in which land was fairly and equally divided, but we saw that as population increased, as the arts developed, as the country grew, that inevitably land ownership tended to concentration, that inevitably labor was divorced from the absolutely necessary element of land. That will happen in Ireland, no matter how many millions of debt the people of Eng and take upon themselves for the purpose of converting Irish agricultural owners. No, it can not be done in that way. But it is not necessary to divide up the land. And while it is not necessary to divide up the land and maintain equality, it is perfectly possible to divide up the rent. (Hear, hear.) Nor even is that necessary to secure equality. The only thing that is necessary is to take rent for any purposes that will be for the benefit of all, and to do that it is not necessary to finally dispossess the landowners—to take possession of land and let it out. It is only necessary to so shift taxes as to abolish all the taxes that now fall upon industry and thrift, all taxes that now fall upon labor or the products of labor, and concentrate taxation upon land values. (Cheers.)

A TAX THAT DOES NOT BEAR ON INDUSTRY.

Taxes are necessary. That is to say, as civilization advances public revenues are necessary. What we take in public revenue

is always the product of labor. But there is a natural law by virtue of which, as civilization increases, there is a great fund constantly increasing that can be taken for public purposes without bearing at all upon industry, without diminishing the rewards of thrift, that can be taken for the use of society. (Hear, hear.) Consider this national fact, the value of the land. Why is land more valuable in Ashton than it is in the Highlands of Scotland? Simply because there are more people here. Why is land more valuable in London than in Ashton? Simply because there is still a greater concentration of human beings. The value of the land is not produced by any one individual. The owners of London, the owners of the land of this town, did not make its value. What would be the value of the land if all but the owners of the land emigrated? (Laughter.) The value comes from the common growth. Every child that is born, every family that comes and settles, and every great public improvement adds value to the land. (Hear, hear.) Here is a fund that can be taken without injury to anyone for public uses, and it seems to me to be the intent of nature, and the intent of the Creator that it should be used. To me it was the most striking proof in the whole range of facts which showed the benevolence of that power which was above and beneath all. Go out, for instance, into a new country. You might put up a most valuable building, and it might create a great value in the land. But a fire comes and sweeps all your improvements away. (Hear, hear.) No value would remain. But in one of your cities let a fire come and sweep the improvements away, the great value would still remain attached to the land. (Hear, hear.)

As villages, towns and cities rise, so do these land values grow. That to me was as clear an evidence of design as that provision which brings into the mother's breast proper nutriment for her child. Just as civilization advances, so do the needs for public revenues grow, and with them grow this land value, a value which does not belong to any individual—(hear, hear)—but which belongs to the community. (Applause.) The value of that can be taken for public purposes without taking from an individual that which is his, without lessening capital, without a conflict with labor. It is the land value that must be taken if we want to prevent speculation in that most indispensable of all the things that men need. (Applause.) All we have to do is to take it. It is not that we should get a vast fund for the use of society so much as this, that in doing this we will break up the monopoly in land.

THE HOUSING OF THE POOR.

Talk about the housing of the poor, when it is clear and plain that there are not enough houses to accommodate the people. Why are not more houses put up? There is plenty of land that would be valuable for building purposes, which is kept idle because its owners do not want to use it themselves, but are holding it until they can get higher prices. (Hear, hear.) No community should be taxed for its capital and labor and wealth. Why should we fine a man for getting rich unless he robs someone else? The richer a man gets, the better for everyone. Why should we tax a man for getting a large income? Why should a man who puts up a house, builds a factory, or does anything else to increase his wealth, have the tax gatherer come down upon him and demand a tax from him? Abolish such taxes and put taxes upon the value of land; charge a man who is holding land vacant just as much as if he put the best house upon it. (Hear, hear.) Charge a man who will not use a coal mine, and will not let anyone else, just as much as we charge the man who is working his mine. Charge the great land owners who hold two or three thousand acres of land idle and will not let it to the agricultural laborer just as much as if it were in use. (Applause.) If we charge the full annual value of the land how long could the owner afford to let it stand? (Hear, hear.) I cannot hope to-night to convert anybody, but what I hope to do is to set you thinking. (Applause.) Try and throw yourselves into the question, and see if it will bear the test, and if you can find anything in these propositions that conflicts with morality or is opposed to the best public policy, anything but that which will bring benefit to the whole people, then oppose it, but in the meantime I entreat you to search and try. (Loud applause.)

Answering Questions.

When the lecturer had ceased speaking the chairman read some questions which had been handed up for Mr. George to answer.

Question: Is not private property in land the means whereby the workers are robbed directly or indirectly of one-half the profits they produce?

Mr. George: Yes, and they are robbed of a still greater amount; that which they might produce and do not produce.

Question: If the producers roused themselves to independent thought and acted unitedly, could they obtain and sustain their fair share of what they produce? In other words, could they keep the muzzles off? Is the parable of the laborers coming to pass in this day? Are the wealthy coming in at the eleventh hour to show the people how to give a fair pennyworth of land in their democratic house?

Mr. George: I do not know that I rightly

catch the question. Does the gentleman mean that the laborers ought to unite together to go forward as laborers?

The Chairman: Let us say, yes.

Mr. George: Well, I think the struggle ought to be for the rights of all people. What I condemn in all these efforts to do something for the laborer is the assumption that labor needs to have something done for it. Labor don't want charity. (Applause.) All that labor needs is freedom and justice. I ask that for everybody. I am not making fun in saying that I believe this scheme would do something for the landlords. I do not believe that obedience to God's law injures any member of the community.

Question: I am the tenant of a house for which I pay £16 per annum and the rates. The owner of the house pays £6 per annum chief rent. Does Mr. George propose to tax the above ground rent, and if so, at what rate; and what advantage would the imposition of the tax be to me as tenant? The house referred to is in the country, and situated about two miles from the nearest railway station.

Mr. George: If the tax were imposed it is clear that he would have less rent to pay. A tax upon ground value will not enable land owners to raise the rent of the ground. On the contrary, it would stimulate them to let it at a lower rent, because, if all those who had vacant land were taxed they would be compelled to let it.

Question: In Mr. George's system for the taxation of land for national and local purposes, what difference does he make between land which has cost the present proprietors nothing, or next to nothing, having been in the same family for several generations, and land which has been bought by the present possessors within the last twenty or thirty years, and for which the full market price has been paid?

Mr. George: I would make no difference between the two. The man who buys gains no better title than the man who inherits. We propose to let men keep what they have; only in future we would prevent them taking any more from labor.

Question: What is the probable relation between the unimproved value of the land in any town or district and the sum total of the national and local taxation of the same district?

Mr. George: I cannot tell in a district, but as a whole it is estimated that the land values would do more than pay the imperial and local taxation.

Question: Is there at present any country in which the whole of the national or local taxation, or both, are levied on unimproved land values?

Mr. George: No, unfortunately. South Australia is making a great step forward, and will probably be first.

Question: How would you ascertain the annual value of a mine for purpose of your proposed "single tax?"

Mr. George: By ascertaining what anybody would reasonably give for it, as I would with land values.

Question: A manufacturer, an alderman in a neighboring town, who says "the merest tyro in political economy can refute your arguments," claims that his firm pay more in local rates than the whole of their work-people. Is not the amount of rate added to the cost of their goods, and paid by the consumer?

Mr. George: If they are the products of human labor, yes. As to the statement respecting the tyro, I should like to have your manufacturer here. You cannot tax capitalists by taxing capital. Taxes upon all things that are produced by labor are added to the cost, and ultimately fall upon the consumers.

Question: Why not nationalize the minerals on the same principles as the land, seeing that the minerals are a constituent part of the land?

Mr. George: The minerals are a part of the land. Does the gentleman think I have been only talking of agricultural land?

Then followed a long and involved question, which the chairman interpreted thus: Must not the incidence of taxation, put it how you will, fall ultimately upon labor?

Mr. George: No, I do not think it must. The greater part of the incidence of taxation does fall upon labor, and bears more heavily upon the poor than upon the rich. But there is a tax which labor does pay for the use of land. If you take that away you are taking nothing from the share of labor. If the income of £60,000 a year, which I am told a lady receives for the rent of the land of this district, were taken for the use of the state, and taxation were abolished, labor would be the gainer.

Mr. A. E. Reyner took temporary possession of the chair, and called upon Mr. John Hanna, who moved a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Mr. Kerfoot seconded the motion, and said he could not withhold his consent from all Mr. George had said, and he thought all who were present had been converted to Mr. George's views—even though they might not have started in perfect agreement with him.

The motion was carried and the Rev. Thomas Green in replying said some ten questions had been asked; he should himself have liked to ask twenty-one questions, but he felt, whether their patience would be exhausted or not, the strength and endurance on the part of Mr. George would be rather unfairly dealt with. He hoped those who had not given at-

tention to the subject would have their minds set thinking in the right direction; and especially that they would pay attention to that very important point with which Mr. George dealt in closing his remarks. That was the one that ought not to be delayed. Wide schemes in connection with the land would take time to mature; but the idea of taxing fairly the property that was held on dog-in-the-manger principles was one that ought to come to the front at once, and if working men would take the trouble to think about it they might keep it in the front, and insist on those who represented them having a clear opinion of it. He should like to know where the member of parliament for Ashton was on that question, and it was information which he thought they ought in a proper manner to ascertain. The meeting then adjourned.

For a Reception to Henry George.

STAPLETON, S. I., May 6.

Editor of THE STANDARD:—I wish to make the suggestion through THE STANDARD that the believers in the single tax, in New York, Brooklyn, and as far throughout the country as possible, begin at once to make arrangements for a grand demonstration in honor of Henry George, on his return from Europe. I think it would be a good plan to charter a steamboat, (one such as the Grand Republic) to go down the bay to meet the steamer present Mr. George with an address of welcome and bring him up to the city; the demonstration winding up with a great mass meeting the same evening or the next. I believe there would be no difficulty in carrying out this plan if we get to work at once.

We read frequently in the papers of the magnificent reception Mr. George is receiving wherever he goes throughout England and Scotland. We should at least not be behind England in doing honor to this great American reformer. I fear he will not be fully appreciated by most of his countrymen until another generation shall have come; but we who do appreciate him, and who understand his teachings, should be proud of the privilege of paying tribute to his great worth. Let us make it possible for future generations to say that this prophet was not without honor even in his own country.

I am sure that if this plan is decided on, every single tax man in the country will be inspired to work energetically to make the demonstration a success, and we may even outdo in extent the programme I propose.

WILLIAM A. WASSON.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The man who tries to argue that the single tax will not be a blessing to the masses of the people, is either interested in maintaining the present robbing system, or he is an ignoramus and a fool beside.—[West Indianapolis Reporter.]

Taxes should be so levied as to least burden and most encourage the production and distribution of wealth. To tax any product of labor, however lightly, is to check its production.—[Kansas Jeffersonian.]

The people of this country can never be free until the land they live upon is free. Landlords and tenants are only other terms for masters and slaves.—[Iowa Industrial News.]

Land differs from all other forms of property in that it is not the product of labor, and that a title deed from its creator cannot pass to any man. Man cannot make land, as he can commodities.—[Kansas Jeffersonian.]

With repeated advances in the necessities of life and reductions in wages and certainty of employment, it will not be long until the laborer will receive nothing and scarcely that.—[Indiana Argus.]

A Delegate from Harlem to the Paris Single Tax Conference.

The approaching conference in Paris of single tax men was brought up for consideration at the last meeting of the Harlem single tax club, and a resolution was passed that the club should be represented by a delegate, and Mr. John J. Hopper was unanimously elected. He will leave New York on the 29th inst.

An invitation from the Nineteenth assembly district organization of the prohibition party to discuss the merits of their remedies for social evils was accepted. The discussion will take place next Monday evening, May 20, at the rooms of the Prohibition association, 247 West 125th street.

Mr. Charles H. Mitchell, having resigned the editorship of the Tax Reform Advocate, published by the club, Mr. Julius Schlueter was elected to fill his place, and a vote of thanks tendered to Mr. Mitchell for the faithful performance of his duties.

The double barreled Winchester shotgun presented to the club by Dr. Ed. Friedenberg, to be raffled for the benefit of the club treasury, was won by Congressman A. P. Fitch.

Single Tax Musicians.

Attention is called to the advertisement of Messrs. Olvady and Beggs in this number of THE STANDARD. Mr. Beggs, the leader of the Single tax orchestra, has formed a partnership with Mr. Olvady of this city. Their band will probably rank as one of the best in this vicinity.

What Jefferson said.

Kansas Jeffersonian.

As Thomas Jefferson (the original Henry George man of America) truly said: "Land belongs in usufruct to the generation living upon it."

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE, }
NEW YORK, May 14.

The receipt of petitions during the week has been very unsatisfactory, though we are beginning now to receive returns from those recently sent out with the last distribution of single tax pamphlets.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 52,534
Received during week ending April 29, 733

Total 53,270

Contributions other than those received from regular subscribers during the past week have been as follows:

Single Tax Map, Passaic, N. J.	\$1 00
J. R. Gibbons, E. Saginaw, Mich.	1 00
"S. T." New York city	5 00
Mrs. A. R. Hornbrook, Evansville, Ind.	30
"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr, Pa.	25
O. R. Stewart, Cookport, Pa.	1 00
W. L. Cheney, Hartford, Conn.	1 00
John S. Waters, New Orleans, La.	1 00
C. A. R. Lundy, Cambridgeport, Mass.	4 00
James R. Carret, Boston, Mass.	10 00
Balance of sale of seats in STANDARD office window	12 00
John Cairns, Hartford, Conn.	25
W. L. Crossman, Boston, Mass.	1 00
C. F. Knight, Frankfort Springs, Pa.	1 00
W. Hennig, Frankfort Springs, Pa.	1 00
Contributions under 25 cents from each person	2 22
	\$42 02

Contributions previously received from others than regular subscribers and previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,345 18

Total \$1,387 20

It will be seen that the form of public acknowledgment has been changed so that it shows plainly just what amount has been contributed by the public toward the expenses of the work. The small number of people who pledged themselves to contribute regular stated sums were called on in the beginning to meet extraordinary expenses for postage, labor, office fixtures, etc., and it was never their desire that any publication should be made of their contributions. It was done in the first place to encourage single tax men to use the machinery thus prepared for making a thorough distribution of single tax literature. In many cases, however, it appears to have had the effect of creating an impression that our single tax friends throughout the country have contributed largely toward the general work, and the carrying forward of these large early contributions has produced in some minds an exaggerated impression as to the amount of the committee's current income.

Of the sum now acknowledged as contributed by others than regular subscribers, fully a third was contributed before public notice was given that all such subscriptions would be used in circulating single tax and free trade literature, and yet despite this, the purchase of literature, and the postage on the same, has cost far more than the total contributions by others than regular subscribers. All of the expense of circulating the petition, making a card catalogue of over 50,000 signers, classed alphabetically by post offices, an alphabetical classification of workers, the preparation of a state book with all workers classified by post offices, printing, stationery, and the conduct of an enormous correspondence, has been borne by seventeen people, and the greater part of it by three or four. The public acknowledgment of contributions is intended to inform the single tax people generally just what has been done in this way, and the form of acknowledgment adopted this week will not be deceptive in this matter. W. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

A. Wallace, Tumwater, Wash. Ter.—Fifteen months ago Mr. A. Farquhar gave me a STANDARD to read. I had never heard of the land question before, and even afterwards had I named Henry George to anyone hereabouts it would have called forth a rough answer. We have stuck to them, however, and now a few of them see the cut.

W. H. Wilson, Memphis, Tenn.—I hear free trade spoken of now as something in the near future, whereas a short time ago it was spoken of as something that would only come about in the distant future, if ever. People are thinking and discussing the matter now. So much the better for the single tax.

S. G. Mullins, Corsicana, Texas.—The single tax doctrine is gaining headway. You may depend on Texas for the big vote when the time comes, though we have here a lot of the largest land monopolists in the United States.

D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.—The single tax is making progress in Oakland. Two months ago I brought the subject to the attention of Mr. Story, deputy postmaster at West Oakland, and I herewith inclose his signature. At that time he refused to sign, but he has since been reading up on the subject and has become convinced of the soundness of our doctrines. He says he has had many discussions with men who drop in the post office, and he is surprised at the number of advocates of the single tax he meets, especially among the railroad men around West Oakland.

W. E. McDermut, Fort Wayne, Ind.—The signer I have numbered 13 is a railway clerk who is a radical free trader inclined toward the single tax; it is an extensive truckman who realizes that a tax on personal property

is a discouragement to industry; 15 is an assessor who would like to make assessments according to the single tax plan; 16 is a railway attorney and a free trade democrat and, while not an acknowledged single tax man, is opposed to any tax on industry and sees the cat pretty plainly; 17 is a bookkeeper, engaged in the lumber business, and sees that the tax on houses results in fewer and poorer houses. He is a democrat and a free trader; 21 is a stenographer and teacher, who recently read "Progress and Poverty" for the first time, and as an evidence of its influence sends \$1 to the fund for circulating single tax literature.

O. H. Purefoy, Bazette, Texas.—S. G. Mullins spoke here Saturday night and I assisted him in organizing a tariff reform club. I obtained ten signatures to the petition in the audience.

Chas. M. Grime, Reading, Pa.—I expect to send you some more petitions next week. We are preparing to organize a single tax club, and after that we can accomplish more.

Benjamin Hamer, Bartonville, Ill.—The circulation of the petition is causing the people to discuss the single tax. I have eleven signatures in favor of organizing a single tax club, or something of the kind, to bring the people together to consider the subject. They are all coming and we will meet them in the sweet by and by.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.—Nine of the inclosed signatures were obtained after a great deal of hard work, and you may count signers as converts to the cause, for none of them would sign until they had studied the subject thoroughly. You may expect some good work in this locality before long.

O. H. Schraumm, Kansas City, Mo.—Our single tax club is quite young, but it is growing with each meeting, and I think will grow much more rapidly when we get a hall of our own, where we can have weekly meetings. We are all delighted to know that Mr. Shearman is going to come out and make us an address, and we will make a great effort to give him a large audience. Most of the names I send are those of merchants or professional men; one is a professor in a high school, one a lawyer, formerly the principal of the high school in St. Joseph, Mo., under whose care I was taught to read and think. He was only too glad to sign and see one of his boys take an interest in the subject. The petition is a splendid thing to propagate our ideas, as it offers such a good opportunity to open conversation on the subject.

Wesley Whips, Lakeland, Ky.—Man is a social being, and loves company. I am alone—not a single tax man within ten miles of me. I learn from THE STANDARD that there are some in Louisville, but that is eleven miles from here. I never saw one of the creatures in my life.

G. H. Winslow, New York.—The petition within is interesting, as the signer is a relative of mine living at Nantucket, and a well known democrat, to whom I have frequently mailed single tax literature, not expecting that any good would result. He met me today and without any previous reference to the subject asked me for the petition, which he signed immediately, and he promised to circulate some of our literature on the island.

H. Reggio, New Orleans.—The work of propaganda is going on here, and since we now have a single tax club in the field it is likely to go on more rapidly in the future.

W. H. Halford, Bloomington, Wis.—The subject of the single tax is stirring up the people a little even here, and I am writing one or two letters a week on the subject for various papers.

James Finn, Detroit, Mich.—Considering how easily signatures can be obtained I am surprised that they do not come in more rapidly. I had occasion to call on a man the other day who had a building in the course of construction, and during the conversation I handed him a petition, which he read aloud. The contractor who was standing by overheard him and, stepping up, said, "That is Henry George's doctrine. I must put my name on that, and I think you ought to be able to get a million signatures in six months." All the men who were working on the building, with one exception, then signed the petition.

Outdoor Meetings in Boston Started.

Boston, Mass., May 13.—The Boston single tax league opened its summer series of outdoor meetings on the common, Sunday afternoon. A number of local speakers addressed the large assemblage and much enthusiasm was manifested. One lady and her husband had come from Lynn—twelve miles from here—to hear the speakers. The case of this enthusiastic couple should stimulate single taxers in this city to attend these gatherings and co-operate with the promoters of the cause in the Hub to make the meetings even more successful, if possible, than they have been in past seasons. A meeting will be held at the band stand on the common every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 o'clock.

SINGLE TAXER.

The Single Tax in North Dakota.
New York Times.

BISMARCK, Dakota, May 10.—A view of the political field in North Dakota at this time reveals the fact that the coming convention will be in the main harmonious. The men selected thus far to formulate a constitution are from the best element, and the result is that, with

a very few exceptions, personal feeling has been laid aside for once for the good of the general cause.

It is evident that the farmers will be in the majority in the North Dakota convention, and it is asserted that an effort will be made to have a clause in the constitution exempting all cultivated lands absolutely from taxation in North Dakota. It is also proposed by the friends of the single tax theory to submit a separate clause to the vote of the people, with the constitution, exempting all personal property from taxation. This measure is popular among a large class of farmers, who think it would not be a bad idea to exempt all their live stock from the burden of taxation. It is believed by some that North Dakota would be a good place to give Henry George's idea a fair test.

A Club Formed in Meriden.

MERIDEN, Conn., May 10.—Last evening a meeting of "single tax" men was held here for the purpose of forming a "single tax" club, though the attendance was small on account of strong counter attractions. William Hawthorne was elected chairman and the undersigned as secretary. It was decided to call another meeting for the 26th inst. Charles E. Bingham, a well known local single tax speaker, has been requested to deliver an address.

WM. WILLIS, Secretary.

NO, NO, NO FREE TRADE!

Items from Various Exchanges Which Bear on the Question of Protection vs. Free Trade.

At Jamestown, Bordentown and other Jersey towns the shirt operators out of work number 1,000.

By the closing of the Fairmont colliery at Pittstown, Pa., 200 men have been thrown out of employment.

Texas railway men are getting up petitions against the cutting of rates, as they are satisfied it means lower wages.

The employees at Lees' woolen mill at Bridgeport, Montgomery county, Pa., have been put on half time on account of over-production.

The 300 employees of the Catasauqua Manufacturing company at Catasauqua, Pa., have struck against a reduction of the shoe men's wages from \$1.80 to \$1.10 a day.

All building mechanics are warned to stay away from Savannah, Ga., as the city is flooded with idle men at present. There are scores of idle carpenters unable to find employment.

Mechanics and laborers are requested to stay away from Vicksburg, Miss., as there is likely to be trouble because of an unwarranted reduction in wages. The place is full of idle men at present.

The wages of the miners and coke-workers at the Standard Mines, Mount Pleasant, Pa., were reduced 15½ per cent. on May 1. One hundred and seventy-five ovens at these works were closed down on Saturday.

All miners and mine laborers are requested to stay away from Warrior, Ala., as there are 600 men now out of employment, and those at work only get from one to three days per week. Pay no attention to advertisements.

The recording secretary of L. A. 7036 warns all mechanics and laborers to stay away from West Superior, Wis., and Duluth, Minn., as both places are crowded with idle men and wages are at a starvation point.

Union Pacific Employees' Magazine.

The following would indicate that England would be a good place to go to:

The blacksmiths in Glasgow, Scotland, have gained 12½ per cent advance since October.

Owing to the healthy condition of the linen trade in Fifehire, Scotland, the Leven spinning mills have advanced the wages of workmen 5 per cent.

St. Helens, England, glassworkers recently got 5 per cent advance, and will get 5 more in three months.

In the iron and steel trades the Leeds, England, masters have advanced most of the men two shillings per week.

The miners' convention at Birmingham, England, is to consider the advisability of demanding a 10 per cent advance.

The shale miners at Loanhead in Scotland have just had ten per cent of a raise in wages, and the Northumberland men have had an advance of from twopence to threepence per day.

The Wear shipbuilders near Barrow, in England, have given their shipwrights an advance of 1s. 6d. per week, to be followed by another shilling of an advance in July. The ship building trade in England never was so busy before as it is now.

This would indicate that the campaign stories of last fall were lies. But who should workmen now hurrah for?

Well, Barkis is Willim's—There Would be No Doubt About the Free Trade Part.

New York Press.

"Gorman—never!" cries the St. Louis Republic about democratic Chairman Barnum's shoes. The brethren want a free trader to manage their next free trade campaign. Henry George is about the freest trader going. Get him.

Certainly! Why Should It Debate?

Boston Labor Leader.

The Home Market club is not interested in the abstract correctness of its ideas, as its refusal to furnish a speaker to participate in a debate under the auspices of Typographical union No. 13 clearly shows. It has got the cake for the next four years, and why should it debate?

SINGLE TAX NOTES.

Boston, Mass.—A friend of mine recently tried to buy a lot between my house and that of a neighbor. He found that the price was three times that paid by myself and neighbor before we built. My friend asked him why he had advanced the price so much, and the answer was: "Look at the improvements around here." My friend called his attention to the fact that there were no improvements on his land, but he pointed to our two houses as justifying the increased price he was asking. When my friend told me about this I showed him how this land owner was trying to charge him a higher price on my improvements, and he saw it. I think I converted him. Anyway I set him to thinking.

EDWARD O. HALLETT.

Minneapolis, Minn.—The single tax question has had such a thorough stirring up in this community that those who have not at least heard of the subject are in a small minority. The recent street railway strike has given us an opportunity that has been improved to the utmost. A man who has acquired immense wealth from the possession of a franchise cuts down the already small pay of his employes and then insults public intelligence by announcing that the business is not paying and a reduction is necessary. Nobody believes him, and consequently public sentiment is practically on the side of the strikers, but there are so many idle men that it has not been difficult to fill their places, and therefore the strike is practically a failure, though the strikers propose to hold out and run omnibus lines. The street car magnate is a strong protectionist, anxious to maintain the wages of American labor, and I am informed that a majority of the strikers voted for protection. I have lately heard many of them swear they will never vote the republican ticket again. Strikes and hard times are wonderful educators.

A. M. GOODRICH.

Anacostia, D. C.—The people are beginning to think and our ideas are no longer pool-poohed, but are listened to with attention by men who a few months ago denounced George as a crank and the single tax as impracticable. Nothing succeeds like success and it looks as if we can hope to succeed. The Washington Post, the leading morning daily at the national capital, has lately been indulging in editorials favorable to the single tax. A series of discussions has been carried on through its columns and we may well say we have a strong ally in Washington.

CARROLL W. SMITH.

Coffeyville, Kan.—William T. Croasdale's article in THE STANDARD on the "Occupation tax" applies to this state generally. The single tax is the only remedy for this condition of affairs. Kansas, in the last presidential campaign, was the banner protection state and it became so because the people were sorely in need of help and the appeals of the republican speakers and newspapers in behalf of protection and their promises that it would bring prosperity lured them into voting the republican ticket in the hope of improving their condition. Now relief seems further off than ever. Immediately after the election monopolies, syndicates and trusts began discharging laborers and cutting down wages and many of those who voted the republican ticket are amazed and dazed by their woful disappointment. Their homes and farms are passing away from them through the operation of mortgages and trust deeds and the situation is one that fills them with despair. If, while they are in this condition of mind, we could but make a single tax campaign here, we could bring these people to see the truth and show them the way out of their misery.

GEO. W. HATCH.

A Proposition From the Printers to Establish a Lecture Bureau.

A considerable number of the membership of Typographical union No. 6 have been watching with interest the advanced move made by the Boston printers' union in establishing a bureau for the purpose of having lectures on economic subjects delivered under the auspices of the Boston union. The experiment there has proved a success, and some of the New York men desire to have the same idea carried out here. With this end in view a circular has been issued to all the chapels under the jurisdiction of the New York union, asking those in sympathy to attend a preliminary meeting, Sunday, May 19, at three o'clock, at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club, 33 Clinton place, where a resolution embodying the Boston idea will be prepared, for submission at the next regular meeting of the union.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club.

Mr. Antonio M. Molina was to have delivered the lecture before the club last Sunday evening, but was prevented from doing so by sickness. The audience were considerably disappointed, but consoled themselves with the thought that the lecture was only postponed. Mr. Steers read a chapter from "Social Problems," and an interesting debate ensued. Benjamin Reece will address the club next Sunday evening on "The evils of railroad management; their cause and cure."

On Saturday, May 11, the club spread a lunch, to which all friends had been invited. A pleasant time was had.

IN THE MICHIGAN LEGISLATURE.

The Single Tax Bill Which Received Ten Votes in the House of Representatives—A Strong Fight.

Now that the newspapers and politicians of Michigan have all had a chance to express their opinions on the recent single tax agitation in the state legislature it may be worth while to review the movement for the benefit of single tax men throughout the country.

Toward the beginning of the present session of the legislature, Representative A. F. Wettlaufer of Detroit introduced a bill in the house of representatives providing for the raising of all taxes from land values. This bill was safely engineered through the committee to which it was referred, and, after being taken up in committee of the whole, was made a "special order." The hall of the house of representatives was granted to the single tax men for the evening preceding the day on which the vote was taken, so that there might be a public discussion of the bill. The Lansing Daily Journal, one of the leading democratic papers of the state, urged a large attendance at this meeting, saying among other things:

The question of taxation is the weightiest one that can address itself to the intelligence of the American voter. It is conceded that our present system is crude, imperfect, inequitable and unpopular. We think there is sufficient ground to justify the legislature in giving the George scheme a trial.

Speeches were made at the meeting by Professor A. Arnold Clark of Lansing, Henry A. Robinson and William G. Brownlee of Detroit. Representative Wettlaufer presided, and a letter was read from Hon. Judson Grenell of Detroit, fully indorsing Mr. Wettlaufer's bill.

On the following day the bill came up as a special order of business. On motion the rules were suspended and the bill put on its immediate passage, and Mr. Wettlaufer delivered a long speech, which was attentively listened to and loudly applauded.

The bill was then put to vote, and received 10 votes in its favor, while 68 votes were cast against it—twenty-two members not voting. Fifteen or twenty members did not respond as their names were called, but afterwards the house refused to excuse them. Representative Jackson, the oldest member of the house, said that if he were twenty years younger he should hesitate long before voting against the bill, but he was confident that it would take him twenty years to get his constituents so they could understand it, and he did not expect to live that long. When the name of Representative Baker was called, he said that it seemed no one had the courage to vote on the bill. He wished to explain his vote. He voted "no" because he was sure that his constituents, with the light they had on the matter, were opposed to it. One representative said that he had talked with many of his constituents, and though they did not know much about the tax, they wished him to vote against it. One representative, in explaining his vote, boldly said that he voted against it because he did not know anything about it. One representative said outside that he had studied the matter, and was opposed to it. He thought it was absurd to say that a man who owned land in a city should be taxed the same as a man who owned the same amount (in area) in the country!!!

However, it should be said that, while great credit is due Representative Wettlaufer for the energy with which he succeeded in bringing the bill to its final vote, yet the representatives as a whole have been much more favorably inclined to a perfectly fair and free treatment of the question than would have been possible two years ago, or than was expected by the single tax men of Michigan even now. There is much quiet sentiment, and the vote by no means represents the friendliness with which the measure is regarded by the house, and the single tax men feel that quite a victory has been scored.

The day after the vote the Detroit Evening News said editorially:

As was to be expected, yesterday the representatives in the house from the farming districts voted directly against their own interests and the interests of their constituents in defeating Representative Wettlaufer's bill to place all taxes on land values. The vote was 10 for to 68 against.

In round numbers there are 35,000,000 acres of land in Michigan. Of these 32,000,000 acres pay taxes, indicating that they have some market value. In 1841 11,000,000 acres were in farms, of which 8,000,000 acres were under cultivation. Now, under our crude system of taxation, the improvements on these 8,000,000 acres bear an undue proportion of the burden of taxation. Mr. Wettlaufer wanted to relieve the farmers of the inequitable portion of this burden, but the farmers, through their representatives, decline to be relieved. They prefer to be skinned.

The legislator is simply a man of average intelligence, and the average man, on the subject of taxation, is generally as ignorant of his true interests as is a sucking babe. The hope is that, like the babe, wisdom will come with increasing experience. But the granger's ignorance is nearly a hopeless case.

The discussion has done a great deal to make the strength of our cause apparent, for the fact that a number of legislators are ready to support such a bill openly with their votes means that a still larger number would be glad to do so if they were not afraid of their constituents, and it is proof of how large the number of single tax men must be throughout the state.

THE SINGLE TAX MADE THE ISSUE.

Yet J. H. Ralston, Who Stood as the Single Tax Candidate, Was Elected—The Plan to be Tried in Hyattsville, Md.—The Campaign Was a Lively One, and Resulted in the Heaviest Vote Ever Polled.—Mr. Ralston Interviewed.

The Washington Post of May 8 announces that Messrs. J. H. Ralston, Peter J. Duffy, Francis Gramlich, and Charles E. Beach have been elected town commissioners of Hyattsville, Maryland. It follows this with a very interesting interview with Mr. Ralston, whom it speaks of as a "well known, strong advocate of the single tax theory of Henry George," and says furthermore that there "was reason to believe that some of the other candidates had proclivities tending in that direction." The single tax it says "was consequently made the issue of the election."

We quote the following interview in full from the Post:

A Post reporter found Mr. Ralston last evening enjoying the cool breezes of Hyattsville on the steps of his pretty residence, and asked him for an explanation of the reason for the advanced ideas of the Hyattsville voters.

"Last spring," said Mr. Ralston, "this question of single taxation played an important part in the election for commissioners. A proposition was made to issue bonds for between \$5,000 and \$10,000 for the improvement of the streets and roads. We were somewhat neutral in the matter, but raised the issue that these bonds should only be issued on the condition that the tax for the payment of the principal and interest was levied on the land alone, excluding the improvements, such as houses, fences, and barns and personal property of all kinds. We were accused of advocating anarchistic and socialist doctrines and impeding the improvement of Hyattsville, and our opponents threatened that if the bond proposition passed with the qualification insisted on by us, they would send a delegation to Annapolis to defeat the measure in the legislature. Therefore we determined to beat the bond people and we succeeded."

"As a result, at the recent election the principal fight was made on me, and the ticket on which I ran was called the anarchist ticket. Single taxation was discussed on every corner and at the polls, and the discussion brought out the heaviest vote that has yet been polled in Hyattsville. Politics, as they are generally understood, had nothing to do with the result."

"Were all those who voted for you single tax advocates?"

"No. There is a large number of single tax people here, and still a larger number whom I believe to be inclining that way. Many voted for me who do not believe in the single tax theory, and this shows that the voters of Hyattsville cannot be scared from voting for a candidate by the cry of single tax or Henry George. The small property holders, men owning a single house and lot, proved to be the most strenuous advocates of the single tax principle. The speculators opposed us; but I must mention that Mr. Wine, our largest property holder, is willing to submit his interests to the judgment of his fellow citizens."

"Do you think single taxation will find a testing ground in Hyattsville?"

"There are difficulties in the way our charter is drawn to prevent that at present; but within less than two years, it is safe to say, a majority of the people here will be with me in advocacy of the principle. Ideas in opposition are based upon misconceptions that are removed in many cases by a simple explanation."

"How would your single tax principle benefit Hyattsville?"

"Three-fourths of the land here is idle and unproductive. The removal of municipal taxation, however, from the improvements and from personal property to the land values would have but a minor effect, inasmuch as the rate of such taxation is very low; but fifteen cents on one hundred dollars. The principal practical value that the change indicated would have would be in its tendency to extend the same rule to county and state taxation. From a change in method of taxation in these particulars, we could expect that the holding of idle land on speculation would be unprofitable. Then the additional burdens thrown upon the mere speculator or withholder of land from cultivation would be such as to induce him either to put the land to active use or get out of it as quickly as possible and thus permit some one else to do so. It would in this way enlarge the market for labor and increase men's opportunities to labor for themselves, inasmuch as the great obstacle to a man applying himself to productive labor is the constantly increasing value of land. This increasing value now goes into the hands of a few who happen to hold the title to the land, although it is a value created by the entire community. The single tax principle would effectually divert this unearned increment from the men who have not earned it to the community which has created it. It would thus relieve the industrious man from the burden now imposed upon his industry and convert to the use of the community itself the value it has created. If this course were adopted in Hyattsville we

should expect to see men leave Washington, where their industry in the shape of houses is subjected to taxation and come here, where they would hold the products of their industry free. We should expect to see a better market for capital and labor in Hyattsville than could be found anywhere else in the country."

Mr. Ralston could not speak the sentiments of his fellow commissioners, but took the reporter to see Mr. Charles E. Beach, and on the way pointed out as object lessons the few improved lots to the many unimproved ones.

Mr. Beach was not generally a pronounced single tax advocate. "The principle is a good one," said he, "and I am strongly in favor of it for Hyattsville. I believe it would benefit us greatly, increase the number of houses, and consequently increase our population and benefit our community generally."

A great factor in the election was Mr. Gust, a leading citizen of Hyattsville, whom the Post reporter found in his garden on his knees looking after his beans by aid of the light from his house. The long argument he advanced to the reporter left no doubt that he understood the single tax proposition and was a strong advocate of it.

THE VETO OF THE SAXTON ELECTORAL REFORM BILL.

We were apprehensive that Governor Hill would fail to rise above the treacheries of mere party politics, and so we have from him this morning a labored veto of the ballot reform bill. It was not altogether unexpected, but, nevertheless, the governor's action is to be deplored. . . . Governor Hill has painfully failed to demonstrate that he is something more than a politician and party servant.—[New York World.]

Governor Hill's veto of the Saxton ballot reform bill is no surprise. He vetoed the bill passed last year, and it was expected that he would disapprove this one. In fact, it is generally understood that he will not sign any measure that will prove effective in preventing fraud and corruption at the polls, just as it is well known that he will not approve any bill for the stringent regulation of the liquor traffic.—[New York Herald.]

Governor Hill has come down heavily upon Saxton bill. His strongest point is that it is unconstitutional in that it prevents a citizen from voting for whom he pleases. He will make many enemies by his message.—[New York Journal.]

Governor Hill has again shown that no ballot reform is possible while he is governor. His veto of the Saxton bill shows that he is determined not to be pleased with any system of ballots printed at the public expense, even when the fac simile ballots are permitted, for use in case the official supply fails.—[New York Press.]

Once more Governor Hill has demonstrated his contempt for the reform sentiment of the state and his subservience to the worse elements in his own party. He has killed the Saxton ballot bill. Its sole object was to improve the machinery of elections, to stop, or, at all events, sensibly to check, bribery and corruption, and, by coming between candidates and the bosses who plunder them by means of the assessment levies, to render it possible for a poor man to run for office. This is the bill which the governor in defiance of public opinion has vetoed.—[New York Tribune.]

Governor Hill sent to the assembly a long and labored message vetoing the Saxton ballot reform bill, which is simply a marvel of misrepresentation and false pretense.—[New York Times.]

Governor Hill has done right.—[New York Times.]

Want a National Conference.

The following resolutions were passed at the last meeting of the Central single tax club of Brooklyn:

Resolved, That the Central single tax club of Brooklyn deems it advisable that a national conference of delegates from single tax organizations be called to meet immediately after the return of Henry George from England, to consider what practical steps can be taken to advance the cause in the several states.

Resolved, That other single tax organizations are hereby requested to take action on the above resolution, and communicate the result to our corresponding secretary, George White, 52 Concord street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

GEORGE WHITE.

In the Crescent City.

NEW ORLEANS, La.—We are moving down here in the dark country. The first informal public meeting of the single tax club was held the other night at the rooms of the Maritime association, No. 7 Varieties alley. Mr. J. S. Watters, president of the club, addressed the meeting at some length, and in a clear, concise manner explained the aims and purposes of the organization. Mr. Watters was attentively listened to and at the close answered a number of questions put to him bearing upon the subject of the evening.

S. T.

THE NATIVES WERE ROBBED.

Land Grabbing Proved to be at the Root of the Troubles in Samoa.

New York Sun.

The question of land titles is really at the bottom of the Samoan controversy, and it is a good sign that the Berlin conference is considering a proposal to estab-

lish a court to determine land tenures, to consist of one representative for each of the three treaty powers and two Samoese. A land tenure court was called for by Mr. Bates in his report on the Samoan troubles. He found that German subjects claimed ownership of 135,122 acres, mostly on the island of Upolu, in which Apia, the capital, is situated; that British subjects claimed in all over 250,000 acres, mostly in Savaii, and that 250,000 acres more were claimed by an American company, whose rights had been bought out by British subjects. Mr. Bates declared that it was "impossible that the acreage claimed by foreigners has all been honestly or fairly acquired," and he found not only great complaints among the people but conflicting claims of territory among the foreign residents. Two documents which came into his hands by accident were appended to his report to show the character of the conveyances which even the most intelligent natives were sometimes induced to sign. In one of them Chief Asi, who has been prominent in the late troubles, had actually signed a blank deed, or at least one in which the quantity of land, the consideration, and other essential particulars were left blank. The paper was filed among the land title documents of the German company at Apia, which had not concluded what quantities to write into the blank spaces, although the signature and seal of the chief and the signatures of the witnesses had been carefully procured. A second document cited by Mr. Bates is a confirmation by the king of the title to about a quarter of a million acres claimed by the British company by purchase from the so-called American company. He calls it a paper such as ought never to have been executed, and says it was undoubtedly signed by the king without investigation of the facts and in reliance upon the good faith of his advisers. Many of these conveyances are made, according to Mr. Bates, in payment for arms and ammunition, the traffic in which is illegal.

The natives who buy these arms have usually no money to pay for them, and resort to the sale or mortgage of their lands on terms most disadvantageous. Very much of the land claimed by foreigners has been purchased on ruinous terms in exchange for fire-arms. Besides, the well known disposition of the natives, when war is anticipated, to dispose of their lands for such consideration, and on such terms as they can get, has a tendency to tempt unscrupulous white men to stir up civil strife for the purpose of creating an opportunity to buy the land at a low price.

Here, accordingly, we have evidence that it has been the interest of white men to incite war among the natives for the express purpose of selling them arms and taking their pay in land; and the report of Mr. Bates shows by incontestable instances that "it is undoubtedly that the sale of arms to the insurgents is conducted principally by the German company of which Mr. Weber is the head."

But Commissioner Bates is not the only authority on this subject. Acting High Commissioner John B. Thurston, who represented Great Britain at Apia in 1886, simultaneously with Mr. Bates, gives similar statements in his report. According to his figures, which very likely may be the ones referred to by Mr. Sewall, the total claims of the Germans amount to 135,122 acres; those of the British to 283,600 acres; those of the Anglo-Americans to 276,000. Here is an aggregate of 694,722 acres. But the total area of land in Samoa, excluding small claims, is stated by Mr. Thurston to be 610,720 acres. In other words, the foreigners claim 24,002 acres more than the actual area to which their claims apply. That is to say, in order to fully satisfy these claims, so large a proportion of which are nominally sanctioned not only by regular deed or foreclosed mortgage, but by royal decree, it would be necessary for the unfortunate aborigines to manufacture 24,000 acres of land in addition to what nature has favored them with.

Of course the explanation as to the deficit is that the foreigners have conflicting claims upon the same pieces of property. For example, the Messrs. McArthur & Co. of Auckland, dispute 10,000 acres in Savaii with the German Commercial and Plantation Company. But Mr. Thurston says that "even if a deduction of 24,000 acres is made, by way of adjusting these conflicting claims, there still remains nothing for the natives of the soil." Two other suggestions of Mr. Thurston may also be worth considering:

It will be conceived without difficulty that in respect of charges against natives of trespass, pilfering of nuts, bread fruit, etc., it may so happen that the native must either "trespass" and "pilfer" or die.

The idea may also obtrude itself that there has been some "pilfering" on the other side. The governments of the claimants severely concerned, it is respectfully submitted, ought without delay to appoint commissioners consisting of competent and independent-minded men to decide upon land claims in Samoa, and so relieve the unfortunate natives from a state of affairs painful to reflect upon.

These, then, are the facts upon which the American claim that the natives have been robbed of their lands and gradually driven to a condition almost of servitude may safely rest.

IS IT PRACTICABLE?

Proof that Land Values can be Separated from the Value of Improvements—Fallacy of Edward Atkinson's Objections—Leasing of Public Lands in Nebraska.

The difficulty of framing statutes by which Mr. George's doctrines may be put into successful practice has been brought into special prominence by the challenge lately thrown out by Mr. Edward Atkinson. He believes the "theorists will be incapable of framing an act that will work because their propositions are impracticable." I have no desire to distinguish myself by attempting to frame a bill. To such a charge of impracticability better means of refutation are within easy reach.

The proposed system of taxation, like every other, involves difficulties; some it possesses in common with existing systems, while others are peculiar to itself. On the latter, opponents found their objections. But a system of taxation may involve a difficulty peculiar to itself as such, which may nevertheless be involved in some other department of government. If it can be shown that any legislature has enacted into laws "that will work" measures of any kind involving the peculiar difficulties in question, it will demonstrate the practicability of the single tax far better than would the framing of a bill. For the very best bill, all that could be said would be that it appeared practicable; while, for such enactments, it may be said that they are a demonstrated success.

I believe the statutes of Nebraska furnish material for such a showing. I refer to the laws relating to the state educational lands. Doubtless similar laws are on the statute books of several states, and will be brought to notice when attention is once directed to this channel of investigation. The laws referred to constitute chapter 80, compiled statutes of 1887. The following is a brief summary of their principal provisions. The sections and parts of sections containing the provisions on which the argument is based are quoted verbatim:

The State of Nebraska owns, and has the right to sell or lease for the benefit of her public schools, "the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections in each township in the state, or lands selected in lieu thereof." As the usual size of townships is six miles square, or thirty-six sections, it will be seen that these educational lands embrace one-eighteenth of the lands in the state, being, in the aggregate, an area considerably larger than the combined areas of Rhode Island and Delaware. The governor, secretary of state, treasurer, attorney-general, and commissioner of public lands and buildings, constitute a board of commissioners acting under the direction of the legislature for the sale, leasing and general management of these lands. The commissioner of public lands and buildings is required to "cause suitable abstracts to be made of all lands owned by the state for educational purposes, and entered in suitable well bound books." These books contain an itemized statement of all necessary information concerning each tract. The board is authorized to appoint the county treasurer of each county as its agent, and he is accordingly furnished with an abstract of the lands lying in his county.

Section 3 says:

The lands embraced in said list shall be appraised in the same manner as provided in section fifteen of this act in the case of private sale, and the said appraiser shall subscribe to an oath before some proper officer to properly appraise the prairie lands in tracts not to exceed forty acres each, and the timber lands in tracts not to exceed ten acres each, and to appraise any improvements thereon.

Section 5 provides for "offering at public auction all unsold lands except such as have been leased."

Section 9. Any person purchasing lands upon which improvements have been made by any other person, the purchaser shall pay the full price of such land and improvements to the county treasurer, and the treasurer shall pay the appraised value of the improvements in cash to the person owning the same; and any person having made improvements on any land sold to another, may at any time before receiving the appraised value thereof, and within six months from the day of sale, remove such improvements from said land, and upon such removal the treasurer shall return to the purchaser the appraised value of the improvements.

Section 14. Immediately after the close of the sale provided for in section 5, all unsold lands shall be subject to lease, at a rental of six per cent, on the appraised value. Provided, that if two or more parties desire to lease the same land, the treasurer shall proceed to auction off and lease the same to that person who, in addition to the six per cent rental, will pay the highest rate per cent on the appraised value of said lands, for said lease. Each lease shall contain a covenant or contract that the board of educational lands may, during the year 1888, and every

five years thereafter, provide for the reappraisal of said lands; that the lessee will promptly pay the rental semi-annually in advance; that no waste shall be committed upon said land, and that the premises shall be surrendered at the expiration of twenty-five years or sooner, with the consent of the commissioners; that the lessee will pay for the use of said lands the annual rate of six per cent per annum upon the appraised value, and that, upon a failure to pay the agreed rental for a period of six months from the time said payments are due, the lease may be forfeited and fully set aside. Provided further, the board shall have a reviewing power over acts of appraising under this section.

Section 15 provides that when any lessee desires to purchase the land embraced in his lease, the county commissioners, or three of the township supervisors, shall view the land so desired to be purchased by such lessee, and return a true and correct value of said land, under oath.

Section 30 provides that "school lands sold under the provisions of this act, or such as have been heretofore sold, shall not be taxable until the right to a deed shall have become absolute," though improvements on such lands shall be taxable from the time of the sale.

The operations of these laws involve the three principal difficulties peculiar to the single tax which I will now enumerate and discuss:

First, The difficulty of appraising "land exclusive of improvements."

Sections 3 and 15 provide for the appraisal of "land and improvements," and Section 14 provides for the reappraisal of all leased lands every five years. The term "land" is everywhere used in these citations in the sense in which it is employed by advocates of the single tax. In reply to a query on this point, the attorney general says: "The word land herein used means without improvements. The language is 'land and improvements.'" The term improvements is construed to mean betterments of every kind including tillage and drainage. As will be seen, the law makers have not thought it necessary to make especial provisions for securing competent men for this work, or to throw out especial safeguards against error, and injustice. The appraisers are to be selected from the local officers to whom the people have intrusted the management of their county affairs. They are supposed to be men of average intelligence and honesty and to act accordingly. The statute is brief and general in its directions. They are simply told to "appraise the land and improvements at their true and correct value." The only specific direction given as to how this shall be done is that prairie lands shall be appraised in tracts of forty acres each, and timber lands in tracts of ten acres each, a provision which could easily be so extended as to cover every exigency of a single tax.

But this is not all. The improvements on these lands must be appraised for a different purpose, and by entirely different persons. Section 30 provides that all school lands sold to private parties shall be exempt from taxation till the purchaser's right to a title shall have become absolute. As most of these lands are sold on twenty years' time, the local tax officers are required to look after the taxation of improvements during that time. The same may be said of all improvements on leased lands. The value of these improvements is to be estimated at what their owner has "invested" in them. This being determined, the appraisal of the land is a comparatively easy matter, since its value would equal the value of the real estate less the value of the improvements. It will thus be seen that the local tax officials throughout this commonwealth are now doing every year what objectors would have us believe it will baffle the intelligence of men to do under a single tax system. Evidently such objectors think the adoption of the single tax will, in some mysterious way, dissipate the intelligence and unbalance the judgment of the average mind. Whence they derive such a notion is not clear, unless it be from the effect which the proposal of the reform has had upon their own minds.

Second, The insecurity of improvements.

This can hardly be considered a peculiar difficulty of the land tax. That, when taxes are delinquent, the property may be sold to pay them, is a necessary provision of every system of direct taxation. The only peculiar difficulty of the proposed system is, that when the land should be thus taken and sold the owner's full right to his improvements might be impaired, since they are more or less inseparable from the land. Such an

owner would be in precisely the same condition as is a lessee whose rental is delinquent, or a purchaser who fails to meet his payments.

The provisions of section 9 secure to every man a full right to his improvements, be he purchaser, lessee, or even squatter. If at his option, or from a failure to fulfill the conditions of his contract, the land passes into the control of any one else, or reverts to the state, provisions are made for his reimbursement; or he may remove the improvements, or part of them, if dissatisfied with the appraisal.

The objection that men are not inclined to improve land unless they own it, has been so fully answered as to be generally abandoned. But Mr. Atkinson says, in effect, that a man will not improve land unless he has it for a long period at a fixed rental. As regards time, the holding of land would be as unlimited under the proposed system as it is now. Land could be held in private possession as long as the taxes were paid. As regards a fixed rental, the objection is proven to be invalid by the case in hand. The lessee, it is true, has his lands for twenty-five years at a fixed rate per cent of the appraised value. But the land is to be re-appraised every five years. Thus the lessee is given small chance to "appropriate the unearned increment." For that short period only is his rental fixed. Beyond that the only security he has against an exorbitant rental lies in the intelligence and honesty of his fellow citizens.

That these provisions operate satisfactorily is evidenced not only by the testimony of state and local officers, but by the avidity with which such lands are taken and improved. Many of the best improved farms in the state are leased school lands. It should be remembered that all these regulations are merely statutory, not constitutional. They are liable at all times to amendment or repeal by the law-making power. Yet, so great is the confidence of the citizen in popular intelligence and sense of justice that he is eager to lease and improve the state lands under these conditions.

Third, the difficulty of levying the tax. This difficulty is only apparent. Briefly stated it amounts to about this: As the tax on land increases, its market value will decrease. Whenever the tax reaches its maximum limit, the land will cease to have a market value. There will then be nothing on which to levy. Whoever will take the trouble to construct and solve a concrete problem illustrative of this objection will find the results interesting.

This difficulty arises only under the condition that land is to be appraised at its market value subject to the tax. The result is the same whether the condition be applied to the general or the annual value. A little reflection will show one how absurd it is to speak of taxing the market value of land out of existence while the existence of the tax itself depends on the maintenance of a market value. Should the rate be raised to one hundred per cent the land would still necessarily have a market value equal to the amount of the tax. Should the change to the single tax be gradually made, such a method might operate very well in the beginning, but its awkwardness and inefficiency would become more and more apparent as the change went on. Thus being foreseen, the appraisal of land at its value independent of the tax would commend itself to the practical single tax man. This method, besides being eminently practical, has a safer economic foundation than any other.

But to return to our statutes. It is instructive to witness how little this difficulty has troubled the minds of practical law makers; while it is really refreshing to observe how the average man executes the law without ever suspecting the existence of such a difficulty. Reference to section 14 will show that these lands are leased at a yearly rental of six per cent on the appraised value, unless competition makes the rate higher. The state aims to get, as nearly as practicable, the annual value of the land. Hence these leases, which often change hands, command little or no price above the value of the improvements. The yearly rental depresses the market value just as the single tax would at its maximum limit. Here appears one difficulty (though that it ever appeared to any one save objectors to the single tax, history records not). These lands are to be re-appraised every five years.

If at the end of this period the lands are appraised at their market value sub-

ject to the rental, what will the state derive from them during the next five years? Appraisers are simply directed to appraise the land "properly" and to "return a true and correct value of said land under oath." No citizen of average intelligence is likely to err in carrying out this provision. If the single tax were as fully understood and as generally approved there would be no more difficulty in the enactment and application of its principles.

But it may be objected that these lands are surrounded by others whose market values guide appraisers in their work; that if all lands were subject to this system the case would be different. That appraisers are guided to some extent by the general market values of surrounding lands is probably true. But in so doing they encounter two serious difficulties: First, the value of surrounding lands is largely speculative; second, surrounding lands bear comparatively heavy taxes, while the leased school lands are tax free. Under these conditions, to estimate the value of the school lands from the general market values of surrounding lands is a complicated problem. The appraiser has other and better data from which to reckon: First, he may estimate the general value from the annual value which is affected by neither speculation nor taxation; for here land usually rents under condition that the landlord shall pay the taxes. The ratio between the annual and general values of land is substantially the same as that between interest and principal of money loaned on long time at good security. This ratio and the annual value being given by the operation of economic laws, how easy is it to determine the "true and correct" general value of land. Second, he may observe the market value of leased land subject to the rental, and add this to the value at which the lands are already appraised. Thus if lands subject to a rental of six per cent, on an appraisal of eight dollars per acre are worth four dollars per acre in the market, they ought to be re-appraised at twelve dollars per acre. Such data are ample for purposes of correct appraisal and would be equally so under a single tax.

Thus the features peculiar to the single tax have been shown to be capable of enactment into brief and simple statutes, and satisfactory in their operations. In choosing the ground of impracticability for their attacks on the single tax, opponents show that they recognize the partiality of the American people for "the practical." But they also show their ignorance of the fact that its superior practicability is one of the strong recommendations of the single tax. I have confined myself to the defensive, but the movement is aggressive. If the argument for this tax is strong as regards its freedom from serious difficulty, it is far stronger as regards the difficulties of existing systems which it will obviate. But the discussion of this is not part of my task.

Objectors are evidently contemplating conditions under which the difficulties they point out would be real. Their acknowledged intelligence precludes a less complimentary view. If a complete single tax system should be suddenly thrust upon a community in which it was not understood or approved, great difficulties would certainly be encountered in its enforcement. But this is a case which can never occur in a self-governing community. In such a community enactment and application of a reform measure must be preceded by popular adoption. This involves a great deal. It involves thorough education of the people, deep and wide spread conviction of the justice of the measure. It involves not merely the support of a numerical majority, but an overwhelming balance of public opinion in favor of the measure. When the single tax has been thus adopted its laws will be marked by the same naked simplicity, ease of execution and satisfactory results as characterize the statutes to which I have called attention.

S. EDWIN THORNTON.

Kearney, Neb.

Our Eastern Ship Yards Will Have to be Protected Against the Pauper Ship Yards of the West.
Salt Lake Herald.

Secretary Tracy has awarded to the Union Iron works of San Francisco the contract for building the immense coast defense vessel, the price to be \$1,628,000.

Look to the Cause for the Answer.
Howard in New York Press.

Half the men in our lockup are boys, mere boys. They were born to steal, they do steal, they will steal. Do they do what it was intended they should or not? It's a simple question. What's the answer?

constitutional safeguard which had been devised for the protection of the British subject.

“But,” said the preacher, “there are not wanting signs which show that the Lord is above to hear the cry of the oppressed and help them. Public bodies like the London school board are waging open war with the sweating system, which, being the direct outcome of landlordism, will come to an end when landlordism ends, and only then. Then again, in Ireland, where alien landlords have imposed on the nation for centuries a yoke as grievous as any that Pharaoh laid on the Israelites, recent events have cleared the great leader who, like Moses, has devoted himself to the service of his countrymen, from the slanders with which he has been asspersed, and has made Mr. Parnell’s righteousness as clear as the light, and his just dealing as the noonday. Above all are hopes for the future to be gathered from the success and enthusiasm which are everywhere attending the campaign of Henry George, whom God has raised up to deliver the landless masses of this country from the oppression of the landlords under which they have groaned so long, even as Moses freed the Israelites from the burdens of the Egyptians.”

Referring incidentally to Mr. George's lecture on the Mosaic institutions delivered some years ago in Scotland, the preacher remarked that he doubted if three men could be found among all the bishops, clergy and ministers of various denominations in the land who were capable of uttering anything equal to it, and added that there was a peculiar fitness in Mr. George entering on his lecturing tour during Lent, the season of fasting, since we were taught by an inspired prophet that the true fasting which commended us to God consisted not so much in abstaining from food, or attending religious services, as in doing what Mr. George and his supporters were seeking to do, namely, loosing the bonds of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, and breaking every yoke. "It must be remembered," said the preacher, "that, whatever individual clergymen or laymen might say in defense of landlordism, the church has very clearly expressed her mind by bidding us begin the Lenten season by affirming the Mosaic principle that the curse of God was specially due to those who removed their neighbor's landmark, or, in other words, took more than their fair share of the national soil, and the benefits that accrued from it, and who thus, by depriving any of their fellow countrymen of an equal share thereof, placed themselves in God's judgment on the same level, if not on a lower one, than adulterers, fornicators, idolaters, drunkards, or any other gross and notorious sinners."

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

They might as fairly compel the man who makes a purchase in their stores to pay tribute for the privilege as to lay a tax on their summer visitors, but the latter is exactly what they are doing. While other communities encourage the inflow of capital by exempting industrial enterprises from taxation, Chautauqua county discourages this great philanthropy by sending in the assessor and tax collector to wring as many dollars as possible from those whose presence is an un-mixed benefit. They deal with it as they would with a public nuisance as though

And if the plan proposed for Chautauqua be just, why should it not be adopted with regard to all industrial enterprises? Why levy tribute on that which benefits humanity, and practically exempt from taxation those who, holding possession of natural opportunities, refuse to develop them or permit them to be developed, in the hope of profiting by the increased values arising from the industry of others?

C. M. MORSE.

**Utterances of a Prominent Cornwall
Preacher that Indicate Its Outspoken
and Radical Tendency.**

The London Democrat for May contains an abstract of a sermon by the Rev. J. W. Black, vicar of Lauceelles, Cornwall, which gives some idea of the kind of radical thought finding expression in English pulpits. The text was taken from Exodus vi, 6. After pointing out that the labors and self-devotion of Moses on behalf of the Israelites were a type of the sufferings and self-sacrifice endured by our Lord for the welfare of humanity, the preacher went on to say that in many respects the mass of the English nation were in a similar condition to that of the Israelites when Moses was called to be their deliverer. The present administration were grinding down the masses with taxes and unjust legislation for the benefit of the landlords in a way that no government had done during the present century, and were setting at naught every

In the year 1888 the assembly authorities paid taxes to the amount of (about) \$400 on the property of the association, and the cottage owners \$2,600, a total of \$3,000. The 160 acre farm adjoining paid probably less than \$100. This determined policy of the authorities to tax everything and everybody in their reach has prevented very many from buying lots and erecting cottages who otherwise would have done so. People feel it to be an outrage that they should be compelled to pay a fine for improving property and spending a few weeks each year at a resort of that kind, especially when they see that all the financial benefit goes to the residents of the county. There is no question in the mind of the writer that if a fair course should be adopted in this matter that the attendance, with corre-

Gardner, III.—T. C. Cunningham.
 Gila Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Lomerer.
 Glendive, Mont.—H. L. Sawyer.
 Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H. Gullman.
 Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C Wood, M. D.
 Grand View on the Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
 Harpers, Tex.—J. H. Hollum.
 Hartington, Neb.—John H. Felber.
 Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.
 Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
 Hornesville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
 Hot Springs, Ark.—Wm Albert Chapman.
 Hoosick Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.
 Houston, Tex.—J. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
 Hutchinson, Kas.—J. O. Malcomb, M. D.
 Hudson, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 302.
 Indianapolis, Ind.—J. P. Custer, president Single tax league, W. U. Tel. Co; Chas H Krause, bookkeeper, Von-negers hardware store, E Washington street.
 Jax, N. Y.—C. O. Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
 Jaxville, N. J.—A. H. Walsh.
 Johnson City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Millr, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Lake avenue.
 Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E Reid, 2123 Highland avenue.
 Kenosha, Wisc.—W. D. Quigley.
 Kettleshurgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
 Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romeyn.
 Lanesburg, N. Y.—James McMann, 21 Eighteenth st.
 Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr L. F. Garvin.
 Lovinston, Miss.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
 Lexington, Ky.—James E. Irwin.
 Lincoln, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
 Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Dougo, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vlnette, P. O. Station P.
 Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
 Lytle, Minn.—C. F. Wenham.
 Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
 Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
 Madison, Wis.—E. H. Evenson.
 Mahanoy City, Pa.—J. N. Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
 Manistee, Mich.—Albert Walkley or W. F. Hall.
 Marshall, Conn.—W. D. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
 Marlboro, Mass.—Geo A. Reynolds.
 Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Bauldon.
 Mari, Tex.—J. L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district on single tax reform.
 Mayfield, Mont.—S. F. Ralston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
 Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
 Mauritus, Indian Ocean—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
 Memphis, Tenn.—J. C. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 225 Alabama street.
 Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 580.
 Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
 Milwaukee, Wis.—John A. McGuff, 147 Fourth street.
 Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E. L. Ryder, secretary.
 Mobile, Ala.—F. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
 Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Fletcher, M. D.
 Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. A. Dethlefsen.
 Murrayville, Ill.—William Canin, president Democratic club.
 Nashville, Tenn.—P. H. Carroll, 235 N. High street, secretary American land league.
 Nepesmet, Mass.—Q. A. Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 E. Walnut street.
 Newark, N. J.—Roy Hugh O. Pontecost, 56 Oriental street.
 New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
 Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
 Newburgh, N. Y.—Mass.—Wm R. Whitmore, secretary Mercantile assembly, *Herald* office.
 New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Day street.
 New Orleans, La.—John S. Waters, Maritime association.
 Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schraor, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 59 Taylor street.
 New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member New Westminster single tax league.
 New York, N. Y.—Edw. K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P. O. drawer 5.
 North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; B. S. Myers, P. O. box 357.
 North Spinkfield, Mo.—K. F. Alexander, 1826 North Broadway.
 Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Babcock, lock box 52.
 Oberlin, O.—Edw B Haskell.
 Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres Single tax association.
 Timothy Horns, sec, 53 Railroad street.
 Oklahe, Okla.—J. A. H. P. Faruhat, Adam street.
 Olathe, Neb.—John E. Embler, 822 Virginia avenue; Percy Poppon, pres single tax club, 1512 S. 5th street; C. F. Brackett, sec., n. w. cor 5th and Biundo streets.
 Ordway, Ark.—R. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.
 Orono, N. Y.—Alex Skilton, 160 West First street.
 Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barmard, P. O. box 181.
 Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 69 North Main street.
 Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
 Parkersburg, Ill.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
 Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
 Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
 Piermont, N. Y.—Charles H. Hood, P. O. box 13.
 Plaquemine, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 1727 Carney alley.
 Portland, Ore.—S. B. Riggen, 48 Stark street. R. H. Thompson.
 Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albro.
 Providence, R. I.—Robert G. Oliver, 32 Button street.
 Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax association.
 Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
 Ravenswood, Ill.—Wm Van Ornum.
 Reading, Pa.—Chas S. Fitzer, 1015 Penn street; Charles H. B. Smith, 13 E. Third street.
 Richmond, Ind.—M. M. Atcheco, 915 South A street.
 Ruff, E. 36 South Third street.
 Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
 River Falls, Wisc.—George H. Bates.
 Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Avritt, 7 Morrill street.
 Roselle, N. J.—Head Gordon.
 Rutland, Vt.—T. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
 San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
 San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M. Milne.
 Seattle, Wash. Ter.—F. F. Morrow.
 Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H. Adkinson, P. O. box 58.
 Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Bestwick, librarian Single tax club.
 Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos. Massie, H. Howes.
 South Glaston, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
 Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. I. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.
 Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
 Springfield, Ill.—James H. McCrea, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 62 Black avenue.
 Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Juncman, 685 Nichols street.
 St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax league, 919 Olive street; Henry E. Bloom, secretary, 919 Olive street.
 Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
 Stonham, Mass.—Dr W. Symington Brown.
 Streator, Ill.—George A. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street.
 Syracuse, N. Y.—John A. Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; J. H. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
 Toledo, O.—J. F. Leavers, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 12 Summit street.
 Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—F. C. Clarke, 1308 K st.
 Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
 Troy, N. Y.—H. B. Martin.
 Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
 Unionville, Conn.—John M. Ashford.
 Uxbridge, N. Y.—Thos MacSweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
 Victoria, B. C.—F. W. L. Sinton, E and N R. R. Co.
 Virginia, Ind.—Hon Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 3, Carnegie block.
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
 Wakefield, B. I.—David Harrower.
 Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N. W.
 Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Buell.
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Stoddard.
 Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Frank, 2447 E. York street.
 Whitewater, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harwell.
 Whitman, Mass.—F. Polin, cigar store; Thos Douglas, secretary Single tax league.
 Wilmington, Del.—Geo W. Keer, 717 West Ninth street.
 Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Cumins.
 Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.
 Yonkers, N. Y.—John A. McGuff, 147 Fourth street.
 Youngstown, O.—H. R. Kaffa, Radcliffe house.
 Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Longest, 77 Van Buren street.
 A. Polvin, pres, single tax club.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS. POSTAGE FREE.

One year, \$2.50; six months, \$1.25; single copies, 5 cents.
Entered at the post office, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every post office in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

THE STANDARD is not sent to subscribers after the expiration of the time paid for.

Subscribers should renew a week or two before the expiration of their subscriptions to prevent the loss of any numbers.

In another column will be found an account from the Washington Post of an extraordinary election contest which will interest single tax men wherever they may be. J. H. Ralston of Hyattsville, Md., is an original single tax man, whose name will be remembered by the few who endeavored to organize in 1883. As the Washington Post says, he is a strong and well known advocate of the theory, and now has the satisfaction of having carried an election in his town when the single tax was the only issue and at which more votes were polled than at the presidential election. It had been proposed in Hyattsville to make some public improvements and issue bonds to pay the expense. Mr. Ralston and other single tax men of the place agreed to the issuing of bonds, but insisted that the interest and principal should be paid by a tax on the value of land. This raised the cry of anarchy against them, and it was threatened that if the bond proposition passed with the single tax qualification the legislature would be appealed to. Supposing they could not carry the qualification our friends set about to defeat the bond proposition altogether, and at the election of a year ago they succeeded. The leader in this successful opposition was Mr. Ralston, and when he was nominated this spring for town commissioner a determined fight was made against him, with the result already stated. In the contest Mr. Ralston's ticket was denounced in all the ways to which the upper ten demagogue resorts, and what was of far greater importance the single tax became the subject of discussion on every street corner and at the polls. When the question is thus discussed at local elections, free from distracting issues, it is not a hard matter to impress people with its justice and sound policy. To be able to point the voters to improved property heavily taxed and to unimproved property even more valuable scarcely taxed at all, and at the same time to explain that all public improvements would increase the value of the land titles while improved property and business would be called upon to pay for the improvements, affords an object lesson of which in this instance Mr. Ralston and his friends made good use.

A confiding correspondent of the Brooklyn Citizen asks that paper to explain whether a single tax on land values would be beneficial to industry. The Citizen does not regard the question as relevant to any problem now seriously under consideration by the American people, but publishes it and offers a reply, because to do so gives the paper an opportunity to dissent from the doctrine of the single tax. The Citizen's opposition would have appeared more formidable had it restrained itself from expressing dissent. There is a certain dignity and force in silent opposition; but when silence is broken with foolish reasons the spell is gone.

It begins by telling its correspondent that land is a commodity subject "with modifications that are not material in this relation" to the laws of supply and demand. What those immaterial modifica-

tions are the Citizen does not say. One of them we might infer, though that would seem to be a very material modification, is the fact that human ingenuity cannot produce land in even the smallest quantity, while, having land, it can produce other commodities in limitless quantities. When such a distinction exists he must be as blind as a bat who can suppose that land is subject to the laws of supply and demand in the same sense that commodities generally are.

The Citizen recognizes the contention, that growth of the community involves increase of land values, but observes that "this is true only under exceptional circumstances, and wherever such an increase takes place the tax on it also increases." That growth of a community involves increase of land values only in exceptional circumstances, is, in view of facts known to every one and which form the whole stock in trade of real estate operators, simply laughable; and that when the increase takes place the tax also increases exhibits the childlike mind of the editor of the Citizen, who imagines that the private appropriation of public property is justified when the appropriator pays back a small percentage. But in fact the tax does not increase with increase of value. Let a man paint his house and the tax assessor will soon enough discover the increased value, but he may sell off building lots by the foot all around his suburban homestead without giving the assessor the slightest idea that the land of the farm has increased any in value since it was used for raising potatoes.

The two conclusive objections that the Citizen raises are, that the single tax is impossible, because "it would involve the dissolution of every community which had ceased to be prosperously engaged in agriculture or manufacturing," meaning that land values are insufficient for public revenues; and that "it is discountenanced by the progress of civilization." A community might cease to be engaged prosperously in both agriculture and manufacturing, and yet be prosperously engaged in trade, in which case its land values would be ample for all taxing purposes; indeed it is notorious that the land values of trading communities are as a class the highest of land values. But if we are to infer that the Citizen means that the single tax would involve the dissolution of communities that had ceased to be prosperously engaged in agriculture, manufacturing and trade, a full explanation is in order. To the average man it is hard to see how anything can kill a dead community any more than it can kill a dead man. And as to the idea that the single tax is discountenanced by the progress of civilization, that is true only of tory civilization, and the progress of tory civilization, when it progresses at all, is always in the wrong direction.

If the Citizen will set its exchange editor at work it will soon be able to convince itself that the public interest and advocacy of the single tax, at least as a fiscal measure, has become so general that there is no longer any business necessity for a paper to be afraid of coming out on the right side of the question. In fact, the principles of this mode of taxation are now becoming so well understood that a paper is in greater danger in a business sense from making foolish expressions of opposition than it ever was, even when strong prejudices prevailed, from honestly advocating the then unpopular measure.

At the March meeting of the Boston typographical union a petition was presented from the publishers of the Boston Herald asking permission to use type-setting machines in their establishment. The permission was unanimously granted, and at the April meeting John R. Roche gave notice that he would move a series of explanatory resolutions at the May meeting. These resolutions, recognizing the fact that labor-saving inventions throw men out of employment, and acknowledging that a practicable type-setting machine will destroy the craft, declare that the union did not give its unanimous consent to the Herald because it accepts the present situation in despair

of bettering it, but because the members believe that "any invention that saves labor and increases production is not of itself in its nature an evil, and that there are other causes that turn what would naturally work only benefit to the whole human race into an evil." The resolutions declare these causes to "have to do with the distribution of the increased product," and point, as the fundamental reason for the unequal distribution of the increased product, to the monopoly of natural opportunities. They then give a clear, though brief, explanation of the way in which ownership of land operates to deprive labor of the benefit of labor saving inventions, and to make them appear to the wealth producing millions a curse rather than the blessing that in a just condition of society they would be, and conclude with the declaration that "the rental value of land, being not the creation or product of land owners as such, but of the whole people, should be taken for the use of the whole people through the ordinary channels of taxation, and that all other taxes, falling on and hindering production and exchange as they do, should be abolished."

It is to be hoped, in the interest of trade unionism alone, to say nothing of higher and broader considerations, that the Boston typographical union will have the wisdom to adopt these resolutions. That labor saving invention is an evil to craftsmen is true, but it is an evil that is neither inherent in invention nor one that can be removed by opposition to invention. The evil is due, as these resolutions recite, to unfair distribution of the increased wealth that labor saving machinery produces. To strike at the root of the evil is in the first place to secure the co-operation of just minded men of all classes, and in the next to remove the evil from the shoulders not alone of men of a single shop or a single craft, but of all shops and all crafts; and not to remove the evil merely but also to secure to workers the benefits of improvement in production. The action of the Boston typographical union at its next meeting will be watched with anxious interest by men in all parts of the country who heartily sympathize with organized labor in its aims, but who have been repelled by methods that were hopelessly futile.

Mr. C. A. Pillsbury, the great flour manufacturer of Minneapolis, being asked his opinion of the single tax theory at a reception of the Plymouth Congregational church of Minneapolis, said:

I believe in taxing idle land heavily, and keeping the taxes as light as possible on land which is used and improved. I am bitterly opposed to this system, which is too common now, of the real estate speculators, who do nothing to improve a city, making fortunes out of what others have done. Take a lot of ground in this city and let me put a \$1,000,000 mill upon it and it would thereby increase the value of every piece of real estate in the city. Who reaps the benefit? The man who holds the vacant lot in the city and drives laboring men out four or five miles, where land is cheap, to build their houses. The man who built the mill instead of reaping any benefit, is taxed for all this improvement which has benefited his neighbor, the real estate dealer, but the latter has the lowest taxes and can wait until he pleases, and is sure to make money.

The Minneapolis Journal is in somewhat of a quandary about this. It will not do to accept the single tax doctrine, nor yet will it do to call the great manufacturer a crank, or a communist, or an agitator, or a disturber. So the Journal performs the well known two-horse circus act. It thinks Mr. Pillsbury's idea contains a principle which has been greatly emphasized by the discussions of the single tax theory, and yet that it is very far removed from the single tax theory. So far the circus act is well done. Single tax men, however, who may be supposed to know something about the single tax theory, are quite ready to recognize in Mr. Pillsbury a pretty sound single tax man. A man who is "bitterly opposed" to a system that enables real estate speculators to make fortunes out of what others have done, is a good enough single tax man for all present practical purposes. And even the Minneapolis Journal is welcomed, whether it

wants to be or not. True, the Journal does not believe in the abolition of all taxes save a land value tax, but in approving Mr. Pillsbury's idea, even though it regards it as proposing "a correcting of the practice of taxing land," rather than an abolition of all other taxes, it approves enough of our present practical work to make it an acceptable ally.

Last week Mr. Pentecost took occasion to speak to his congregation of the futility of labor organizations and strikes, and the World criticized him, intimating that he had struck his colors. Of course such a criticism could originate only in ignorance of Mr. Pentecost's past relations to labor agitation. Though a member of a trade union, Mr. Pentecost has never been an advocate of unions as a means of labor reform. He has looked upon them merely as defensive bodies, and nothing in his language of last week justifies the inference that he has struck his colors. He seeks the overthrow of bad conditions by removing the cause, not by hopelessly battling with the conditions while perpetuating their cause.

Erastus Wiman made the last meeting of the Canadian club an exceptionally interesting one. On retiring from the presidency of the club he gave a complimentary dinner to its members at the club house in West Twenty-ninth street, New York city, at which the newly elected president, Sir Roderick Cameron, presided. Sir Roderick began the fun by complimenting Mr. Wiman on the safety and soundness of his mercantile views and social habits, but intimated that when he touched politics he was loaded with dynamite. The mention of dynamite was an allusion to Mr. Wiman's well known opinions in favor of a commercial union of the United States and Canada, which, to so faithful a subject as Sir Roderick, was dynamite indeed. In his reply Mr. Wiman briefly acknowledged the compliments of the new president, and immediately fired off a load of his dynamite. Among other things he declared that "trade should be as free between Ontario and Ohio as between state and state," and, according to the reporter, he breathed "fire and brimstone against the old foggy notions in Canada which set face against commercial union with this country." He then went on to explain the mutual advantages of abolishing customs duties between the two countries, comparing these duties to a barbed wire fence. At about this point Sir Roderick called Mr. Wiman to order, and accused him of disloyalty to British institutions. An American protectionist would have accused him of disloyalty to American institutions. Mr. Wiman proceeded, however, and was followed by other speakers who did not seem afraid of being called free traders, at least so far as this country and Canada are concerned. There were protectionists there, too, but they were British protectionists, who have the same fear that free trade would overrun Canada with the pauper made goods of the United States that our protectionists have that Canada would overwhelm us with its pauper labor.

A few weeks ago attention was called to the fact that Dederick, the Albany manufacturer of my presses, who warned his workmen last fall that if they did not vote for protection their wages would decline, had reduced the wages of his men. This announcement wounded the feelings of Mr. Dederick, and he solicited an investigation in which it appears that, having perfected a new invention in the way of frames for his presses, he had no further use for the joiners whom he had employed in making frames, and accordingly told them that they might choose between quitting work entirely or working in another department at \$1.50 a day instead of the \$2 they had been getting. The displaced joiners preferred the lower wages to losing the job.

So far as the charge of reducing wages may have implied that Mr. Dederick was guilty of oppression, it may be regarded as disproved; but so far as it suggested an example of the fraudulent character of

protection, and the flimsiness of its appeals to workingmen, it is as valuable as ever. The joiners did take lower wages than they had been getting, something they would not have done had it been possible for them to get work for better wages. This proves that protection did not protect them. And as to Mr. Dederick's personal conduct, he ought to be ashamed for lending himself to the furtherance of such an essentially free trade device as an improvement which throws workingmen out of employment. Nothing worse could have happened to them if the pauper labor of England had undertaken to supply him with hay press frames for nothing.

The new state prison bill now pending before the legislature of New York, establishing the "public account" and the "piece price" systems of prison labor, which it defines by providing that the "public account" system is one by which the state furnishes machinery and materials, and markets the products, and that the "piece price" system is one by which the state receives payment for the products of materials and machinery furnished by the person making the payment. A more important feature of the bill is an attempt to make prisons reformatory instead of vindictive. It requires all prisoners to be sentenced for a minimum and a maximum term. At the expiration of a prisoner's minimum term he may appear before the board of parole, consisting of the superintendent, the agent and warden, the prison chaplain, the prison physician, and the head keeper, and prefer a request to be paroled or discharged. If paroled he remains subject to the control of the prison officials until the maximum limit of his sentence expires. Another feature is the grading of prisoners. The first grade includes those who are likely to observe the laws and to maintain themselves by honest industry after discharge; the second grade includes the corrigible who are competent to work and fairly susceptible to discipline and the third includes the incorrigible, the insubordinate and the incompetent. The measure is crude and falls far short of the legitimate requirements of prison reform, but it is in the right direction, and if fairly successful will make it possible to advance still further toward the reformation of criminals and away from the present system of confirming and educating them in crime.

Among the other bills pending before the legislature is one to destroy the Indian reservation of the state by dividing the land in severalty. If land value taxation were in vogue there would result no harm to the Indian from this, but rather good; for though Indian lands are held in common by the Indians they are administered under circumstances that do not secure to all the Indians their just rights, nor allow the land to be put to its best uses. But with the iniquitous principle of private ownership in full bloom nothing could be more disastrous to the Indians as a people, and to most of them as individuals, than to have their lands divided in severalty. It would not be long before all but the shrewd men among them were suffering dependents. Their land being bought by speculators, the real object of the bill, they would be in as bad condition as the poorest of our own working people, whereas now, though we flatter ourselves by calling them barbaric, the poorest among them is a man to be envied by the impoverished workers of our cities.

The new collector of customs at New York has distinguished the beginning of his administration of the American Chinese wall, by imposing the same duty on worsteds as on woollens. It was done by classing worsteds as woollens. They have all along been classed and taxed separately, but for some time past the woolen men have been clamoring to have them taxed alike. Having failed with congress and with the last administration, they have adopted the short cut of inducing the collector to revise the schedules. This will be a very good thing for worsted dealers with a stock on hand, a satisfactory arrangement for the woolen dealers

who have been brought into competition with the worsted men, and an expensive thing for the American consumer of worsteds who must now pay a higher price for his goods.

The curious fact about the agitation of the woolen men for a higher tariff on worsteds in order to prevent worsteds from competing with them is that it assumes that worsteds will command a higher price under a higher tariff than under a lower one; in other words, that a tariff is a tax. If the foreign manufacturer is so anxious to get the benefits of our market that he will pay our custom duties, and thus exemplify the grand conception of protectionism that a tariff is a tax on foreigners, what is the use of putting worsteds in the woolen schedule? To be sure, the tariff on worsteds will be higher, but the foreign producer of worsteds will pay the higher rate, and the woolen men will be as badly off as ever in the matter of worsted competition? The only advantage of the change then will be that the foreign worsted manufacturer will add a million or two to our national treasury. But that is not what the woolen men want; they want to minimize competition. Nor is it what the people want, for the treasury is already overflowing and offering an itching temptation to the spoils seeker. Professors of the unique science of tariff protection to American industries must look into this matter at once and explain how the higher duty on worsteds will equalize competition between worsted and woolen men, and yet be paid by the foreign exporter. Unless an explanation be made, the theory that a tariff is not a tax will be in great danger.

The real estate market of New York is reported as being in a weak condition. This does not mean that buildings or lots are not in demand, but that they are not in demand at prices that makes it profitable for speculators. The reason assigned is the defeat of the rapid transit scheme of the mayor. In other words, real estate operators recognize that land values rise with public improvements. In writing of the bad condition of the market, the real estate reporter of the Times gives some significant figures. Among the lots offered during the week were fifty in the Twelfth ward, of which he says: "If the sale had occurred a week before, when property owners generally were expecting the passage of Mayor Grant's bill, there is little doubt that the average price per lot would have been considerably above \$800; as it was, the average was nearly thirty per cent below that figure." Of another instance he says:

A firm of well known operators secured several desirable lots in the upper west side about eight years ago, paying for them \$27,000. Taxes and assessments have since brought the total cost up to about \$40,000. Three months ago, when the air was full of rapid transit plans, they received offers of \$60,000 and \$65,000 for the property. They held out for \$70,000, believing that price to be easily obtainable in case of the passage of a rapid transit bill. Last Thursday they sought the persons who had made them these offers and closed a sale with one of them at \$42,000.

It is well to have the assurance now and then of the forestallers of land themselves that public improvements, so far as the benefits are measured in money, inure to the owners of land. And here we have the admission direct that if the legislature had provided rapid transit facilities the real estate speculator would at once have fined the public very handsomely for availing itself of the facilities. Now, do not let it be supposed that we have any fault to find with the speculator, nor yet with the economical law, as natural as the law of gravitation, that public improvements tend to increase land values. The point we make is that the increased values so caused should be appropriated to public use by means of taxation and not be allowed to enrich individuals.

France is now celebrating the centenary of the foundation of republican government in that country. One hundred years ago the 5th of this month the states general of France assembled for the first time in nearly 300 years. The states

general was composed of three orders, the nobility, the clergy and the commons, called the third estate. The overthrow of French monarchy began in a dispute between the three orders as to whether they should sit as one body or as separate bodies. As the third estate was about equal in numbers to the combined numbers of the nobility and the clergy, if they sat as one body it would really have a voice in the deliberations, but if they sat as different bodies a majority of the clergy and a majority of the nobility could always silence the vote of the third estate. Therefore, the third estate favored joint sessions and the clergy and nobility opposed them. In this contest the third estate finally prevailed, and an assemblage that had been called together to aid the monarchy in keeping the nobility in subjection set in motion the machinery that gave to France a constitution and placed both nobility and monarch in subjection to the sovereignty of the people. Had the friends of the king been satisfied to accept the inevitable, and had monarchs attended to their own business at home instead of trying to reinvest the French king with sovereign power and to subjugate the French people, France might have gone on under a constitutional monarchy peacefully acquiring the full measure of that liberty to which all people are entitled. But republicanism in France was dangerous to kingcraft everywhere, and plottings at home and abroad and the invasions of foreign armies ultimately brought on the reign of terror out of which came Napoleonic despotism. Such liberty as France now has however was born in the conflict of the three estates that assembled one hundred years ago, and in the celebration of that event this country, the foundations of whose government was laid at the same time, has reason to rejoice with the great European republic.

In a recent issue of the Christian Union appears a report of a meeting of the religious press club, at which Major Bright, editor of the Christian at Work, took ground against the morality of trusts, and illustrated his point by telling a story of an acquaintance whom he once found in excellent spirits, though his factory was shut down and according to all the natural laws of business he ought to have been feeling very badly. Major Bright asked his friend whether he was making repairs to which the reply was, "No, better than that." Was he putting in new machinery or about to enlarge the building? "No, something better than that." After answering further questions in the same way, the friend explained that he had entered into a "combine," and hereafter he would have greater profits without doing any work. Then Major Bright asked, "What will become of your workmen?" To which the acquaintance seriously replied, "Oh, the Lord will always look after his poor." Such profits as these, "obtained without the use either of capital or labor," Major Bright justly characterized as substantially robbery. It may enlighten Major Bright when he is told that it is precisely for the same reason that single tax men characterize profits made out of the value of land irrespective of its improvements as substantially robbery; such profits also are obtained without the use of either capital or labor. At this same meeting Dr. Deems rather got the better of the opponents of trusts who were also protectionists, by saying that if we attack trusts because they make goods scarce and dear, we should also attack the protective tariff. It is not easy to tell whether Dr. Deems intended a thrust at protection or at trusts, but to an anti-trust protectionist it makes no difference.

Brief telegraphic dispatches from Berlin give information of the shooting, by soldiers, of a number of striking miners and other men in Westphalia.

This does not seem to quell the disturbances nor prevent the strike from spreading, however, and it is said that the young "war lord" of Germany, Emperor William, proposes to have his own cabinet ministers settle the strike by arbitration—of course backing

up their decision by the bullets and bayonets of soldiers who are drafted from the ranks of the very people they are forced to shoot. This manner of settling labor disputes is quite in consonance with the traditions of a civilization which permits a man on horseback or a handful of bankers or a few monopolists to play with nations as they would with a set of chessmen.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The sudden hot weather has sent people flying from the city as if a pestilence had swooped down upon its flower-decked balconies, its fresh greenward, and the tender leaves of its parks and squares. Thus far there has been no spring season, and as every steamer goes out with a throng of society people, and steamboats and railroads are carrying away hundreds every day to Newport, Tuxedo, Lenox, and the banks of the Hudson, where the stately homes of the centennial aristocracy are to be found, it is not likely that there will be much of a return of gayety.—[New York Sun.]

A dispatch to the Sun, dated New Haven, May 8, says: "Mrs. John King of Washington street was found dead in her bed this afternoon. Her three boys, aged two, four and six years, were gathered around her, half clad and almost dead from starvation. They were without clothing and reeking with filth. Mrs. King, according to the report of Dr. White, medical examiner, died of starvation."

Mrs. Mackay of Bonanza fame has a dress with \$50,000 worth of real pearls on it in the form of embroidery.

John Kelly, who made such a determined attempt to rob a customer of the bank of the Metropolis Saturday, was arraigned yesterday at Jefferson Market. He is a neatly dressed boy and says he was born in London. He says he came to America in 1877 and worked in an electroplated goods factory down town, and then he went into a dry goods house. His employer failed last January, since which time he has done nothing, because he could not live on \$3 a week, the highest wages offered him. John Kelly, he said, was an assumed name, as he did not want his parents to know of his arrest. He lived in a lodging house on the north side of Chatham square. His arrest, he claims, does not annoy him, as he is as well off now as when he was at liberty but without work. "I did not have a cent when I stole the pile," he testified. "When I saw all that money lying on the desk I thought I would take my chances. I could get good certificates of character if I wanted them," he continued. "I could get them from my last 'boss' and from the electrotype man I worked for. But what is the use? I am as good here as out in the street without work."—[New York World.]

According to the Pall Mall Gazette, Dr. Shelton, a leading physician of New York, attended during a long and painful illness the daughter of Mr. Flagler, the magnate of the Standard Oil Company. The lady was finally ordered to Charleston in the hope that the sea voyage and change of air and scene would prove efficacious, but she died on the way on board her father's yacht. Mr. Flagler has just presented Dr. Shelton with securities of the par value of \$50,000, which could be sold in open market at any time for over \$85,000.

Boston, April 30.—Kate O'Donnell, age twenty-two, who was arrested at Hyde Park yesterday, charged with the drowning of her babe, tells a pitiful story. She came from Ireland several months ago in a delicate condition. Shortly afterward she secured work in a mill at Hyde Park, but, losing her place, came to Boston last Friday destitute, and applied to the police for help and a place to leave her child. She was referred to Father Gallagher of St. Patrick's Church, who directed her to apply at the Chardon Street Home. Here she was rebuffed, being told that she could not remain with the child. From there she was sent to St. Mary's Infant Asylum, where she was refused admittance on the ground that diphtheria was prevalent. The woman then gave up her quest for charity, and after loading the child's garments with stones, she dropped it from the Smith street bridge. The medical examination showed that the child died from drowning.—[New York Tribune.]

It is almost settled that there will be no meeting of the Coaching club this year. Many of the members who have coaches abroad and others are not taking out their coaches. Coaching is not popular among the jeunesse doree of the city. There are too many other means of amusement close at hand.—[Mail and Express.]

WILKESBARRE, Pa., May 8.—The joint executive board of the Knights of Labor of Luzerne county are aiding the miners and laborers of the anthracite regions in a final effort to resist the alleged encroachments of the big coal companies. The circular that has been issued, declares labor is starving, that the men here have averaged five days work the past four months; that credit is refused everywhere and that nine out of ten families can't get meat at all, and find it very hard to get bread.

But His Ideas Are Favorably Received. Even in This Free Country.

St. Paul Globe.

It is not very surprising that Henry George meets a good deal more favor in his presentation of his land tax views in England than he had in this country. The masses of the people there are not landlords, and would no doubt be quite willing that the more fortunate minority should have all the privileges of tax paying.

MEN AND THINGS.

Living in New Jersey has its advantages—and then again it hasn't. The city of Plainfield, where I have been residing for the past eighteen months, is a pleasant place when you get there, and a nice place to live in while you can be content to stay there. The water is superlatively good, the mosquitoes are just numerous enough to prevent monotony, the situation is wholesome, the schools are tolerable. There are a good many flies in summer time, but flies are not like mosquitoes—they can be fenced out, and they haven't yet learned to sing. Men who do business in Plainfield, who can stay there all the time and are not compelled to memorize a new time table once every three months, no doubt find it a delightful place. But a man whose vocation requires him to be in New York every day, or even three or four days in the week, makes a mistake if he settles there. At least that is my experience. A railway journey of twenty-three miles, preceded or followed by a brisk twenty minutes walk, is a very delightful thing—once in awhile, say on a bright spring day, for instance. But when you have to take the brisk walk, and the twenty-three miles ride twice a day, and have besides to cross a ferry and ride on the elevated railway at one end or the other of every journey, why it becomes monotonous, and at times positively inconvenient. Many men endure it. I have even heard some men say they like it, which seems absurd. For my part, I found it unendurable. And so I have shaken the dust of exile from my feet, and come back to live, for a time at least, in my native city. I call it mine, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, because I don't own any of it. My native city consents that I should occupy a garret within her limits, and charges me for it two-thirds of what Thomas Jefferson paid for a whole house when he lived in New York. A newly arrived visitor from Saturn might accept this fact as an evidence of Jefferson's democratic simplicity of life. We, who have had more experience, know that it is an evidence of the increased wealth and happiness of New York's citizens. You see, things have different meanings when regarded from different points of view.

One advantage of living in New York is that you are able, as Herbert Pocket put it, to look about you. I like to look about me. In the first place, there is nothing charged for it, which is in itself a sweetness that attaches to but mighty few enjoyments in this life; and in the second place, it's improving to the mind. By looking about you in a great city you get an idea of the progress of civilization. You get some notion of that growth of wealth and prevalence of luxury that Bishop Potter spoke about so earnestly in his famous centennial address. You see how prosperous and contented people are to-day, and then you go home and read Carlyle's French Revolution, and so compare the present with the past. It's very instructive. I met a garrulous old gentleman in the Evening Post office the other day who seemed somehow filled with pride because his great-grandfather was alive at the time of the revolutionary war. I didn't see anything surprising in this myself, because really the same thing has happened in my own family. But I was too polite to wound the old gentleman's innocent pride by advancing any personal claim to ancestors, so I just let him talk on and listened respectfully.

He had documents, had this old gentleman. He took out his pocketbook, and showed me a pass through Washington's lines round Boston, signed by an aid-de-camp who was then alive. Then he showed me a printed invitation to a banquet given in honor of the treaty of peace between England and the United States. At the top of the card was written, "Bring a knife and fork." I thought to myself: "Old fellow, if I should send you an invitation to a banquet, and put such a screed as that on it, I don't think you would either come to the banquet or file the invitation among the archives of your family." But I didn't say this. I just let the dear old man plod along with his fairy tales, and listened respectfully. I could see he thought me a very well informed man—doubtless because I let him do all the talking. He was buying about two pecks of Bishop Potter's address at a cent a copy, and said he considered it one of the finest pieces of oratory he had ever listened to. That was the dexterous, insinuating way in which he contrived to let me know that

he had been one of the distinguished congregation at St. Paul's church on that centennial morning. He really was very pleasant and affable. He told me his name, which I have since forgotten.

I like to get up early in the morning, and saunter along the streets, watching the procession—the great industrial parade. There are no uniforms, or banners, or emblematic floats in it, but I find it a very interesting procession for all that. It begins before six o'clock, and lasts till eight. A few men and boys at first, straggling along, the vanguard of the industrial army. Then the girls—what a crowd of them pours down the avenue, and along Fourteenth street. First, the girls that work in factories—very little girls some of them are. The whistle blows for them at seven or half past, and they walk along, chattering together, or quicken their paces into almost a run as the time for beginning work is near or more remote. About half past seven the girls that work in stores begin to pass—the salesladies and the little cash girls. Such a lot of "cashes." They all look happy enough as they go by—laughing, chatting, scampering along to reach the "employees' entrance" before the clock strikes eight. Because at eight o'clock the fines begin, you know, and a fine of twenty-five cents makes a hole in a little cash girl's salary. There are men and boys in the parade, too—plenty of them. But somehow the spectacle of men going to work doesn't interest me so much. It stirs no patriotic enthusiasm in me. It seems sort of natural for men to work. But what a glowing thought it is that we Americans have found so much good, honest work for our girls to do—that they can be salesladies, and cash girls, and factory hands, and gain their own support by it? You would like your daughter to work in a factory, or be a cash girl, wouldn't you? Why of course—oh, I beg your pardon. Your daughter, as you justly say, does not belong to the working classes.

Then I like to stroll along the avenues later in the day, and see the non-industrial parade—the throng of people who do no work themselves, but even things up by letting other folks work for them. Plenty of girls in this procession, too. I don't know that they look much happier than their sisters of the factories and shops, and they certainly aren't half so animated in their walk and conversation. But they're a precious sight better dressed.

I walked along the fashionable side of Union square the other day, holding a child by the hand. She was not a cash girl—if she had been she wouldn't have been out walking at that time of day. We watched the crowd awhile, and talked about them, and then the spreading trees in the park across the street, and the blazing bed of tulips round the fountain, attracted our attention, and we sauntered over. We looked at the trees, and we looked at the tulips, and then we looked at the people. It was in the forenoon, and the children had not come to play yet, but there were plenty of people in the park. Only they weren't walking about, and there weren't many women among them. Every bench—or nearly every bench, it seemed like everyone—was occupied by men—just comfortably crowded with them. Men whose clothes bespoke them of that working class we feel so proud of, just sitting there, doing nothing. Some were smoking pipes, a few had papers in their hands, a very few were talking, the most of them were just stolidly, vacantly sitting. Said the little lady by my side: "These folks don't no any more work than those across the way, but they don't have such a good time." Evidently she didn't view things with the same optimistic eye as my garrulous old friend of the Evening Post office. Yet she had a great grandfather, too.

A paragraph in the news columns of the New York Times chronicles the departure for the west of a consignment of children, forwarded by the Children's aid society, at the expense of a philanthropic lady of this city, for the benefit of western people who want more children than providence has yet sent them in the ordinary way. "About forty merry children," says the paragraph, "mostly under eight years old, were gathered at the office of the Children's aid society yesterday to be sent to western homes." Forty merry children!

"Forty merry children, mostly under eight years old." Have you any children "mostly under eight years old?" Fancy

them taken away from you, through the good offices of a benevolent society, because there happened to be more of them than you could comfortably support. Fancy them on the eve of their departure, their little cheeks yet warm with your despairing good bye kisses, and moistened with your farewell tears—going forth to live with strangers thousands of miles away, leaving mother, father, home behind them forever. Fancy your little ones being "merry" under such circumstances. Just try to fancy it.

Ah, but these aren't that kind of children. These youngsters that are so merry at the prospect of leaving home forever, are an altogether different sort from your little darlings whom you love and cherish with such abounding fondness. Well, yes, they are a little different. I grant you that. So, in the old chattel slavery days, when Harriet Beecher Stowe and other freedom loving people spoke of the horrid partings of negro mothers from their negro children, good philanthropists said it didn't matter much, because the negro women and the negro children didn't mind such partings as white folks would. And there was a good deal of truth in the argument—the negroes didn't mind it—not so very, very much. It's a pleasant thing to watch the gradual improvement of the lower orders, isn't it? You see, we've got them pretty nearly up to the level of the negro under slavery already. Their masters aren't quite as kind to them, perhaps. But patience and a few more missionary societies may do something, even in that direction.

Five days, twenty-three hours and seven minutes for a run across the Atlantic. They have got to counting the minutes now. In the old days of the Dreadnaught and the Flying Cloud, when American ships were the wonder of the world, they generally reckoned up the days of a passage only. Once in a while the extra hours were counted, but the minutes never. Those were the days of sailing ships. We Americans had a special faculty for building sailing ships, and beat the world at it. Strange, that as steam and iron took the place of sails and wood, the faculty seemed to desert us, and the Englishmen drove us off the ocean. Peculiarly refreshing it is, to an American who followed the sea in those good old times when Yankee ships and Yankee crews were the favorites in every port, to see how nowadays when an American wants to cross the Atlantic, he can do it under pretty much any flag that flies, save that of his own country.

What a lesson there is, for those who care to read it, in this gradual cutting down of the Atlantic passage. For, look you, it is not the hand of man, but his mind, that is doing it. Merely to build a ship—a ship like some other ship, with engines in her like some other ship's engines—merely to do that, what is it? Dexterity of hand, persistent labor—doing over again what somebody else has done before. You move the things about—the iron, and the steel, and the big and little hammers, and the mighty rollers, and the rivets—and you know beforehand what the result will be, because it's all been done before, and in physics, at least, we have learned that like effects will always follow like causes. But to build a ship that shall be better than other ships, faster than other ships—it is almost like an act of God—it is a creation. Try to realize the marvel of it. Get yourself into a frame of mind as though you had never heard of such a thing before, and then see how it strikes you. To make lines upon paper with a pencil—thus and so shall the curves run, swelling outward here, sweeping inward there, thousands upon thousands of them, with every one a meaning in your own mind—to say to a lot of men: "Move me iron and steel together after this certain fashion, and out of it shall come a ship swifter, stronger, safer than any yet afloat." Don't you see the awful wonder of it, the terror of the mind of man? To build a ship is little. But to conceive a ship!

Mark how this creative faculty has been developed in the shipbuilders. By competition, by experiment, by freedom. Men chafe over the breadth and perils of the ocean, and out of their chafing comes this, that the fastest and the safest ships earn most money for their owners. Out of that again, it comes that shipbuilders, seeking the patronage of shipowners, are spurred to constant experiment and to fresh invention. They think, and try, studying nature's book of things with active hand and closely thinking brain.

And to do this they are free—no formula bureau restrains them from trying any experiment they please—if it fails, it is a lesson learned, if it succeeds a profit gained and a step taken toward fresh success. It is to the competition of individuals, to the energy of individuals, to the thought and talent and experience of individuals, that we owe the ocean greyhound. And the only reason why the greyhounds have been developed on the other side of the Atlantic instead of here, where men are more inventive and more daring, is that in England they have fewer restrictions than we have here. But think what the mind of man might do, if all restrictions were removed.

I love to watch these giant ships on their way to and from the ocean. There is a majesty of massiveness and strength about them that is awful. As they move, and turn, and urge their onward way, it is as though man had clothed his body with new force and multiplied his strength a million-fold. And what it seems to be, it is, in very deed. The mere animal—the dog, or horse, or elephant—draws force from the sun through the food he eats, and the heat force of his food marks the limit of his strength. But man, the king of nature, knows no such limitation. Outside of his own body, but always under guidance of his mind, he carries on processes that loose the sunbeams, bound for years or aeons in vegetable forms, and forces them, ere they gain their perfect freedom, to work his will. The furnace is his power-giver: the piston, crank and churning screw are really but extensions of his limbs and muscles; he puts himself into the mighty ship, as into a new and vaster body; and the steamer throbbing through Atlantic waves is but a man swimming with a hundred thousand giants' strength. A fanciful notion, you call this? Just think it out and you will see it isn't fanciful at all, but strictly true. Man, free to use his brain, is godlike in his strength. He levels mountains, fills up valleys, drinks dry the lakes, turns rivers from their course, and laughs to scorn the angry lashings of the sea. If he were only really free to use his brain and limbs, what might he not accomplish.

Why haven't we a hundred Atlantic greyhounds where we now have one? Why can't every man that wants one and has use for it, get one? When you've finished laughing at the question, just try to answer it, please. Mind, I don't dispute the fact that he can't get one. What I want to know is, why?

Trace back the genesis of that Atlantic liner, and note how short a distance you can follow it before it lands you, literally, in the earth. Iron ore, coal, trees, air, water, minerals and vegetables of various kinds—these are the things from which that steamship sprang. There is plenty of them—the supply is simply infinite. Now, why cannot any man who needs a steamship go to the storehouse of nature, take out the necessary materials, combine them after the proper fashion, and have a steamship? Of course I don't mean that he should do all the work, or even, necessarily, any of it, with his own hands. But why can't he get other men to go and do it for him, while he does for them some other work at which he is an expert? Do you know, I can't see any valid answer to these questions except simply this, that the man is forbidden to go to nature's storehouse. It seems to me that were natural opportunities free, any man who really wanted a ship like the City of Paris—any man who really had a use for her—would be quite able to get one.

Laugh away! I don't blame you for it. Laugh if you want to, but please to listen, too. Did you never notice that the things that few men want remain costly, while the things that many men need always become cheap. Man conquers the earth by wanting things. The moment a new want arises and becomes widespread, humanity begins to search out the means of supplying it—thinks over it, chews over it, studies every detail, develops fresh extensions of thought and muscle, knows no rest until it is supplied. The whole race struggles with the problem. A hundred millions tug together at the car of progress, each giving his own little pull, without knowing or caring whether the rest are exerting themselves or not. The sewing machine came that way. The telegraph came that way. The type writer, the reaping machine, the steam engine, the power loom, the million other things that we call necessities of civilization, all came into

being as they were wanted, simply and solely because they were wanted. What man wants, what he really wants, he gets, for man is the God of things. Think what boundless possibilities of wealth await him, if once he could be persuaded to strike off his self imposed shackles, and give free play to his faculty of wanting and to his power of producing. You laugh because I dream of the coming time when every man who wants a ship will be able to get one. So might the Roman writing slave have laughed had any dreamer of that day told him of the coming printing press. So might the sickle swinging husbandman of the middle ages have laughed at the vision of the modern reaping machine. So would you have laughed, a score of years ago, had anyone foretold the telephone.

Think about these things, my friend. Think about them fearlessly, without prejudice. Out of such thinking will come a realizing sense that the movement for the single tax on land values is something more than a mere effort at fiscal reform—it is a movement for the elevation of humanity to a higher plane of material and moral being—an effort to see men free to do the will of God. Out of such thinking, too, will come a knowledge of the only line along which our movement can be successfully prosecuted. When men want the single tax they will get the single tax. You can make them want it by showing them all it means. And I don't believe you can make them want it in any other way. T. L. MCCREADY.

TARIFF NOTES.

The only manner in which a tariff can protect is by adding to the price of the article on which the duty is levied. The mere exclusion of foreign goods is not protection. Whenever local competition reduces the price of goods to the point at which they would be sold under free trade, the tariff then ceases to protect and proves what free traders have always claimed, that we can manufacture as cheap as any country and do not need protection.—[Marion, Iowa, Free Press.]

Tariffs, whether protective or revenue, tax the poor man, the feeblest woman, or the most helpless child as much as the wealthiest and most vigorous man. Is that right or is it expedient?—[Kansas Jeffersonian.]

A tariff tax, however low, is immoral, unjust, complicated, wasteful and indirect. It shifts the burdens of government to those least able to bear them, fosters monopolies, encourages fraud, perjury, smuggling, and other crimes, and the percentage of cost of collection is enormous.—[Kansas Jeffersonian.]

To call a protective tariff "the American system" was an outrageous misnomer. It would have been far more correct, as a matter of propriety and geography, to have called it "the Algerian system." It was practiced in Algiers long before it was naturalized in America.—[Philadelphia Record.]

Interference with the natural laws of trade, like interference with the laws of nature, will some time be very disastrous to the man or men who interferes. Triflers with that vast machinery will finally be crushed by it. The same reasoning applies to the so called "protective" policy, which not only fosters trusts but is in itself a vast trust.—[Milwaukee Review.]

Bismarck is a protectionist. He finds a protective tariff a very smooth and satisfactory way of taxing people indirectly to an extent they would not bear directly. But Bismarck does not carry his protectionist principles to the point of imbecility. If a German merchant desire to buy a ship he may buy it wherever he please, and sail it wherever he may (bain freight for it to carry).—[Philadelphia Record.]

Apropos of the great benefits that were to follow in the wake of Harrison's election, would it be unkind to ask whether those good times promised will soon be here? People who have families to support and can only secure work five or six days a month would like to know what's the good of a high protective tariff if you can't get enough work to feed the babies.—[Philadelphia News-dealer.]

We presume the present administration is too busy just now breaking its civil service reform pledges to give orders for the adoption of the high wages promised to Pennsylvanians last fall.—[Freeland, Pa., Tribune.]

The miners in the coal mines in Tioga, who usually help to swell the heavy republican jority in that county, are digging out coal at a ten per cent reduction in wages. They sved the tariff, anyway.—[Philadelphia Record.]

Andrew Carnegie has found out that some of his expert workmen have been earning as high as from \$30 to \$50 a day, and springs for an ax in terror to cut them down with one big stroke. And yet that little \$5,000 a day still glides into his own pocket, and he is looking for more, whereby to protect American labor.—[Boston Globe.]

The present high tariff is nothing else than a legalized system of robbery, and the workmen are the victims every time.—[Dayton Workman.]

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Prisoners of Poverty Abroad.

Helen Campbell has produced an interesting book(1)—a valuable contribution to contemporaneous history. She describes one phase of life among the people of England, France and Italy—the life, namely, of the women who stand upon the ragged edge of want, who struggle and fight for their footing there, and who are constantly being thrust over into the abyss beyond by the fitful but always increasing pressure of the unemployed. She shows us how the working women live in London and in Paris, the trades they follow, the cruel impositions practiced on them, the wretched pittance they earn, the constant downward tendency of their wages. She tells of tragedies of real life—there are few things in fiction more touching than the story of Wemock's Orlando, the child of the East End, or the picture of the old Parisian silk weaver in her church of St. Etienne du Mont. The book is skillfully constructed and well written. It contains no wearisome repetitions—just tells its story and comes to a finish. From beginning to end the narrative never flags in interest.

But a book like that which Helen Campbell has written is not to be judged on its literary merits only. Such books are written with a purpose; and the thing to be considered about them is whether they fulfil their purpose or not. It is proper to ask why Helen Campbell wrote this book. And having got the answer to that question, it will then be in order to inquire if the book is likely to do what she expected it to.

Why has Helen Campbell written this book? Here is the answer in her own words:

Yet it is the Anglo-Saxon conviction, owned by English and American in common, and unshaken though one should rise from the dead to arraign it, that what money would not do cannot be done, and when money is rejected and the appeal made for personal consideration of the questions involved, there is impatient and instantaneous rejection of the responsibility. Evolution is supposed to have the matter in charge, and to deal with men in the manner best suited to their needs. If the ancient creed is still held and the worshipper repeats on Sunday, "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth," he supplements it on Monday and all other days, till Sunday comes again, with the new version, the creed of to-day, formulated by a man who fights it from hour to hour:

I believe in Father Mud, the Almighty Plastic, And in Father Dollar, the Almighty Drastic.

It is because these men and women must be made to understand; because they must be reached and made to see and know what life may be counted worth living, and how far they are responsible for failure to make better ideals the ideal of every soul nearest them, that the story of the worker must be told over and over again till it has struck home. To seek out all phases of wretchedness and want, and bring them face to face with those who deny that such want is anything but a temporary, passing state, due to a little over production and soon to end, is not a cheerful task, and it is made less so by those who, having never looked for themselves, pronounce all such statements either sensational or the work of a morbid and excited imagination. The majority decline to take time to see for themselves. The few who have done so need no further argument, and are ready to admit that no one can exaggerate, or, indeed, ever really in full the real wretchedness that is plain for all who will look. But, even with them, the conviction remains that it is, after all, a temporary state of things, and that all must very shortly come right.

To tell the story of the worker over and over again till it has struck home. Will such telling ever make it strike home? Is there any real use in the constant repetition of the story of the world's wretchedness? The story has been told over and over and over again, by poet, novelist, historian, and statistician. I have heard it, you have heard it, we all have heard it. We all know there is abundant misery about us. It is rare indeed that any one of us denies it. What we do deny is that we are in any way responsible for it. We say: "I am very sorry, but it really isn't my fault. What can I do about it?" The thing that needs to be said is that it is our fault—my fault, your fault, Helen Campbell's fault, the fault of every one of us. The thing that needs to be demonstrated is how it is our fault. What can we do about it? What ought we to do about it?

To all this Helen Campbell might reply that she actually has done just what I say ought to be done. She has pointed out where the fault lies, and has said what should be done to remedy it. She goes among the shirtmakers of London, finds them crushed and ground beneath the

(1) PRISONERS OF POVERTY ABROAD. By Helen Campbell. Boston: Roberts Bros.

heels of manufacturer, contractor, sub-contractor, sweater and sub-sweater; and returning, tells us that "society, which will have its bargains, is practically in a conspiracy against the worker." She thinks the rich should take the trouble to learn something of the methods of prominent firms with their workwomen, and "shun those which refuse to consider the questions of overtime, of unsanitary work-rooms, of unjust fines and reductions, and the thousand ways of emptying some portion of the workwoman's purse into that of the employer." She investigates the workingwomen of Paris, finds that their wages are being constantly lessened by "fierce competition," and foresees disastrous results "unless the tide is arrested and some form of co-operative production takes its place." She finds the French convents doing needlework at next-to-nothing rates, and thinks that the wage-worker is thereby defrauded. In Italy she sighs for "the resurrection of the old ideal of work; the doing away of competition as it at present rules, and the substitution of co operation, productive as well as distributive; industrial education for every child, rich or poor; and that recognition of the interests of all as a portion of our personal charge and responsibility, which, if I name it Socialism, will be scouted as a dream of an impossible future, but which none the less bears that name in its highest interpretation, and is the one solution for every problem on either side of the great sea, between the eastern and the western worker."

Brave words. But do they really mean anything? Is there any use in them? I do not for one moment doubt that Helen Campbell intended them to have a meaning and thought there was great use in saying them. I am quite sure they have a meaning to her. Yet I think if she were asked to define their meaning and their use in exact terms, she would be a little puzzled.

Come with me to one of these great bazaar stores of New York. Here are shirts at thirty-eight cents apiece. Fair quality muslin, linen bosoms, felled seams, decently worked button holes—not as good a shirt as you can buy for a dollar, but a pretty nice shirt for all that. Now figure out for yourself, if you are a woman, or ask your wife or sister, if you are a man, the cost of the materials in that shirt. So much for muslin, so much for linen, so much for thread, so much for buttons. How much is left for the woman who made the shirt? Not much, is it? Ah, but she doesn't get even the whole of that little. The storekeeper from whom you buy the shirt has got to make something on the sale—enough, at least, to pay expenses. The manufacturer from whom he bought the shirt must make a profit on it. And between the manufacturer and the woman who actually made the shirt stands the sweater, and he must have his profit, too. Mighty little left for the poor sewing woman at the end of it all, isn't there? Now, what ought we to do about it?

Boycott the store that sells such shirts, says Helen Campbell. Well, suppose we do boycott it? Suppose we, one and all of us, refuse to buy those 38-cent shirts—what does that mean? It means simply this, that the women who now earn a wretched pittance by making those shirts, will be thrown out of work and earn nothing at all. For don't delude yourself with the notion that men will buy as many shirts at 75 cents or a dollar each, as they will at 38 cents. They can't afford to do that. John Smith wants shirts, and he can afford to buy two of those at 38 cents. But if, in obedience to Helen Campbell's humanitarian appeal, John Smith insists on buying only 75-cent shirts, he must get along with one instead of two, or, what is the same thing, he must omit to buy something else that other workers make, and that he otherwise would have bought. If you boycott those 38-cent shirts you throw people out of work—there's no escape from that conclusion. But isn't your whole problem a problem of the unemployed? You want to find out how to set people to work, not how to force them to stand idle.

But at least, you say, we can get rid of the sweater? We can buy only from stores that deal directly with the workwomen, without any middleman to stand between them? Yes, we can do that—perhaps. But all we shall have accomplished then will be to throw a man out of work. The sweater must live as well as the sewing woman. What are we going to do about him, when we shall have taken his occupation away from him? A

starving sweater is quite as pitiful an object as a starving sewing woman. If that is all your boycott will accomplish, it is scarcely worth trying.

There is just this trouble with all the glittering generalities in the way of suggestions for reform that I have quoted from Helen Campbell's book, that they don't really mean anything. They look well in print, and have a nice, hearty, philanthropic sound as they roll off the tongue. But they will not bear examination. The convent needlework at next-to-nothing rates—what does that mean except that some people get underclothing and other things the convents make who otherwise would have to go without. Suppose the convents did the needlework for nothing, and gave the things away? Would that throw anybody out of work? If it would, then every benevolent society and charitable institution is a deadly foe to labor, and ought to be abolished at once. If, after you have saved up the money to buy an overcoat, I suddenly come forward and give you an overcoat, does that injure you or anybody else? Don't you take the money you would have used to buy the overcoat with and use it in some other way—spend it for some thing else, or invest it in your business, or put it in a bank, or pay it to your landlord, who uses it to buy things that people make? How can any man be made poorer because some other man produces wealth? Don't you see the absurdity of it? If the sky should rain ready-made clothing, would you pray God to stop the shower, lest the whole country should be impoverished? I think not. I think you would go out and pick up at least one suit. I know I should.

Industrial education. Would that do anything towards the solution of the problem? If all the sewing women who toil beneath the sweater's lash were skilled stenographers and typewriters, for example, would that do any good? Just ask the women who already are stenographers and typewriters, what they would think of such a programme. Why not try industrial ignorance instead? If fewer women should be taught to sew, wouldn't that help the sewing women just as much as teaching them stenography and type writing? I don't dispute that it would be rough on the women kept in ignorance, but I am quite sure the stenographers and typewriters would like it better.

It seems to me that Helen Campbell, like many another earnest sympathizer with suffering humanity, is dazzled by the beautiful dream of socialism. It is a beautiful dream. It is no wonder that it attracts people. The thought of a world from which greed and selfishness shall have been banished, in which men shall live together like brothers, each receiving according to his needs, and none having less than others may have more—plenty for all, pleasure for all, rest for all—all this excites the longing of the soul, and stirs its noblest impulses. The error of the socialistic dreamer lies not in his yearning for a better, purer, nobler life—such yearning is commendable and altogether trustworthy—but in his failure to recognize the truth that the selfishness and greed that so repel him, and that he must tear up by the roots before his co-operative commonwealth can be brought to pass, are simply misdirected energies of man's moral nature, which ought not to be, and cannot be, extirpated, but which ought to be, and can be, and, I believe, some day will be, set free to exert themselves in proper directions. They are forces of human progress, like all other moral forces. God makes no evil forces. Our trouble is that, like unskilful mariners not knowing how to trim their sails, we have presented ourselves to the operation of these forces in such fashion as to make them work us woe instead of weal.

Is not thrift a virtue? Is not the desire to have things a laudable desire? Is it not good that men should seek to obtain the greatest amount of wealth with the least amount of labor? Yet think a minute, and see how these very virtues, these giant forces of progress, have become forces of destruction by being misapplied. It is not misdirection that makes the trouble. The man who waxes rich by the oppression of his fellow man instead of by honest industry, doesn't do it because he would rather steal than work. He does it because it is easier for him to steal than to work. The impulse that prompts him to get the things he

wants in the easiest way is essentially a noble impulse. Ceasing to possess it, he would cease to be a man. What we need to do is, not to kill the impulse that makes a man a thief or a sweater, but simply to make work easier than stealing. If that remedy will not suffice, then God help the world, for there is none other! But it will suffice. To doubt it is to blaspheme the harmony of the universe—to say there is no God!

Oh, think a little! Look at these poor women, crowded into a sweater's shop, as Helen Campbell saw them. A dozen workers in a room ten feet square. Flaring gas lights. A coke fire for the presser's irons. Fourteen, sixteen, eighteen hours a day of steady labor in such a hole as that. Do you think men work women after that fashion because they like to do it? Do you think you can stop it by telling them they *mustn't* do it? Haven't they been told? Aren't they constantly being told? Are there not government inspectors specially appointed to *make* them stop doing it? And laws? And magistrates? And charitable societies? And philanthropic women with a craze for slumming? And the deuce knows what all besides of private and official interference? Oh, my socialistic dreamer, can't you see that your regulative legislation breaks down at the very first little wee bit of a trial. You want to regulate and control the industry of the world; and with the whole governmental machinery of the United Kingdom to help you, you can't even keep that sweater's ten foot square den in order. There are more sweaters to-day than there were yesterday. There will be more to-morrow than there are to-day. Why, Helen Campbell tells us that the very women who work in the sweaters' dens are eager to become sweaters themselves. The tide is rising. And you, poor Canute on your philanthropic throne, think you can repress it with a human law. My friend, God makes the only laws the tides obey. Stand back, and do it quickly, or the sea will overwhelm you!

Oh, think a little! Why does the sweater grind the faces of the poor? Not because he wants to, but because he *must*. It's the easiest way for him to get the things he wants. Why do the women who toil for him endure his tyranny? Why, indeed, but because they *must*. It's the easiest way for *them* to get the things they want. Round the sweater and his victims you, *you*, Canute of the philanthropic mind, you, Helen Campbell, I, all the rest of us who dumbly or protestingly join in the gigantic crime, have built and are maintaining a cruel fence of iron. God gave the earth to them and to us, not to own, but to use. He gave to them and to us the sacred, noble impulse that leads to progress, the impulse to exert our labor in the most efficient way to combine the materials of the earth into the wealth we rightly long for. He gave us minds to know how to harness the sun to do our bidding, and force the universe itself to be our slave. Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, AND SUBDUED IT. Was not that his word to man, when he blessed him, and saw that everything was very good? Look into that sweater's den of horror, and see how we fulfill the divine command. He fenced man out of Eden only. But we, poor patchers of the universe, have fenced that sweater and his victims out of the whole earth, have built them in to that wretched den, to sweater and to die. And do you still prate of regulations—of laws to forbid men to do this, to compel them to do that, to allow them to do one or two carefully selected things if they've a mind to? Oh, Canute, Canute, can't you see that the only thing you *can* do is to get out of the way and give humanity a chance to obey God's laws? He made us, and looked at us when we were finished, and saw that we were good. Give us a chance to be good.

What is there in competition to be afraid of? If you and I go fishing, do not you want to catch as many fish as possible—more than I, if you can? Suppose we buy our fish instead of catching them, is not each one of us still anxious to get the best fish and the most of them? Is not the result more fish for both of us? And if it is shirts instead of fish that we are seeking, does not the same principle hold good? Is it not perfectly natural—and therefore altogether right—that we should seek to get our shirts with the least possible expenditure of labor—in other words, at the lowest possible price. Are not low

priced shirts a blessing? If not, then sewing machines, and spinning jennies, and looms, and mills, and engines and boilers, are inventions of the enemy, and humanity can never be safe till they are swept out of existence. The bargain seeking conspiracy of society, that Helen Campbell reprehends, is the expression of an altogether righteous feeling. It is the effort of society to obey the divine command to subdue the earth—to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. It prompts men to invention and to enterprise. It has given us the railway, the telephone, the Atlantic greyhound, the electric light. It brings tea and coffee to our tables, and gives us strawberries from April until August. It has brought to us all we possess of material wealth. It will be an evil day for the world when that bargain seeking conspiracy shall be exploded. Think how you would get along in your own individual business if it should be swept away. Bargain seeking! Competition! Why it is the principle on whose preservation the future of humanity depends! And like all such principles, it is absolutely beyond human power to control. The author of the universe *made* man a bargain seeker, because he meant him to control the earth. Human law makers may as well seek to legislate away the appetite for food, as the appetite for bargain.

But—there is the sewing woman, and the sweater, and society demanding bargain, and competition forcing wages down. Store competes with store, trying which can sell its shirts the cheapest. Manufacturer competes with manufacturer, each trying to produce shirts at a lower price than the other. Sweater struggles against sweater for the work the manufacturer has to give out. And sewing woman bids against sewing woman for the privilege of toiling sixteen hours a day in a torture room. Bargain seeking society on top, pressing down with steadily increasing force. And the sewing women at the bottom of the heap. What else can cause it all, but competition?

Competition! Do those poor sewing women whom Helen Campbell tells about really *compete* for the privilege of working in those sweaters' dens? Does the slave compete for the privilege of working for his master? Is a dog cowering under the lash, a fitting symbol of the most powerful moral force that impels mankind to action? The sewing women work in those dens because they *have* to work there—because society leaves them no choice—because they *must* work there or die. Poor industrial slaves, robbed of their birthright of access to nature's opportunities, they struggle and fight together over the wretched crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich. And philanthropists look on and prate of competition. Where would such competition be if the fences that now shut men from the land were torn down, and men and women, sweater, sewing women and all, were allowed to apply their labor to the earth with equal undiminished freedom, competing together to see who could labor most efficiently, and produce the greatest wealth with the least exertion. Then, indeed, we should see true competition, and with it such abounding wealth as the world has never dreamed of. For each would apply his labor in the direction best suited to his tastes and talents. Sewing women there would be, and milliners, and flower cultivators, and keepers of bees, and a thousand other trades for women who might choose to follow them. But in every calling would be perfect freedom, and the measure of the worker's wages would be the worker's product.

Helen Campbell, I think, in spite of the dazzle of socialism, really sees all this—though somewhat dimly. Here is an extract from the closing chapter of her book:

But as one faces the same or worse industrial conditions in London or any great city, English or continental, with its congestion of labor and its mass of resultant misery, the same solution suggests itself, and the cry comes from philanthropist and Philistine alike, "Send them into the country! Give them homes and work there!"

Naturally this would seem the answer; but where? For when search is made for any bit of land on which a home may rise and food be given back from the soil, all England is found to be in the hands of a few thousand land owners, while London itself practically belongs to less than a dozen, with rents at such rates that when paid no living wage remains. When once this land question is touched, it is found made up of immemorial injustices, absurdities, outrages, and for America no less than for the whole world of workers. It cannot be that man has right to

air and sunshine, but never right to the earth under his feet. Standing place there must be for this long battle for existence, and in yielding this standing place comes instant solution of a myriad problems.

This is no place for extended argument as to the necessity of land nationalization, or the advantages or disadvantages of Mr. George's scheme of a single tax on land values, with the consequent dropping of our whole complicated tariff. But believing that the experiment is at least worth trying, and trying patiently and thoroughly, the belief, slowly made plain and protested against till further protest became senseless and impossible, stands here as one more phase of work to be done.

It is not surprising that Helen Campbell should have seen what these words indicate she has seen. What does surprise me is, that having seen thus much, she should have failed to see much more—should have failed to grasp the perfect truth that the one thing we need is freedom.

T. L. M'CREADY.

"The Tramp at Home."

Wherever in erstwhile free and happy America any careful examination is made of the condition of the men and women who really produce the wealth of which we boast, poverty and discontent are found. Of course here and there a willfully blind man fails to see what is apparent to all others, but the poor themselves not only see, but feel, the misery in which they live, and the fact that they are no longer contented is the one hopeful thing in the whole situation. No honest observer can truly paint the situation otherwise than in sombre colors, and each new observer can, at most, but add new details to the description of life among the working people all over the country.

Mr. Lee Merriwether has supplemented his clever "Tramp Trip" through Europe by "The Tramp at Home," (1) which is largely a record of his experiences and observations among the working people of the United States while gathering statistics for the government. The resentment he notes as displayed by many working people because of the attempt to pry into their affairs, ostensibly for their own good, offers gratifying evidence that the spirit of individual self-dependence has not yet been crushed out of wage earners, and demonstrates the indisposition of free men and women to sink into the position of "wards of the nation."

Yet, despite such obstacles, Mr. Merriwether succeeded in gathering numerous important facts as to wages, cost of living, etc., and his summary of the condition of wage workers in each place he visited shows that nowhere is it satisfactory. Those optimists who think that the condition of working people is really not so bad as it has been represented will do well to read this book. People who have studied the problem will merely find in the record of Mr. Merriwether's observations confirmation of opinions they had previously formed.

"The Tramp at Home" is not, however, confined to a record of observations such as those first noted. Mr. Merriwether has looked below the mere surface and he does not hesitate to point out the numerous ways in which the so-called system of protection aggravates the evils to which the wealth producers of this country are subject. Nor is he merely a free trader in the old and narrow sense of the term. While recognizing the injurious effect of a policy that shuts the common people out from free participation in the trade of the whole world, he also sees that free commerce alone cannot solve the labor problem, and that land monopoly is the real parent of the wrongs to which our people are subjected. Speaking of California, where wages are still somewhat higher than in the east, though they are rapidly falling, through the pressure of the thousands of the unemployed drawn to the state from all parts of the country, Mr. Merriwether says:

The country for miles around Los Angeles is staked off into twenty-five-foot lots. Around San Diego and other cities in southern California the land is appropriated and held at the price which speculators think increasing population will soon make it worth. In northern California, land enough to support ten millions of people is withheld from occupation by speculators awaiting increased population. I saw a "city" in Colusa county that did not contain a single house or inhabitant; but in the real estate circulars immigrants were told that the "city" of Fruto was a flourishing place, with hotels, express offices, telegraph offices and banks. There was, in reality, only a stubble field staked off into town lots. Farmers of small means go to California. They find city lot prices asked for grain fields, as in the case of Fruto; and being, of course, unable to pay any such prices, they crowd into San Francisco and the large towns. Thus it is that, even in Cal-

(1) "THE TRAMP AT HOME," by Lee Merriwether, Special Agent U. S. Department of Labor, New York: Harper & Bros., 1899.

ifornia, the land of plenty, of vast territory and fertile soil, there are poverty and misery, and strikes against low wages.

This withholding of the land from occupation, both by speculators and by large ranch owners, has so direct a connection with the "labor question" on the Pacific coast that I gave the matter particular attention. I went to a real estate office in San Francisco and told the agent I was looking for investments.

"There are two kinds of investments that will pay big profits," said the agent. "Put your money in land or timber." I had already seen enough of the way in which land was bought up and withheld from actual settlers; I now asked about the timber appropriations.

"The red wood of Humboldt and Mendocino counties is very valuable. It takes a splendid polish, won't burn (it actually is an almost fire-proof wood), will make fine furniture, and is the only wood in California fit for building purposes. Locate a claim and you will be a rich man in five years. You won't have to do a stroke of work. Simply wait until people are obliged to have your timber, then charge what you like."

Mr. Merriwether does not emphasize the words italicized, but they contain so graphic and succinct a statement of the process by which the land monopolist obtains wealth without doing "a stroke of work" that they ought to be printed in large type and hung up wherever men congregate who are vainly seeking an opportunity to produce wealth by work. Mr. Merriwether thus sums up the result of his investigation:

Careful observation of conditions in all parts of the Golden state reveals a close connection between the question of wages and the question of land monopoly. Study the wages paid in California at different times, and in different portions of the state, study also the manner and extent of the land appropriations, and it will be seen that the one is the reflex of the other. Given the extent of land monopoly through large holdings and speculative syndicate purchases, and the condition of California labor can be told without further data. Within the memory of men still considered young, laborers in California commanded from \$5 to \$10 a day. But those were days when there were no "cities" like Fruto; when there were no 55,000-acre ranches; when every man was free to command his living from the boundless territory around him.

The owner of a ship on the ocean can make men work at what wages he will. What if they are not content? Men cannot live on the water, so they are compelled to stick to the ship, be the wages big or little. And so ashore, if syndicates and capitalists are permitted to monopolize the land, laborers, since they cannot live in the air, will be forced to crowd into cities and work for wages fixed by the keenest sort of competition. The most casual observer in California can see practical illustrations of this principle. He may go to the depot in San Francisco and see every day immigrants from Europe and from the eastern states of the union. These immigrants will tell him that they did not come to California expecting to live in a city; but that they were unable to pay speculative prices for farm land, and thus had no other alternative than to crowd into San Francisco, Los Angeles, and the smaller towns, adding in that way to the already keen competition existing in those places.

Having presented facts and arguments like these in the body of his book, it will, of course, surprise no one that Mr. Merriwether arrives at the conclusion that free trade and land taxation are the remedies for the existing evils, and having gone so far it seems a pity that he should have proposed a somewhat artificial and complicated, graduated land tax instead of the natural and simple single tax. Perhaps, however it is as well as it is, since the facts and arguments in "The Tramp at Home" all tend inevitably toward the single tax and their presentation by one who evidently did not originally view the matter from our own standpoint may disarm prejudice and gain attention in quarters barred by senseless prejudice against any acceptance of the ideas of Henry George. Mr. Merriwether's book is a valuable contribution to the growing volume of single tax literature.

The Single Tax in a Nutshell.

H. W. Hammond in Boston Labor Leader.

Problem: To raise the standard of comfort, thereby exterminating pauperism, crime, anxiety, etc.

The standard of comfort may be raised by the removal of artificial obstructions which hinder the free play of the natural laws of production and exchange, such as tariffs, speculative properties in coal, iron, farming, buildings, and highway lands, which when held out of use discourage labor and lock up capital.

Wages rise and fall as it becomes easy or difficult for labor to employ itself. Where speculative values obtain, labor and capital are forced to less productive points than those held out of use, thus crippling their full effectiveness. Destroy speculation by taxing values. Abolish taxes on the products of labor.

Is it Protection that Has Brought the Price of Iron Down?

New York Press.

Iron is down a dollar. Thus does the multiplication of furnaces in the South under protection benefit the consumer. The balance of advantage will be maintained if a duty is put on tin plate and producers or wage workers benefited along with consumers.

THE PRINCE'S QUEST.

A Modern Allegory.

All the Year Round.

Once upon a time there lived a Prince who ought to have been happy, but wasn't. He reigned in a gorgeous palace, and was rich, and powerful, and great, and had everything he wanted—that is, at least, he had everything he wanted, except the one thing he wanted more than anything else on earth, and to have obtained which he would have given half his kingdom. He would have given the whole, for the matter of that, only he had promised the other half to any one who would tell him what it was he wanted.

Everybody had a guess at it, but nobody seemed able to hit upon it. Everything that was suggested he had; everything that wealth could buy, or skill procure, was his already. So at last he appealed to the wise men of the city, and they put their heads together, and found out the wrong thing, and the Prince became more despondent than ever.

In the palace his jovial companions made laugh and jest, and kept the walls forever echoing to the tune of their noisy merriment. All day long they hunted the deer through the forest glades, or rode a-hawking in gay cavalcade; and at night there were feasting, and dancing and song, and the wine ran free, and the mirth ran high, and happiness beamed upon every face except the Prince's. In the midst of all the revelry he sat silent and apart, or shunned the chase to muse alone on what this thing could be, the want of which, with all his wealth, made life seem so unfinished.

"Oh, is there nothing that will fill this aching void within me?" sighed the Prince aloud, one day, as he threw himself down on the ground beside a fallen tree. "Oh, is there no one who can tell me what I want?"

"I can."

It was a little old man that spoke; a little, bent, withered man, with wrinkled face and snow white hair; but his eyes were brighter than a boy's, and his voice was clearer than a sweet-toned bell; and, as he looked down at the Prince, from his seat on the tree, he laughed a merry, childish laugh.

The Prince looked up at him and wondered how he got there, but was too surprised to speak, and only stared in silence at the merry, twinkling eyes.

"Well," said the little old fellow, after awhile, "shall I tell you? Would you like to know what it is you want, or have you come to the sensible conclusion that after all it isn't worth the knowing? I think you'd better not know," he said, changing from gay to grave. "It may make you only more unhappy. It will bring you pain and trouble. You are young and weak—why seek to know? Rest with the happiness you have, child. Joy is only reached through sorrow."

But the Prince heeded not the warning. All eagerness and hope, he started up and caught the old man by the hand and would not let him go.

"Tell me, you who are wise, and who know," cried he; "tell me what will ease this gnawing pain, or I shall die. Tell me and I shall seek for it through fire and water. I am strong, not weak—strong to dare, to suffer, to win. I will find it if it take me all my life, and cost me all my treasure."

The old man gently laid his hand upon the Prince's head, and a look of pity was in the bright, quick eyes.

"Lad," said he, and his voice was grave and tender, "thou shalt seek thy wish. Thou shalt toil for it, and thy brain shall ache. Thou shalt wait for it and thy heart shall pant. Thou shalt pass through sorrow and suffering on thy search, but when thou art weary and footsore the thought of it shall strengthen thee, when thy heart is heaviest the thought of it shall raise thee up, and in thy darkest hours it shall come to thee as the touch of a mighty hand. Prince, it is Love thou lackest. Go seek it."

So the scales fell from the Prince's eyes, and he stood as one that has suddenly emerged from the darkness into light, half bewildered before he understood. Then stretching out his arms he called to Love, as though he would call her down from heaven and clasp her to his heart.

"Oh, Love," he cried, "why have I been so blind as not to know thy messenger, who spoke within me? I might have wandered lonely all my life uncaring and uncared for, and never dreamed of thy dear presence, nor ever have known

that 'twas for need of thy sweet voice that all the world seemed drear."

Full of gratitude, he turned to thank his mysterious guide, but the little old man was gone.

The Prince's own sentinels scarcely knew their lord when he returned to the palace, and even the old hall porter who, twenty years ago, had rocked him on his knee, looked hard at him and seemed inclined to challenge his breathless entrance. Never was a man so changed in half an hour before. Out into the woods had gone a moody, sorrowful youth, with wavering steps and dreary, downcast eyes, while back had come a gallant Prince, with quick, firm tread, and head thrown back, and eyes that flashed with high resolve. Small wonder if the porter was in doubt.

In the banquet hall his guests already invited had arrived, and hurrying thither straight, without a word he passed up the crowded room until he reached the dais at the end, and there he turned and spoke:

"Friends," said the Prince, "rejoice with me, for to-day I have learned the thing that I want. To-day I have found out what is the only thing on earth that can make me happy—the only thing on earth I have not got—the only thing I cannot go without, and that I mean to seek for till I have found. Let all my true friends join me, and at to-morrow dawn we will start to search for Love."

Then one and all cheered loud and long, and swore that each was his loyal friend, and swore that they would follow him throughout the whole wide world, and they drank a bumper to success, and another one to Love, and never in that palace had a banquet been so gay, and never before had such merry guests feasted in that hall. Long into the night they drank and sang, and their loud laughter filled that palace full, and overflowed through open door and window out into the stillness, and the red deer browsing heard it, and scudded away down the moonlit glens nor dreamt then of the time when they would fearlessly crop the grass round the very walls of the palace, and rest secure and undisturbed upon its weed-grown terraces.

But no shadow of the coming gloom marred the glittering pageantry on which the morning sun threw down his glory, as gay with silk and flashing steel, and fluttering plumes and prancing steeds, the gallant train of knights and squires rode slowly down the hill. And hearts were light and hopes were high, but no heart so light as the Prince's, no hopes so high as his, as he rode at the head of that gay throng, the gayest of them all.

At each place that they came to the Prince inquired for Love, but found, to his astonishment, that, though people talked about her a good deal, hardly any one knew her. Few spoke of her as a reality. Most folks looked upon her as a joke; others, as a popular delusion; while the one or two who owned to having known her seemed half ashamed of the acquaintanceship. There were shams and imitations in abundance, but the real thing, when acknowledged, was considered vulgar, and no one knew or cared what had become of her.

The first place at which they halted was the town of Common Sense—a most uncomfortable place, all full of close and narrow streets that led nowhere, and inhabited by a race celebrated for the strength of their lungs, it being reckoned that one man of Common Sense was equal to a dozen poll-parrots, and could talk down fifty men of Intelligence (their natural enemies) in less than half an hour. The religion of this charming people was touching in its simplicity. It consisted of a firm and earnest belief that they were infallible and that everybody else was a fool; and each man worshiped himself.

They were quite indignant when the Prince asked them where Love was.

"We know nothing at all about her," said the men of Common Sense. "What have we to do with Love? What do you take us for?"

The Prince was too polite to tell them what he took them for, so, merely bidding them adieu with a pitying smile, he rode off to seek elsewhere for Love.

But he had no better luck at the next place they came to. This was Tom Tiddler's Land, and the people there were very busy, indeed. So busy were they, packing up the gold and the silver, that they hadn't even time to make themselves respectable, and their hands were especially dirty—but then it was rather dirty work.

"Love!" said the people of Tom Tidd-

ler's Land. "We don't keep it. Never heard of it. Don't know what it is. But dare say we could get it for you. What are you willing to give for it?"

"You can't buy it," exclaimed the Prince. "It is given."

"Then you won't get it here, young man," was the curt reply; and they went on with their traveling.

At last the Prince came to the City of Science, where he was most hospitably received, and where for the first time he learnt the great truth that everything is just precisely what one always thought it wasn't, and that nothing is what one thinks it is. The inhabitants were all philosophers, and their occupation consisted of finding out things that nobody wanted to know, and in each day proving that what they themselves had stated the day before was all wrong. They were very clever people, and knew everything—Love included. She was there, in the city, they told the delighted Prince, and they would take him to her.

So, after showing him over the town, and explaining to him what everything wasn't, they took him into their museum, which was full of most wonderful things, and in the center was Love—the most wonderful of them all. The Prince couldn't help laughing when he saw it, but the philosophers were very proud of it. It sat upright and still in a straight backed chair and was as cold as ice.

"Made it ourselves," said the philosophers. "Isn't it beautiful? Acts by clock-work, and never goes wrong. Warranted perfect in every respect. We have a special committee of old ladies to look after it, and it has been highly recommended by the clergy."

"It's very charming," answered the Prince, trying to swallow down his disappointment, "but I'm afraid it's not the sort of thing I wanted."

"Why, what's amiss with it? It's got all the latest improvements."

"Yes," replied the Prince, with a sigh, "that's just it; I wanted it with all the old faults."

Again the Prince journeyed on, and came to a town of Society, where lived a very knowing sort of people called, "Men of the world," who had the reputation of "knowing their way about"—a reputation, the acquirement of which it was difficult to understand, seeing they never, by any chance, went outside of their own town—a remarkably small one, although the inhabitants firmly believed that it was the biggest and most important place on earth, and that no other city was worth living in for a day.

A dim oil lamp burnt night and day in the center of the town, and the people of Society were under the impression that all light came from that, for as they crawled about on their hands and knees, and never raised their eyes from the ground, they knew nothing about the sun. When they had crawled once forwards and backwards across their little town, they thought they had seen "life," and would squat in a corner, and yawn till they died.

When the prince mentioned the name of Love to these creatures they burst into a coarse, loud laugh. "Is that what you call it?" said they. "Wherever do you come from? We know what you mean, though. Come along." And they took him into a dingy room and showed him a hideous, painted thing that made him sick to look upon.

"Let us leave this place quickly," said the Prince, turning to his followers. "I cannot breathe in this foul air. Let us go out into God's light again." So they mounted in haste and rode away, leaving the men "who knew their way about" crawling about the ways they knew so well.

Farther and farther into the weary world wandered the prince on his search; but Love was still no nearer; and though his heart was ever brave, it beat less hopefully every day. Time after time he heard of her, and started off, only to find some worthless sham—a golden image—a dressed-up doll—a lifeless statue—a giggling fool. Shams, shams, shams! Shams wherever he went, and men and women worshiping and hugging them close to their breasts—fighting for them, living for them, dying for them, and knowing all the time that they were shams; and each time the Prince turned away, more sick at heart than ever.

Only a thin remnant of all that brilliant host which years ago had started full of hope and enterprise now rode beside the saddened prince, and as they toiled on wearily from place to place, the few grew fewer still.

Once they came to a place where Love had really been; but that was long ago, and now she had gone, no one knew whither. It was the City of Romance, and all the citizens were poets.

"Ah," said one white haired old man, whom the Prince stopped to question without the gates, "I knew her well, she reigned here happy and contented when I was young; but these new fellows—they have frightened her away. They never let her rest a minute, but worried her to death. One day they would all be worshiping her, and the next they'd call her names and want to kill her. On Monday she was a saint and on Tuesday a devil. They made out that she was the cause of all the stupid things they did, and a man couldn't have the gout, or feel a little unsteady after dinner, but she was blamed for it; and when they told her that every one who met her either immediately died or committed suicide, the poor little thing got so unhappy that she ran away, and we've never seen her since. I don't think they were very sorry. They didn't understand her any more than anybody can understand them. They've filled up her place, now, with a miserable half-dead-and-alive creature, as much like Love as vinegar is like wine, and the way they talk to her is really quite indelicate. Between you and me," continued the old man, "there is a lot of nonsense talked here. Some of them talk so much nonsense that even we ourselves can't stand it, and we have to turn them out. They are called 'critics' after they are turned out—I don't know why—and they go about explaining what we mean. Why?" and he sank his voice to a whisper, "to tell you the truth, we don't know that ourselves," and the old poet hobbled away toward the city.

And now not a single one of all who had shouted their loyalty so loudly was left, when weary, baffled, and disheartened, the Prince at last turned back. A great longing was upon him to be once more among his people, and to see his own land again; and so, with this last hope, he still toiled on, and each day pressed on quicker, fearing lest death might overtake him on the way and that his tired eyes never more would rest upon the old towers and sweet green woods of home.

But the dreary road came to an end at length, and one evening he looked down upon his palace, as it lay before him bathed in the red of the sinking sun. Restful, now, he stood for a while, feasting his hungry eyes upon the longed-for sight, and then his thoughts ebbed slowly back to that morning long ago, when he had bidden it adieu, and had ridden forth into the world upon his quest for Love.

But ah! how changed the place! How changed himself since then!

He had left it as a gallant prince with all the pride of pomp around him, and a gaudy throng of flattering courtiers at his side. He crept back, broken hearted and alone. He had left it standing fair and stately in the morning light, and bright with life and sound; now it was ruined, desolate and silent; the bats flew out of the banquet hall and the grass grew on the hearths. Another had usurped his throne; his people had forgotten him, and not even a dog was there to give him a welcome home.

As he passed through the damp, chilled rooms a thousand echoing footsteps started up on every side, as though his entrance had disturbed some ghostly revel, and when, having reached a little room that in old times he had been wont to go to for solitude, he entered, and shut himself in; it seemed as though the frightened spirits had hurried away, slamming a thousand doors behind them.

There, in the darkness, he sat himself down, and buried his face in his hands, and wept, and sat there long through the silent hours, lost in his own bitter thoughts. So lost that he did not hear a gentle tapping at the door—did not hear the door open, and a timid voice asking to come in; did not hear a light step beside him, nor see a little maiden sit herself down at his feet—did not know she was there, till, at last, with a sigh, he raised his head and looked into the gloom. Then his eyes met hers, and he started, and looked down at the sweet, shy face, amazed and half in doubt.

"Why, you are Love!" said the Prince, taking her little hands in his. "Where have you been, sweet? I've sought you everywhere."

"Not everywhere," said Love, nestling against him with a little half sad laugh; "not everywhere; I've been here all the time. I was here when you went away, and I've been waiting for you to come back—so long."

And so the Prince's quest was ended.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Electricity as a Snake Charmer.

According to a German paper, electricity is being used in India to prevent the intrusion of snakes into dwellings. A couple of wires are taken round the house, which are insulated from each other and connected with an induction coil. When his snakeship attempts to crawl over these wires he receives a shock of electricity that either kills or frightens him into a hasty retreat.

Better Than a Money Belt or a Letter of Credit.

The Cheque bank of London is introducing in this country for the use of travelers abroad a system of credit or exchange that it has been conducting abroad for the last seventeen years. Its plan is to issue, singly or in books, checks to the amount deposited with the bank or its agents here. The amount for which each check is drawn is perforated on the check, but it cannot be cashed until signed by the depositor. These checks are payable at 2,500 agencies banks, and correspondents throughout the world, and in many of the leading cities of Europe are accepted as cash by shop keepers and hotel managers, who are familiar with them. Each patron is supplied with a list of the concerns who will honor the checks.

A Magazine for the Blind.

The Misses Hodgkins, two young ladies of Richmond, England, have started the publication of a magazine for the blind. It is printed (embossed, perhaps, is the more correct word) in what is known as Braille type—an arrangement of dots, or punctures, in a system which somewhat resembles the Morse alphabet.

An Electrical Alarm Clock.

An electrical attachment has been devised which may be applied to an ordinary clock for awakening a sleeper at any given time, the contrivance thus taking the place of the ordinary alarm clock that needs to be specially provided for the purpose, and which needs to be wound up the night before it is to give forth its sound. This electrical clock is so constructed that it can be set to any given five minutes of each hour, the bell beginning to ring at that time, and continuing to ring until the sleeper awakens, and turns the switch to cut off the electric current. There is, of course, no cause for winding an alarm where this device is employed, it being only necessary on going to bed to turn the switch, thus allowing the circuit to be completed at the time the bell is to ring. In this arrangement the clock and battery are made in a compact form, the cell of the battery being inclosed in the clock case.

Sunflowers Useful as Well as Ornamental.

For a long time the quarters occupied by the live animals at the Smithsonian institute, Washington, D. C., have been infested by rats; and every means known for their destruction or extermination have been used, but all to no purpose, as the rats are steadily increasing in number. They seem to know what rat traps are for, and keep out of them, no matter how tempting the bait. But last week, according to "The American Field," Captain Weedon, who has charge of the animals, made a valuable discovery, by means of which he expects to clear the place of these destructive vermin. In a storeroom drawer a quantity of sunflower seeds, used as food for certain of the birds, was placed, and it was noticed that the rats eagerly gnawed their way through the drawer to get at the seeds, which they evidently relished. Acting on this supposition, Captain Weedon baited his rat traps with the seeds, and there was no more astonished man in Washington than he was when he discovered the next morning that every trap so baited held from ten to fifteen rats. The rats were turned into the cages containing the weasels and minks, which did the killing in less time than it takes to tell it.

Shoal Water Indicator for Vessels.

An electrical shoal water indicator has been devised by two Mexican inventors. It consists of a strong cylinder filled with shot, so that when hung by a cable from a ship it will remain perfectly upright in the water. Embedded in its center is a glass or vulcanite tube half full of mercury, the two ends being closed by metallic plates, which are in communication by insulated wires carried by the cable, with an electric battery and bell on the deck of the ship. The action of the apparatus is as follows: When the vessels approach shallow water the cylinder drags on the ground below, and is consequently no longer upright, but is thrown on its side. This causes the mercury in the tube to touch both the metallic plates attached to that tube, as above explained; the electrical circuit thus becomes complete, and the warning bell on the ship instantly rings.

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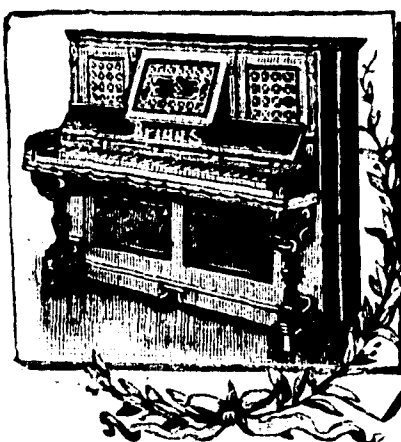
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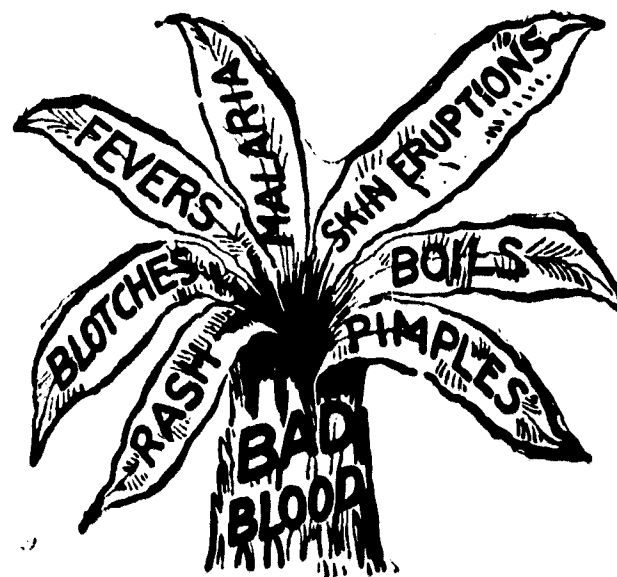
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