

THE STANDARD

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CONTENTS.

EDITORIALS	1	SINGLE TAX NEWS	6
LAND VALUES WITHOUT LABOR—John Filmer	3	NEWS OF THE WEEK	8
THE SITUATION IN KANSAS—Quincey A. Glass	5	ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS	9
A POLITICAL TENDENCY—Henry George, Jr	5	OBJECT LESSONS	9
THE POOR MILLIONAIRES OF CINCINNATI—Klaster	6	PERSONALS	9
HEART OF SORROW—Frances M. Milne	6	PUBLISHER'S NOTES	10

A SUGGESTIVE COMPARISON.

When we proposed to change the price of THE STANDARD to one dollar a year, provided we could secure enough guaranteed subscriptions to give assurance that it would be self-supporting at that rate, we received 2,457 guarantees redeemable in the month of January. Upon learning that the plan could not succeed, we substituted the present plan of Extension subscriptions for the remainder of the year at one dollar. Of course, we waived all claims against guarantors; but we must confess that we supposed we should receive Extension subscriptions at least to the extent of the canceled guarantees. In this, however, we have been disappointed. The aggregate of Extensions to date is only 1,662, while the number of subscriptions guaranteed for January alone was, as stated above, 2,457. Inasmuch as we have received a very large number of single subscriptions for the Extension List, and as some who made guarantees for January have sent in Extension List subscriptions very far in excess of their guarantees, these figures show that many guarantors have utterly neglected to do anything. Their energy seems to have been exhausted when they signed a guarantee from which they have been released. This is, of course, their business and not ours. We make no complaint. But if they were in earnest when they made the guarantees, what is the matter with them now? Have they changed their minds regarding the establishment of THE STANDARD, or are they tired? Had they done their share toward what they have professed to want, the subscription would now be over 7,000, or at least 800 nearer to a self-supporting basis at the reduced price. As we said when we introduced the Extension List plan, any one who guaranteed ten subscriptions, including his own, at one dollar, can now give us his own regular subscription at three dollars together with seven Extension subscriptions at one dollar. If he is indifferent about the success of the paper he does right in neglecting this our last plan for establishing it; but if he wants to see it placed upon a self-supporting basis at one dollar a year, his neglect is inexcusable. We do not intend to scold, but we do intend to suggest a comparison of the single tax men who work with those who only wish.

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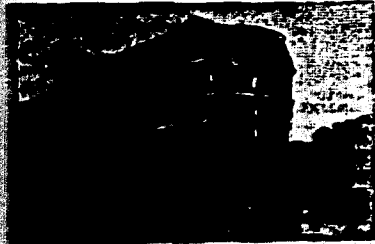
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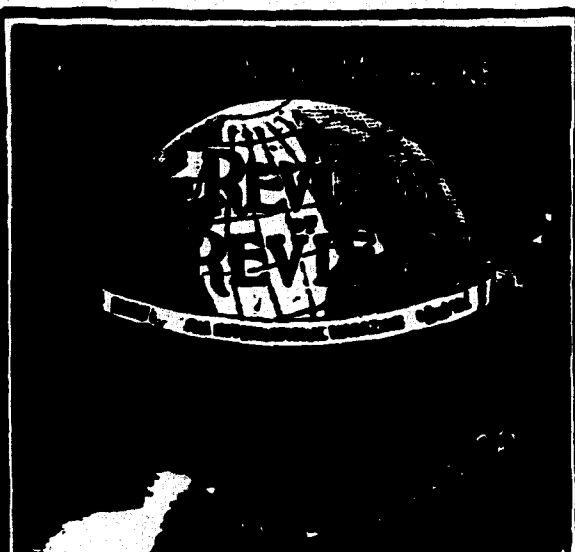
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THE STANDARD

VOL. XI.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1892.

No. 6.

SURPRISING THE PHILADELPHIA LEDGER.—The Philadelphia Ledger, quoting our criticism on philanthropists who think that rich men hold their wealth in trust, in other words, that it is the duty of the rich to divide, in which we remarked that "it is true and plain that rich men do not grind the faces of the poor," expresses surprise that such a sentiment should appear in a paper which is commonly supposed to voice the sentiments of the American socialists. How any one ever got the impression that THE STANDARD voices the sentiments of American socialism, or of any other socialism, we are at a loss to know; certainly not from reading the paper, nor from reading "Progress and Poverty," the principles of which it is the special mission of THE STANDARD to explain and advocate.

We move not in the direction of Socialism, but away from it; and it is for this reason that we have no sympathy with the notion that individual wealth is a trust. That notion is a phase of socialism. It lacks the boldness which entitles socialism to respect, but it does not differ essentially in other ways. It would establish the principle that what a man earns is not his own—that he holds it in trust; but it makes him an irresponsible trustee. Socialism adopts the same principle, but with more sense, and with more justice if the principle be true, would make the community a responsible trustee.

The principles of the single tax recognize absolute ownership in the producer of all that he produces. This is solid ground. It is the only position that can be logically maintained either in economy or morals. And it cannot be maintained without denying the right and the expediency of private property in land; for to the extent that any man receives labor products in exchange for land, to that extent somebody else is deprived of the ownership of what he produces.

Nor is there any reason to suppose, as the Ledger does, that because we see the injustice involved in the private ownership of land we should be expected to entertain prejudices against the rich, "who own the land so largely." No question of individual conduct is concerned; it is wholly a question of public law, which depends upon public opinion, with the making of which the rich have no more to do than the poor, except as their wealth enables them to influence the opinions of their neighbors. And it is probably not going too far to say that the rich, who have landed interests and might be suspected of selfish motives in opposing the reform we advocate, are as a rule quite as candid in passing judgment upon it, and quite as active in promoting it, when convinced of its justice, as are the poor.

CONGRESSMAN MILLS'S MISTAKE.—Roger Q. Mills's free trade speech at the Reform Club, of which an extended report is printed in another column, was characteristically bold, and in the main it was sound. He made but one slip. While demanding absolute free trade in raw material, he seemed to advocate a revenue tariff upon finished products. For political reasons at the present juncture this is defensible, since by confining the free trade fight to what are commonly known as raw materials greater voting strength may be secured. Every tariff reformer is not yet a full fledged free trader; but every tariff reformer favors the exemption of raw materials from taxation, and upon a platform declaring for free trade in raw materials and a revenue tariff upon manufactures, all tariff reformers may be united. It was in appearing to advocate revenue tariffs on finished products as a sound principle of political economy that Mr. Mills made his mistake. In favor of free trade in raw materials, he argued that by reducing the cost of finished articles it would open the markets of the world to our products and give employment to all our people. That is true, but it is an argument that applies to manufactures as well as to raw materials. Every commodity is, economically speaking, raw material, until it falls into the hands of the final consumer. The finished article of the manufacturer is as truly the raw material of the storekeeper as the finished article of the miner is the raw material of the manufacturer. And if free raw materials would increase markets and open up opportunities for employment that tendency would be accelerated if we also made manufactures free.

To say, as Mr. Mills did, that revenue duties on finished articles increase home consumption, which increases home production, which increases opportunities for home employment, is an argument in favor of protection, and like all arguments in favor of that superstition, it is false in facts and fallacious in logic. It is no more true of manufactures than of the raw materials for manufactures. So far as the interests of men who live by working are concerned, it favors the protection notion of abolish-

ing the tariff on what we cannot produce, such articles as tea and coffee, and placing tariffs upon the kind of articles that we can produce.

If a tariff on mowing machines will increase the opportunities for the employment of American labor, a tariff on wood and iron will still further increase those opportunities. And if opportunities for employment are to be considered, and in truth that is the great consideration, why confine the tariff to a revenue duty? If a revenue duty will increase home consumption, thereby increasing home production and widening opportunities for employment, a protective tariff will do it in greater degree; but a revenue tariff will not do that. Tariffs on finished products must, in some degree, shut foreign producers out of our markets; and since we cannot export without importing, foreign markets are in that degree closed to our producers. Thus a tariff on products, like one on raw materials, restricts all consumption; and while it may increase some kinds of home production, it decreases production in general and limits opportunities for employment.

If Mr. Mills meant that a revenue tariff on finished products would give us better markets than a protective tariff, as he probably did, it would have been better to have said so distinctly. He appears to have advocated the principle of revenue duties on finished articles, and that is a principle which he cannot defend.

Parke Godwin, who followed Mr. Mills, struck out on the true line when he said: "Let us have no half way measures; no homoeopathic doses of freedom. Freedom, if it is worth anything, is worth everything. It is not freedom when it is half way. It is yet in the bondage of slavery. It is only freedom when you have declared it broadly, resolutely, and adhered to it persistently and with all your hearts."

THE PRESIDENTIAL SITUATION.—With the declination of Blaine, just announced, the Republican nomination will doubtless fall upon President Harrison. This is not agreeable to a large body of Republicans, some of whom are disappointed because they worship Blaine, while others are disappointed because they are very far from worshipping Harrison. But the Republican party is practically harmonious, and Harrison's nomination may now be safely predicted. Blaine may have another man in mind, but if he has, it is doubtful if he can force his nomination against the incumbent.

With the Democratic party affairs are in a different condition. Three months ago the contest appeared to be between Hill and Cleveland. Three weeks ago Hill's nomination seemed almost certain. To-day it is apparent that there is no more possibility of Hill's nomination in 1892 than there will be in 1902.

When Hill captured the Legislature of the State of New York for his party, his fame went abroad over the land as that of a man who had the faculty of "getting there." That in doing this he had literally stolen the Senate by means of a conspiracy which, if it had involved a business transaction instead of a political maneuver, would have landed him and his associates in the penitentiary, made no difference. Democrats with bad instincts openly applauded; good ones, though ashamed, were silent.

By a criminal conspiracy, in which the statutes against larceny were impudently violated, Hill had really placed himself at the head of his party. For a time he was the great Democratic Senator from New York; and at Washington he was courted by a mob of other Great Men. But, presuming upon this Dick Turpin species of popularity, he essayed another Great Feat. Having stolen the Legislature of his State, he attempted to steal the State Convention of his party, and through that his party's nomination for the Presidency. This was the feather that broke the camel's back. It made an opportunity for respectable Democrats not only to disclaim his leadership but to practically and effectively condemn his rascality. The Democratic revolt in New York, which has spread far and is still spreading and strengthening, makes Hill's nomination an impossibility. It shows that the Democrats of New York cannot unite upon him, and it exposes his bad personal character to the whole country.

But though Hill cannot be nominated, it must not be supposed that he is no longer a factor. He probably does not yet realize the hopelessness of his own chances, but he will before every opportunity for intrigue is closed to him. And when he does realize it, he will repeat his neat and triumphant trick at the Gubernatorial convention of his State last fall—allow himself to be "turned down," and plot for the nomination of someone who will be his tool.

This possibility makes it of the utmost importance that the opponents of Hill should unite upon Cleveland. Not from blind wor-

ship of the man, but because it is the only policy that will insure the retention of Hill. If the adversaries of Hill in the National Convention split over candidates, Hill can determine the choice between them. What bargains he may make before doing that no one can tell. The Presidency is a great prize, and there are few men probably who would not agree to take even Hill into the Cabinet for the sake of securing it. But Hill might almost as well be in the White House as in the Cabinet. In the Cabinet he would be the favorite of spoils-hunters, of Democratic protectionists, of every parasite that clings to the party; and just as in the Governor's chair and the Senator's seat he has intrigued for the Presidential nomination this year, would he intrigue in the Cabinet for that nomination in 1896.

We can understand and sympathize with the western movement in favor of Palmer, of Boies, and of other men of local popularity. They are good men, and though not yet men of great national popularity, they might be made so as the campaign went on, for they are men of ability and of sound Democratic principle, who would be liked the better the better they were known. But the demand for their nomination is strictly local, and if any of them secured it he would be indebted for Hill's support. His election would be less certain than Cleveland's, because he would go into the campaign comparatively unknown and comparatively without the strength that Cleveland would draw from the independents and the Republicans, in the absence of which no Democratic candidate can be elected; and if elected there would be none of the certainty which in the event of Cleveland's election would be absolute, that Hill would not enter the Cabinet and, by the arts of which he has proved himself master, make the administration a Hill administration.

Under the circumstances, opposition to Hill cannot be effective unless it crystallizes into united support of Cleveland.

HARD CASES AND BAD LAW.—It is a familiar legal aphorism that "hard cases" make bad law. When the sympathies of judges sway their judgment, decisions are rendered which, though satisfactory in the particular case, make dangerous precedents. The recent lottery decision of the United States Supreme Court is an instance in point.

Congress having declared that newspapers containing lottery advertisements should be unmailable, a newspaper publisher, prosecuted for mailing newspapers in violation of the law, carried his case to the Supreme Court, and attacked the law as unconstitutional, insisting that, inasmuch as the Federal Government had received and accepted from the States exclusive postal authority, it was bound to perform postal duties without discrimination. Had the case presented a question of prosecution for mailing papers containing orthodox sermons or political speeches, it is not probable that the law would have been sustained. It would have been plain in such a case that it was the constitutional duty of Congress to carry letters and papers regardless of the character of the information contained in them, leaving it to the States by local laws to punish for the publication of such as were immoral; and the weakness of the argument that by carrying immoral mail matter the Federal Government makes itself a party to the offence, and of the other argument that the exclusion of objectionable ideas from the mail is analogous to the exclusion of reptiles and dangerous compounds, would have been equally plain.

But the case before the Court was, in the meaning of the aphorism, a "hard case." The Louisiana Lottery was a dangerous institution. It must be suppressed. To deny the use of the mail to it, and to all newspapers containing its advertisements, was a most effective means of suppression; and to annul the law that did this would have been to fly in the face of popular sentiment. So, for the sake of quickly destroying an evil which was already dying, a lasting precedent has been established, which invests Congress with absolute power over the expression of public opinion, so far as its expression is dependent upon the post office.

Had this precedent existed forty years ago, all the abolition literature of that period would have been excluded from the mails. An effort to pass a law for its exclusion was made in the Senate, but the Senators of that day, more mindful of constitutional limitations than the Supreme Court judges of this, withheld their assent. They were as firm in the opinion that abolition literature was pernicious as were these judges that lottery advertisements are pernicious, and they were disposed to go any length to suppress it; but they saw that it was a subject over which the United States Government had no more jurisdiction indirectly through the postal function than it had directly, and for constitutional reasons, and constitutional reasons alone, they left the matter wholly to the States.

And now that the precedent exists, who shall say what crimes against liberty it may not shield? There are men who regard orthodox sermons as degrading, and others to whom socialist literature is worse than lottery advertisements, while still others look upon infidel writings as a moral plague. It must appear to them that the United States Government, in carrying the mail matter to

which they object, is in partnership with the devil; and given the political power they would doubtless have all such matter declared unmailable. But the principal danger lies in the direction of restraining the publication of new and unpopular theories regarding religion and government. The post office is the great agency for the dissemination of all ideas, and if its service be withheld from the advocates of what may at any time be unpopular, the opportunities for making it popular would be narrowed almost to the point of suppression.

It is difficult to realize that our liberties can ever be overthrown. There is a feeling that when liberty is really assailed every one will rally around her standard. But liberty is seldom assailed by direct attack. It is generally by gradual approaches, and very frequently in the name of morality. With here a restriction and there another, made necessary apparently by some conduct that offends the moral sense, liberty may at last be bound hand and foot. What part this lottery decision may play in the programme of tyranny is not foreseen; but at some critical moment it may prove to be the one thing needful.

In gratifying contrast with the lottery decision is a decision of the Court of Common Pleas of the County of New York, in which Judge Pryor writes the opinion. In New York city the tenement house dwellers are almost enslaved by landlords. They are obliged to take such accommodations as are offered, and to pay for them all they can; and so abject is their condition that they find themselves unable to demand the conveniences that tenants who pay higher rents are able to get. One of the conveniences of city life is running water on every floor of a dwelling, and this convenience becomes almost a necessity when different families live on different floors. But the owners of tenement houses have compelled their tenants to be satisfied with a water supply in the basement or on the first floor. This is not conducive to cleanliness, and it is apt to be prejudicial to the health of tenants; and to remedy the evil the Legislature has passed a law requiring tenement house-owners to supply every floor with pipes and faucets. Trinity Church refused to comply with the law, and a suit was brought against it to recover penalties. This presented a "hard case." It was a case in which the health and comfort of men so helpless from poverty as to be unable to make free contracts, were at the mercy of as greedy a landlord as ever cursed the city of New York. It was precisely one of those "hard cases" that so often make bad law.

But the Court of Common Pleas met the case boldly, and for the best of reasons, economical and political as well as legal, declared the law a nullity. After showing that to the extent of the cost of furnishing water on every floor the property of the owner would be taken without due process of law, and that this taking would be in no sense for the use of the public, but solely for the benefit of individual tenants, Judge Pryor concluded that the statute was unconstitutional, and then said:

The conclusion to which the legal argument conducts us, is all the more satisfactory because of its consistency with the genius of our institutions and its tendency to strengthen the securities of property—effects of which a contrary conclusion would be plainly destructive. The postulate upon which the legislation in question proceeds, is the duty of government to exercise a paternal protectorate over the people, whereas the distinguishing characteristic of the American Commonwealth is that it restricts the operation of government to the narrowest possible sphere, and reposes upon individual intelligence and effort for the development of a free and fruitful civilization. A conclusion contrary to the present decision would involve the essential principle of that species of socialism under the regime of which the individual disappears and is absorbed by a collective being called the State—a principle utterly repugnant to the spirit of our political system and necessarily fatal to our form of liberty.

Whether Judge Pryor and his associates realize that the helplessness of tenants for whose benefit this unconstitutional law was passed is due to other and more fundamental laws, in conflict with that "distinguishing characteristic of the American Commonwealth," which, as he says, "restricts the operation of government to the narrowest possible sphere and reposes upon individual intelligence and effort for the development of a free and fruitful civilization," we do not know; but all the same they have struck a blow at the popular notion of remedying the evils of restriction by further restriction.

If, while houses were owned by their makers or buyers, land that more than one man wants were held only for use, tenants who had bad landlords would experience no difficulty in securing good ones, nor in earning enough to pay good landlords for being good. But while the natural source of supply for every human want is monopolized, regulations such as that in question can accomplish nothing in the way of real relief; and, at variance with every sound principle of private property, they are manifestations of the worst spirit of socialism.

These two cases, that of the lottery in the Supreme Court of the United States and that of the tenement house statute in the Court of Common Pleas of New York, are similar in every respect but in the decisions. The Louisiana lottery is a terrible evil; except the evil resides not in the lottery company as such, but in the monopoly

conferred upon it by the Legislature of Louisiana. The condition of the tenement house population in New York city is a more terrible evil; but it resides not in the malice of house owners, but in that autocratic power of land owners which is caused by legislation more fundamentally monopolistic than the Louisiana lottery charter. In the lottery case the evil has prompted a precedent pregnant with greater evils; in the other a precedent has been made which may yet become a weapon in assailing the evil it seems to protect. In the one, a hard case was allowed to make bad law; in the other the court, as was its duty, upheld sound principles and left the hard case to take care of itself. The lottery decision, if it does not become an engine of oppression, will be lost in the obscurity of obsolete judge made law; the other will be a mile post in the advance of civilization toward perfect freedom.

LISTING LAWS AND LIBERTY—Two tax bills are pending before the Legislature of New York, one of which will in all probability become a law. Both are of interest to citizens of other states. One is a listing bill, intended to empower taxing officers to turn themselves into smelling committees for the purpose of prying into the private affairs of every man who can be suspected of the crime of possessing a dollar; the other is intended to allow each county to levy its taxes upon such classes of property as the citizens of that county may select, leaving it to the counties that like smelling committees to enjoy them all to themselves.

The listing bill requires the inhabitants of the State annually to furnish an inventory of all their real estate and where located; of the debts against it, and the addresses of the holders; of the aggregate value of each class of all the personal property they own, including money, deposits in banks, bonds, mortgages, promissory notes, certificates of stock, book accounts, and solvent debts; of the debts that lie against such personal property, and for which exemption is claimed; and of all property held in trust. This bill should be entitled "A bill to make public the private business of the inhabitants of the State of New York." It is, however, a necessary measure if personal property is to be taxed. It will fail of its purpose in that respect, for in no way can equality in personal property taxation be accomplished; but without it there can be nothing more than a pretense of taxing personal property, except among farmers who cannot hide what they own. The fact that such a bill is essential in personal property taxation should satisfy any one that personal property is not a fit subject of taxation. Real estate can be taxed without listing bills. The tax falls upon the property without reference to the owner; and, as the property cannot be concealed, the State is certain to get its dues. Who pays these dues it is not necessary for the State to know; it is sufficient that they are paid.

The other bill, that for home rule in taxation, divides property into three classes—land, landed improvements, and personal property. The value of land and of improvements would be appraised by assessors as at present; the value of personal property would be appraised in lump by the owners, also as at present. These appraisements having been made, the State tax would be assessed to the counties as now in proportion to the aggregate of all three classes of property; but in collecting the tax each county would decide whether to impose it upon land values, improvement values, or personal property, or any two or all three of these classes. Of course, in those counties which held to the notion of taxing personal property, the valuation of personal property would be kept down as it is everywhere now; but in counties where it was exempt, the tendency would be the other way, since the owners would have no incentive to undervalue, but an incentive rather to overvalue. The counties that are most complained of by the advocates of personal property taxation would, therefore, have a larger proportion of taxes to pay, for they are the counties that would abolish personal property taxation. There is no valid argument against this measure.

PROTECTION IN FRANCE.—The French Protectionists succeeded in placing protective duties on food products, and the people of Paris are now learning by means of exasperating object lessons, notwithstanding the assurances of protection philosophers that the tariff is not a tax, that it is after all a very burdensome tax. Food has gone up with a jump. Farmers are holding back their products for a rise in price, and for the moment are probably blessing the tariff; but food products will not last forever, and before long those who are holding back will have to let their products go. Then it is likely that a sudden glut will temporarily reduce prices, to the satisfaction of consumers and the disgust of the farmers. But when an equilibrium is established, consumers will pay high prices again, and farmers, though prices be higher, will make lower profits than ever. The imports are falling off, and while the tariff lasts they will continue to fall off until they reach the point of supply at which the higher price limits the demand; and since it is only with exports that imports are paid for, the diminution of exports as well as that of imports will make business slack in France, so that those who

supply protected articles will lose in the higher prices of what they buy, and in the lower profits of what they sell, more than they will make out of the tariff.

LAND VALUES WITHOUT LABOR.

JOHN FILMER.

In the year 1626 the West India Company acquired from the Indians, through Peter Minuit, the right of possession of Manhattan Island, which contained about twenty-four thousand acres of land, for the sum of twenty-four dollars, about one tenth of a cent per acre. The company did not sell the land thus acquired, but per-



mitted any one to select such as he wanted to use. The original members of this community were mostly traders, requiring for residence or store but small lots of land, which they selected without regard to uniformity other than that suggested by the formation of the land itself. It was not till 1656 that there were any streets or other public improvements; yet as early as 1643 a lot

thirty by one hundred and ten feet on what now is Bridge street was sold by Abram Jacobson Van Steenwyck to Anthony Jansen Van Fees for twenty-four guilders, equal to nine dollars and a half.

In 1656 a survey of the city of New Amsterdam was made, and the city laid down on a map which was confirmed by law "to remain from this time forward without alteration." After this time grants of land were made only to actual settlers on condition that they should be improved at once; and several persons who were disposed to keep the lots which had been previously granted them in their original condition for speculative purposes, were ordered either to build on them or sell, and if they refused to do so, their lots were taxed.

Larger tracts of land in the outskirts of the town and beyond were granted to settlers for farming purposes, while other tracts were retained by the company for its own use as farms, one of which, bounded by what is now Fulton and Chambers streets, and Broadway and the North River, has since become the property of Trinity Church.

At a very early date a piece of land was set aside as a burial ground for the English, situated north of Bowling Green and west of Broadway, which in 1656 had become so full of dead men's bones as to make it desirable to close it up and select a site for a new one; but it was not till ten years later that this was done, when the old graveyard was divided into four lots, each twenty-five by one hundred feet, and sold at auction, fetching a price, although no labor had been exerted upon them. The new site chosen for the English Church was nearly opposite the head of Wall street, running from Broadway to the Hudson River, a part of which was set aside for a graveyard. It is on this land that the present Trinity Church and graveyard are located, which together with other large tracts of land that have from time to time come into possession of the English Church, or practically the same organized body, that now forms the basis of the great wealth and power of the Trinity Church Corporation. The land between the old and new graveyards was at that time occupied by the gardens and dwellings of Mr. Vandegrift and Mr. Van Dyck, which, as well as the old graveyard site, have since undoubtedly changed hands many times. But all the land described, whether it has changed hands or not, whether it has had labor expended upon it or remained a graveyard, has acquired an enormous value. The first Trinity Church was built in 1696, and destroyed by fire during the Revolutionary War, but the value of the land was not destroyed with it. Could this undestroyed value owe its existence to the destruction of the labor value of the church? If the present Trinity Church and all the receptacles of the dead attached to it, and the accumulated remains of the dead that have been buried in them during the past two hundred years were to be removed from the land, the value of the land would not move with them, but would be enhanced; and if this land were to be sold at auction to-day, it would realize many millions of dollars; and it will hardly be claimed that these millions represent the result of the labor that has been expended upon it. There are at the present time parts of the island from which all evidence of individual labor

has disappeared, and upon which little, if any, communal labor has been exerted, that when sold command enormous prices. One illustration will suffice. In 1884 Vice President Morton bought a piece of land in the upper part of Manhattan Island, containing four hundred city lots, for which he paid \$400,000. In 1890 he sold these lots for \$1,000,000, and during the time they were in his possession no labor, either individual or communal, has been exerted upon them. The only labor Mr. Morton performed in connection with them has been the payment of the taxes, which cannot have exceeded \$30,000. It will hardly be claimed that the payment of such taxes has caused the land to more than double in value in six years. Three weeks or so later the syndicate that had bought these lots from Mr. Morton again sold them for \$1,500,000, at no cost to it over and above what it had paid to Mr. Morton except the expenses of the sale.

What has brought this immense value into existence? It has been shown that shortly after the West India Company located on the southern extremity of Manhattan Island, and before any public improvements had been made, a certain lot of land upon which no labor had been exerted, had acquired a value and was sold for a price. In common parlance we say the land was sold, but this is only apparently true, for man cannot produce land, therefore he cannot rightfully sell it, and as no labor had been exerted on this land it could not have been the results of labor that was sold. What was sold? The privilege of using the land. What gave value to this privilege? The presence of population and the existence of communal life. What caused the existence of the community? Manhattan Island being favorably located for trade and commerce, it was a natural opportunity which men could use to great advantage. Did man create Manhattan Island? No. How then can he rightfully sell it? Men produce wealth which is their property, communities create land values which is their property; respect on the part of each for the other's rights will secure the rights of both in the land.

I think it will be conceded that the value of the lot which was sold in 1612 was the value of the privilege of using it, the value of the good will given to it by the community, so to speak; and if it was true of this lot, it must have been of the old graveyard, and of the present graveyard attached to Trinity Church, and it must also be true of all land that has any value; for no matter how costly the improvements may be that are attached to the land, their value is always additional to the value of the privilege of using it. The selling price of bare land alone, without improvements, represents the capitalization of the untaxed value of the privilege of using it, which were it wholly taxed would totally destroy the selling price of the land.

The single tax is the means by which the rights in the land of both the community and the individuals who compose it can be equitably adjusted, as it will discriminate between what is rightfully the property of the landholder and the property of the community. The individual will retain as secure possession of the land he uses as he does at present; nay, more so, because he will hold it honestly, and also of his property, because the community will then support itself out of its ground rents, and not out of the property of its members, as it now does.

John Filmer was born January 12th, 1835, in London, England, within sound of the New Bell. His father, William Filmer, had shortly before this moved from the farm on which he had been born at Luton, in the county of Kent, in order to establish himself in a business in the city. The family is lineally descended from one Robert Filmer, who published a work which he called "Patriarchia," in which he advocated the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and who for his loyalty received the gratitude of his sovereign and a baronetcy.

John Filmer remained with his parents in London till the latter part of 1847, at which date he was sent to a school at Birkenhead, opposite Liverpool, conducted by his uncle, Rev. Richard Wall, a clergyman of the Church of England. In 1852, in company with an elder brother, he left England, landing at Philadelphia and proceeding thence to Boston, where, almost on the day of his arrival, as apprentice to an engraver on wood, he entered upon the business he now follows.

The families among whom he was thrown and the acquaintances he formed in Boston were strongly abolitionist in sentiment and most of them were actively engaged in anti-slavery agitation. Nor were the subjects discussed confined to the abolition of negro slavery. They included the question of absolute free trade, and a tax on land in lieu of a revenue raised by taxing trade.

In 1855, after a study of the theological writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg, Mr. Filmer became convinced of their truth, and united himself with the Boston Society of the New Church. He is now secretary of the New York association, a body which comprises the societies in New York State and Northern New Jersey. He was elected to this office in 1866 and has been annually re-elected.

In August, 1859, he was married to Sarah Alice Lockett, formerly of Manchester, England, and now has two sons and one daughter.

Early in 1860 Mr. Filmer removed from Boston to New York and resided in that city until May, 1861, when he became a resident of Brooklyn, his place of business being still in New York.

In 1861 he received a copy of "Progress and Poverty," from L. E. Wilmarth with the request that he carefully read it. This he did with the usual result in cases of minds open to receive such truths as were therein unfolded. How to promulgate a knowledge of these truths, how to bring them before the public, was the question that presented itself to his mind. The riddle was to a great extent solved by the nomination of Henry George for Mayor of New York City in 1866.

Mr. Filmer has been a member of the Anti-Poverty Society and also of the "Kings County Henry George Land Club." He is now a member of the order of the Knights of Labor, and in full sympathy with the main object of the order, and also of the "Economic Reading Circle," of which Miss Bachman is the promoter. In all efforts to "spread the light" of the new economy Mr. Filmer has been an active worker wherever and whenever it has been possible.

Between three and four years ago, in connection with some of his co-religionists, he took part in the formation of the New Churchmen's Single Tax League.

In order better to carry out the purpose of this League, as well as to aid in other

ways in the diffusion of the principles which underlie the single tax, the New Earth was established, the first number appearing November, 1890. This little paper has subscribers in almost every part of the civilized world, and is doing a work peculiarly its own. Mr. Filmer has been from the first the secretary of the League, as well as the business manager and one of the editors of the paper.

ROGER Q. MILLS ON FREE TRADE.

Last Friday evening Roger Q. Mills was received by the Reform Club, at New York, by a large representation of its membership; and, upon being introduced by E. Ellery Anderson, the president, he said:

There are ties that bind together the hearts of collaborators in a great and patriotic cause. You have accomplished much since your organization—much for the cause which you have at heart—and it must be a source of profound gratification to you and to all the friends of pure and just government to look back over the field where we have all toiled, and see what advances have been made by the missionaries who have been sowing the seed, and are waiting in patience and faith for the coming of the harvest.

Perhaps there has been no time for a number of years when it was more necessary for us to work—work steadily, zealously and persistently—than at the present time. The cause which we all have so much at heart, from some reason not necessary for me to mention, has received a check. The minds of many of our people are wavering. Our columns that were marching, as it were, to victory, seem to have halted somewhere. They seem to be staggering, and a great body of the army of tariff reformers are anxiously inquiring, what is the matter? Why are we in this condition? Some of our leaders say, in order to try to reassure the confidence of the people, that we are not going to take any step backward. To take no step backward does not satisfy the people. To take no step backward may be to stand still. To stand still is to stagnate, and to stagnate is to die. Motion is the law of life. We must either advance or retreat. If we retreat our troops become demoralized, our army is lost, and the enemy captures us, bag and baggage. We must advance.

A distinguished leader of our party [Senator Hill] says that we must retreat—go back to the tariff of 1883 and accept that as the final settlement of all that we desire. He forgets that the tariff act of 1883 received almost the solid condemnation of every Democratic voter in the House of Representatives and the Senate when it was passed. He forgets that since 1883 a Democratic House, under the leadership of William R. Morrison, made two bills to repeal that tariff act and substitute a better in its stead. He forgets that for the long years that have intervened, the Democratic party have denounced that act and branded it as a counterfeit to the people of the United States. He forgets that the Democratic President, and the only one that we have had for thirty years, arraigned that tariff bill before the bar of Congress and the country. He forgets that a Democratic House of Representatives passed a bill to modify that and make it a better bill than it was, and that a Democratic National Convention indorsed that measure, and that a majority of the people of the United States at the polls have condemned the bill. The man who says that we have got to accept the high protective Republican tariff of 1883 as a Democratic measure, has lingered too long in the rear, among the camp followers, deserters, and sutlers.

No, gentlemen. We don't intend to retreat. We don't intend to stand still one single moment. We don't intend to go back one single inch. We are for war, ruthless, eternal, uncompromising war with wrongs.

Our fathers granted to us a free government. We have established free institutions. We have secured free thought, and free speech, and free press, and free religion, and free labor; and we intend to press on until we capture the last gem that burns in the constellation of liberty by restoring to our people the God-given right of free trade.

We have got to take a bolder ground than we have ever taken before. The people of the United States have always been ahead of their leaders on these questions. We have got to go forward. We have got to redeem the pledges that we have made to the country. We have got to frame a tax bill upon a scientific principle. That principle is to untax all material that goes into the manufacture of a finished product that goes to market. Why? For the simple reason that you reduce the cost of production of the finished article and you enable it to go into any market, foreign and domestic, and successfully compete with all rivals. Why do you want to do that? Because you give employment to all the labor of your people, and the employment of the national labor of a country is the great central fact in all this question around which every other fact revolves as a mere secondary.

When you have untaxed wool, and hemp, and jute, and flax, and fibres, and ores, and coal, and pig metal, and metal in bars, blooms, slabs and sheets, everything that has to be manufactured before it goes into final consumption, then put a revenue duty on the finished article, and not one farthing above a revenue duty. Why? Because when you put a revenue duty upon the finished article you increase its home consumption, and when you increase the home consumption of an article you increase the home production, and when you increase the home production you increase the employment of the labor of your people at home.

We must look at all these things, and when we talk them on the stump and get to the place where the people elect us to redeem these pledges we must, as honest and honorable men, redeem them.

Wherever the flag flies towards larger liberty, larger trade, and freer trade, there I'll follow. I'll follow wherever the flag waves. It makes no difference who carries it; and I'll fight wherever the battle is pitched. But my idea of fighting is to go at it in earnest, and tear the whole tree up by the roots.

The nearer that we can approach to free trade the better it will be for us. The bolder our measures the wiser those measures. The nearest approach to free trade is the nearest approach to the laws of nature, and the nearer we approach to the laws of nature we come closer and closer in conformity with those laws, and the closer we conform to them in all our conduct the larger will be the beneficence which we will receive from the hands of Him who made those laws to govern the conduct of our fellow-men as they journey through the cycles of human life.

THE SITUATION IN KANSAS.

QUINCEY A. GLASS.

By the death of Senator Plumb the Republicans of Kansas lost their most efficient leader. A man of wonderful industry, and most fertile in resources, he retained to the last the confidence and affection of the people of the State. No other public man was so approachable and so ready to listen to any request from the least of his constituents. It is said of him that he never received a letter without answering it, no matter who was the writer. His death adds to the trouble with which the Republican party of the State is confronted. His successor is as offensively Republican as any of the candidates for Senatorial honors, with the possible exception of Major J. K. Hudson, of the Topeka Capital. In his last campaign for Congress Mr. Perkins distinguished himself by wearing, and calling attention to, a twelve dollar suit of clothes, which he declared was good enough for him or other people, and also good enough to run for Congress in. As the district turned him down by over five thousand majority, it is evident that the suit was not good enough to be elected in. It is confidently believed that when Mr. Perkins returns to Kansas for the fall campaign he will leave his twelve dollar suit at home.



From the election of November last the People's party came forth unshaken. A little chastened in spirit, perhaps, a little less of exuberance manifest in its demeanor; but undismayed and unsubdued, its members have already commenced work for the campaign of this year. The election of 1891 demonstrated the same condition of affairs to exist as in 1890. The Democratic party holds the balance of power in the State. The Republican effort in 1891 was to array the Democratic and People's parties against each other. The fight this year will be made on the same line. But there is much more at stake than last year. In a national campaign the Democrats can hardly afford to vote the Republican ticket. There is to elect the Governor and State officers, eight Congressmen and both Houses of the Legislature. The Legislature has the election of a United States Senator to fill the unexpired term and the Senate elected will have a vote in two elections of United States Senators. Then one-half of the county officers are to be elected. Kansas politics, always interesting, bid fair to be exceedingly so this year.

As for the causes which induced Democrats to vote the Republican ticket, there was the feeling on the part of some that the Democrats had not been fairly used, of others that if the People's party was defeated its members would join the Democratic party.

There was bitter opposition to the sub-Treasury scheme, and just before the election the State Alliance, in convention at Salina, endorsed the National Union Company. This action undoubtedly frightened merchants and business men. It was the misfortune of the Alliance, as it was of the Grange, that its first efforts were apparently directed against the retail merchant. I think that now the majority of Alliance members consider the starting of Alliance stores a mistake. In consequence the Alliance is dropping out of the mercantile business as rapidly as possible.

The Topeka Capital has declared that if the February convention at St. Louis fails to declare for a third party the former Republicans in the People's party will return to the Republican party. The Capital publishes its desire rather than its belief. A year ago the Alliance was opened to the discussion of the tariff question, and for a year and more the reform press of the State has been showing the absurdity of the theory that a protective tariff would raise wages or the price of farm products. The work has been thoroughly done, and not soon will an 82,000 majority again be given in this State for a protective tariff. In this work the Democratic party and press has taken little part. The work done by the reform press, while it has shattered the protection delusion, has left its readers with the idea that the question is of minor importance and to be pushed aside for the present. Here is a great field for single tax work, and the ground lies fallow. The members of the People's party in this vicinity are not unfriendly to the single tax. Some of them believe in it, others are studying it. A majority of them, without doubt, favor an income tax.

But the cooler study of economical questions will soon be dropped for the more absorbing interest of campaign politics. The Republican sentiment appears mostly to favor Blaine for President. The Democratic sentiment is for Cleveland or a western man. The combined opposition to the Republican party is enough to carry the State against the Republicans, if concentrated. The membership of the People's party is much larger than that of the Democratic party. Whether any honorable and fair basis can be found for an agreement between the People's and Democratic parties remains to be seen. But whoever tries to foresee the coming result in Kansas will make a mistake if he fails to consider that with unfaltering courage, unflagging zeal and steadfast loyalty to principle and to each other, the members of the People's party are taking their places for the contest of 1892.

Quincey A. Glass, of Winfield, Kan., was born October 1st, 1845, at Pavilion Centre, Genesee County, N. Y. His parents moved to Marengo, Illinois, in 1857, where he lived on a farm until the fall of 1863, when his father moved to Southern New Jersey, locating in a little village called Newfield, four miles north of Vineland. In the Spring of 1867, in broken health, his father removed to Illinois, where he died in 1871. Mr. Glass worked first in a boot and shoe store, then in a drug store. In 1870 he went to Nebraska City, Neb., as prescription clerk, where he remained a year and a

half, going to Chicago in time to see the great fire of October, 1871. After working for "Wich & Knox, manufacturers of flavoring extracts for six years, first as shipping clerk, then as foreman and then as traveling salesman in the territory from Chicago to Galveston south and to Salt Lake west, he located at Winfield, Kan., June, 1872, and has been in the drug business there ever since.

He went to Kansas a Republican, having no very decided views on political economy, except that a protective tariff robbed people west of the Missouri river. He believed, however, that George William Curtis and his associates were right in advocating the reformed system of Civil Service. He voted for Cleveland twice, first on his personal record, as compared with Mr. Blaine's, and the second time on the tariff question. He was thoroughly converted to single tax ideas in the summer of 1890.

Mr. Glass has worked with the People's party since its organization, because it seemed to him the only way to accomplish anything in Kansas.

A POLITICAL TENDENCY.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

I am informed that there has for some time been an understanding between the leaders of the Democratic and the People's parties that there should be a union of forces on Congressional and State issues in Kansas. The part of the understanding that is not clear as yet is as to the terms of the agreement. What the Alliance offers is to give to the Democrats two Congressional districts, the Alliance taking the remaining five and the district at large. As to the State ticket the Alliance offers the Democrats the nomination of candidate for Judge of the Supreme Court and takes all the rest of the ticket for itself.

The two Kansas districts in which it is proposed the Democrats shall nominate are the First and Second, represented in the present Congress by two Republicans, Broderick and Funston, respectively. The Democratic vote in the last Congressional election was in the former district heavier and in the latter district lighter than the Alliance vote. The two votes added together would overwhelm the Republican vote, even supposing neither the Alliance nor the Democracy gained anything over the previous election. But the strong probability, the Alliance people say, is that the Alliance will gain everywhere in the State. In last year's election there was a large increase in the stay-at-home vote, there being a falling off of 40,000 votes from the vote of the year before, yet the People's party made a gain of 7,000.

What the Alliance people say is true of Kansas, they also say is true of Nebraska, South Dakota, and Minnesota; that a fusion of the People's and the Democratic parties can sweep the Republicans out of the field. "There is a natural affinity between our party and the Democratic party," said a Western Alliance Congressman to me; "both are traveling the same road, whatever minor differences may appear between them, and both have the same enemy to meet. Sooner or later it seems clear that the two parties must merge into one—a real Jeffersonian party, whatever its name may be."

The close affinity that is here spoken of has certainly been manifested many times in this Congress by both Democrats and Western Alliance men, while the Southern Alliance members have all, with the exception of Watson of Georgia, gone into the Democratic caucus. There has been a fast growing disposition on the part of the Western Alliance members to drop the Government land loan and warehouse schemes which have been the great bar between them and the Democrats. Indeed, it is being made plain that great numbers of the Alliance people advocated these ideas, not because they believed they were right in principle, but because they believed this would be the most effectual way of forcing on general attention the fact that government credit and government warehouses have long been employed for the benefit of the banking and liquor interests. If the principle be right in these instances, they say, there can be no logical objection to extending it to the farmers, the great mass of whom are sorely in need of aid. If the principle be wrong for the farmers, then it is wrong for any other class, and should be abolished. It is the latter view that has been spreading through the Alliance movement.

That the assimilation has already set in is shown in the movement toward fusion in State and Congressional politics west of the Mississippi, and the strong effort toward fusion in the South on the Presidential issue. Watson, of Georgia, is the only one of the Southern members of Congress who has declared for a separate party. What strengthens his position is the inactivity of the Democratic House of Representatives. Two months have elapsed since Congress opened, and nothing has been done. This has bred much discontent throughout the South, and every day of inactivity but adds to the dissatisfaction. It is upon this delay that Watson and his friends are largely relying for success at the Alliance conference in St. Louis, on the 22d inst., where it is to be decided whether or not there shall be a third party in the Presidential field. "The Democratic House of Representatives has not yet done anything to redeem its radical promises," said an Alliance leader to me a few days ago. "It has not done anything, and we believe it won't do anything. It is highly disorganized. Its councils are divided. Some of its managers, like Gorman and Hill, are clearly reactionary with regard to its chief issue, the tariff, upon which it should take an advanced position, and upon which the Alliance is extremely radical. The fact is, it has too strong a conservative element to give us any hope that it will take a bold stand on any question, and the only course left for us is to put a party of our own in the Presidential field."

Since the Western free silver Democrats have begun to show a disposition to allow the silver question to drop for the present and agree to make the tariff the single issue of the fight, the edge has been taken off the opposition to Cleveland among those Alliance people who will vote the fusion tickets and who are disposed to vote for the Democratic candidate for President. Yet to link a name with Wall Street seems just now to hoodoo it for Alliance men. They say that some Western man like Morrison or Palmer, or even a less known man of pro silver views, would make a stronger Democratic candidate, and so would draw off more of their vote. But, however this may be, and a variety of views are expressed, one thing most of the Alliance leaders agree upon, and that is that as surely as an Alliance Presidential candidate enters the field, that surely will neither one

of the candidates of the two great parties get a majority of the votes in the Electoral College. This would throw the election into the House of Representatives, and as the present Democratic House would be the body that would be called upon to act, its decision would elect a Democratic President.

In brief, then, it is presumed that the People's party movement retains that political power it developed two years ago; that, besides electing many of its own candidates this fall, it will help to elect a number of Democratic Congressmen who could not otherwise be elected, it may indirectly elect a Democratic President, and in the near future it will call forth a new and radical Democratic party, either under the Democratic or some other name.

THE POOR MILLIONAIRES OF CINCINNATI.

KLATES.

The "Charity Ball" that lately came off in Cincinnati was a swell affair in fashionable circles, and was made the occasion of a display of jewelry so costly and dazzling that the daily papers discoursed upon the "great society event," under bold headlines, as evidence of the immense wealth of Cincinnati, to say nothing of her "munificent philanthropy." It has been observed, however, that only the merest fraction of all this wonderful wealth of Cincinnati has ever come to light on the tax duplicate.

The Cincinnati Post suggests an amusing explanation for this enormous discrepancy between the personal property owned by these wealthy people and the values returned by them for taxation. It says: "Perhaps in some instances the jewels were borrowed from friends or relatives for the occasion," and it offers the ironical reflection that "it is refreshing to know that if these precious stones were purchased for the occasion, the ladies will have something elegant to exhibit when the next Charity ball is given; and the tax duplicate will next spring be increased to a large extent by the returns made to the assessors." Of the very wealthy patrons of this affair who were either present or represented, there were at least eleven persons who have for years been known as possessed of from two to eight millions. The wife of one of these millionaires wore, besides other rich jewels, a tiara which alone is said to have cost \$20,000.

The Post says her husband is assessed on the tax duplicate as owning \$1,500 worth of jewels. He is a very kind-hearted and popular man, and is widely known for his liberality and many charities. He is a devout church member, too, and I presume his conscience is perfectly easy on the subject of his taxes. Doubtless he feels as nine out of ten taxpayers anywhere would feel, that he is lucky to get off so lightly. Or possibly he does not think he is getting off lightly, for the Post names other millionaires whose returns of jewelry to the assessors only run from \$200 to \$1,000. Of the wealthy company that filled Music Hall that night the papers named over eighty persons who were especially conspicuous for their elegant attire and jewels.

If the wealthiest of these are assessed at only \$100 or so for \$10,000 worth of property, the fact should furnish food for thought for our farmer friends and small capitalists who are determined to "make these millionaires pay taxes according to their means." For most of these tax evaders are amiable people (say nothing of being devout Christians), who really don't mean to do anything very wrong, and don't think it is wrong to get off with as light a tax as possible, and in this, I for one, cannot wholly disagree with them; even the people who are clamoring for stricter tax laws and grumbling about the evasions of millionaire tax dodgers would doubtless do something like it themselves.

HEART OF SORROW.

BY FRANCES M. MILNE.

Heart of Sorrow! beating faintly,
All thy pulses ebbing low—
Be thou sinful, be thou salutly—
Here is comfort for thy woe:
Life shall yet "add joy to duty."
God hath made his purpose plain:
And, renewed in Eden beauty,
Earth shall blossom once again.

Heart of Sorrow! faintly thrilling,
Full and vital thou shalt throb!
Every vein with rapture filling,
Hushed for aye thy quivering sob.
Not for fear (thy anger quelling),
Not for stifled mourning low,
Patient grief, or wild rebelling,
Do thy generous currents flow.

Heart of Sorrow! bruised and bleeding,
Balm for thee shall yet be found.
Oh, thy Father's care is heedling,
And His hand shall staunch thy wound.
Over all His sunlight shining,
Blesseth evil, blesseth good;
And Earth's children, life divining,
Learn at last of Brotherhood.

Heart of Sorrow! faint no longer:
Love's electric pulse is thine.
Every moment, fuller—stronger,
Beats the answering joy divine.
Soon, in heavenly exaltation,
Man shall own the sacred tie,
And the anthem of creation—
"Glory be to God on high!"

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all, and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—Journal of the Knights of Labor, September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—New York Times, January 10, 1891.

The best and surest subject of taxation is the thing that perforce stays in one place; that is land.—New York Sun, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the assessor's books—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—Detroit News, November 1, 1891.

The Bee does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it pauses only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—Sacramento (Cal.) Bee.

The National Committee is carrying on the newspaper work of the Memphis committee in supplying news companies with single tax matter for their ready prints and plates, and is preparing the petition for presentation to Congress.

Contributions for running expenses of office for week ending February 8 are as follows:

Lawrence Dunham, New York City, on account subscription.....	\$30.00
H. J. Simonton, Dach City, Fla.....	2.00
	32.00
Reported last week.....	27.81
Total.....	\$59.81
Less amount paid A. N. Kellogg Newspaper Co. for single tax moulds and composition.....	\$52.50

Cash on hand February 8..... \$7.31

Contributions to special fund for preparing petition for presentation for week ending February 8 are as follows:

G. A. Macfarlane, Jasper, Ala., \$5; D. O. Smith, Mobile, Ala., \$1; S. M. Dinkins, Lowndesboro, Ala., \$1; Neil McClellan, Sharon, Ala., \$1; E. Q. Norton, Daphne, Ala., \$1; W. J. Ogden, Baltimore, Md., \$10; H. F. Ring, Houston, Tex., \$10; Frank W. Lynch, Dos Palos, Cal., \$1; Wm. B. Du Bois, Bayonne, N. J., \$5; "S. T.," Paterson, N. J., 50 cents; Wm. Mathews, Black Butte, Wyo., \$5.	
Total for week.....	\$40.50
Previously acknowledged.....	81.00
Total.....	\$121.50

The binding of the petition will be completed this week, and there will then only remain the making of a case to hold the books. If our friends in Congress give the word the petition can be presented the last of this month. The enrollment stands as follows:

Signatures received this week.....	67
Previously reported.....	115,267
Total.....	115,334

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK CITY.—There was a large attendance at the monthly meeting of the Manhattan Single Tax Club last Thursday evening. The managing board reported their work done since the last meeting, at which they were empowered to form the Democratic Free Trade League. A general committee, consisting of three delegates from each of twelve Assembly districts, had been organized, an executive committee appointed, an address to the free traders of New York was being prepared, and the work of enrollment was progressing.

Members were present who lived in six of the districts not yet canvassed, and they pledged themselves to begin work immediately. Three other districts were arranged for, making in all twenty-one districts which are either organized or in process of organization.

On Monday evening there was a large meeting of the central committee of the Democratic Free Trade League. An executive committee was formed, consisting of the chairman of each of the Assembly districts represented in the central committee. The districts in which there is no organization as yet are: First, Third, Eighth, Twelfth, Fourteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first. The executive committee is to meet at 73 Lexington avenue this (Wednesday) evening, when steps will be taken to complete the organization of the city.

J. Hamilton Dillon, of the Twenty-third Assembly District Committee on Organization, is responsible for the unique postal card which has attracted attention in his district. As some free traders residing in the Twenty-third may not have received it, Mr. Dillon requests them to forward their addresses to him at 64 East One Hundred and Fourteenth street.

OWEGO.—Michael J. Murray, writes: Five or six of our best workers have been forced to move elsewhere to find employment, and that has left us without any real organization here, though we have about ten out and out single tax men left who are earnest and persevering. In the last year we have sold about eighty copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" fifty of "Progress and Poverty," and about twenty of "Social Problems" to the best thinking people of the town. And while I don't know of any real converts to the single tax, I have heard the idea complimented by some of our foremost business men. There are to my knowledge three free traders in Owego to-day for every one there was two years ago. There is a very strong Cleveland sentiment among the business men and laboring men.

BINGHAMPTON.—John H. Blakeney writes: After reading and briefly discussing chapter 7, of "Protection or Free Trade?" at the last meeting of our social science club, the time was devoted to consideration of the early Democratic convention in this State, its meaning, assured character and possible result. The feeling against the machine and its doings was unanimous and strong, and the hope was shared in by all that the New York movement against the convention would result in effective opposition throughout the State.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Geo. E. Chase writes: Three meetings are held regularly every Sunday in different parts of the city, also regular meetings every Thursday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings, and on the second Tuesday evening of every month, at the rooms of the Philadelphia Single Tax Society, opposite City Hall. Meetings are held every other Tuesday evening at Germantown. All these meetings are advertised by means of hand bills, cards, posters, and in the newspapers, inviting people to come and discuss with us the subjects of suffrage, tariff, single tax, etc. We also arrange now and then for special meetings, have a prominent speaker to address us, and are always rewarded with large and enthusiastic audiences. Our single tax paper, Justice, is very popular, and has a large circulation, both local and national, and is used largely as a means of propaganda.

Last Saturday evening the money question came to the top, and all present wrestled with the old problem, "Does the volume of currency fix prices?" Messrs. Stephens and Anderson, in answer to questions, explained the single tax for strangers present.

On Sunday evening a quotation from the Journal of the Knights of Labor on competition was discussed, and later on a chapter was read from the "Land Question," followed by lively discussion. During the evening Mr. Booz explained his own plan of free trade and single tax campaign. Mr. Herwig also explained methods for catching flies with molasses rather than with vinegar, or rather by making converts by means of avoiding the arousing of people's prejudices. By request, Mr. Hetzel then explained the single tax for visitors present.

On Thursday evening several State Socialists were present. Mr. Burleigh read a chapter from the "Land Question," and then an animated discussion took place, occupying the whole evening. The Socialists, of course, argued for the parental form of government, and complete control of individuals and all industry by the State. The fallacy of such a system was completely exposed by Messrs. Brown, Stephenson, Frost, Walters, and Stephens, who took part in the debate.

Last Sunday evening a single tax meeting was held in a large public hall, and although the weather was stormy, an audience of over five hundred people were present. The programme consisted of vocal and instrumental music by O. F. Roller, Mrs. Burleigh, and F. G. Cauffman, an address on the single tax by A. H. Stephenson, and an illustrated lecture, "Henry George and His Theory," by J. C. Frost.

On Tuesday, February 16th, Henry George will deliver a lecture on "Moses" at Musical Fund Hall.

POTTSWORTH.—George Auchey writes: We have lately adopted a method of propaganda from which we hope for some returns. Knowing the disinclination of business men and manufacturers to read any article on any new, and, to them, uninteresting subject, except it be very brief and come from what they consider good authority, we have had printed a number of tracts to fit their case which we mail, one each week. These tracts are made up of the opinions of well-known and respected men and journals. A year (we have about a hundred of them) of steady hammering of this kind ought to make some impression, even on the most indifferent, after which the longer STANDARD tracts will be effective.

We also have a local weekly paper, The Tax Reformer, printed by the St. Louis Syndicate, which is gaining in circulation.

The worst-disliked and distrusted man in public life among the Democrats just now seems to be Senator Hill. This section is strongly for Cleveland, and the Democrats around here are mad enough at Hill to eat him.

MASSACHUSETTS

NEW BEDFORD.—At the Unity Club a free trade essay, read before a general audience of fifty people, so completely floored the protection doctrine that no protectionist ventured to reply.

RHODE ISLAND.

LONSDALE.—Dr. Garvin writes concerning the effort now being made to secure local option in taxation for the town of Cumberland: On Thursday, the 4th inst., a hearing was given to the petitioners by the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Much interest was manifested, as shown by the appearance of citizens of the town, both for and against the proposition, before the committee, and by the presence of quite a number of persons residing elsewhere. The number of petitioners up to that date was 500, almost all of them from the larger, the manufacturing, district, whose total number of qualified electors this year must be about 1,200. Of 300 real estate voters in this district 85 had signed the petition. By invitation of the petitioners, few of whom were accustomed to public speaking or could attend the hearing, two gentlemen from Boston appeared in their behalf. The hearing continued for two hours, Edwin M. White, Esq., and Wm. A. Macleod, Esq., occupying most of the time.

The hearing was then adjourned for one week, at which time an opportunity will doubtless be given to the opponents of the measure to express their views. The address of Mr. Macleod was well reported by the Providence Journal.

VIRGINIA.

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.—M. R. Levenson writes: At the last meeting of the Single Tax Democratic Club of Virginia, No. 1, the rest of Chapter II. and the greater part of Chapter III. of "Progress and Poverty" were read and discussed. Progress is being made in clearing up "the cobwebs of the brain" of different members. One constant difficulty is the desire of the members to have doubts and questions resolved in advance of the steps necessary to their understanding the solution. This is a difficulty which all persons who endeavor to teach any branch of sociology experience. It arises from two causes. In the case of those who have studied economic science, from the errors which they have been taught, and in the case of all persons, from the fact that some sort of answer is made by nearly everyone, no matter how little they know of the subject, upon all sociological questions, and that because such subjects are thrust upon them as they meet them in every-day life.

Hence, a mass of prejudices which have to be rooted out, "here a little and there a little," with abundance of mental fatigue. Hence, too, the positive criminality of our educational authorities in failing to have the subject taught by qualified persons in our common schools.

OHIO.

TROY.—T. Wheaton writes: This is a beautiful little city of about five thousand population. Until the past year it had very little good paving. After some agitation on this subject a special act was passed authorizing the town council to pave at the cost of abutting property. The act authorized the issue of five-year bonds, so that those who were not able to pay for the improvement all at once could pay in installments.

A large amount of paving was done last year under this plan, and more will be done the present year. The only "kickers" were the owners of vacant lots. The bill which conferred this power was drafted by a lawyer and ex-Mayor of the city, who had little or no knowledge of the single tax, and when approached on that subject denounced it as "a robber scheme." Of course, we single taxers handled him tenderly, and commended his bill. He has now announced himself as a candidate for Mayor at the spring elections, and we shall vote for him.

A few Sundays ago I met a gentleman with whom I had a very slight acquaintance. Our conversation drifted upon crops, land, improvements, taxes, etc., and finally he said in the most vigorous language that he believed that all taxes ought to be collected off of land. Concealing my own views I questioned him, and ascertained that he had read very little about the question, but that he clearly saw the injustice of land monopoly and the way to prevent it. I write of this incident (and I know many more) to show that there is an undercurrent stronger than the surface movement. If any single taxer is despondent over the slowness of the progress of the cause, as it appears to him, he is not a close observer. We have no organization here, but are skirmishing and never allow an opportunity to make a point to pass.

IOWA.

CEDAR RAPIDS.—L. G. Booth writes: At a meeting of our club and a few invited guests, W. E. Brokaw told us "Why the single tax will be adopted in the near future." He began by citing the countries where the principle has gained the largest acceptance—New Zealand, New South Wales, South Australia, British Columbia—explaining in each case the character of the laws passed and the extent of the adoption of the principle.

Reviewing the movement in Scotland and England, he showed the influence on legislation and then explained the effect of partial adoption for local purposes in the various towns and cities in the United States, closing his speech by defining the philosophy and stating the principles upon which its arguments are based. The latter portion of the address was a singularly clear and concise statement of our theories, and the wry attention of those not familiar indicated an intense interest in the subject.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Warren Worth Bailey writes: A heavy calamity has befallen John Z. White in the death of his only sister, Mabel, who died, a victim of pneumonia superinduced by overwork. Like her brother, Miss White was remarkable for intellectual gifts. She had gone into the battle of life with a brave and independent spirit, and her abilities were such as to command success. But in the flower of her womanhood she has fallen and all her fair promise is broken to the hope and gone forever. During the whole of November and December she worked all day and late into every night, her duties as the manager of a large jewelry house demanding this remorseless sacrifice of energy and vitality. She was naturally strong, but this drain upon her endurance was too great. Disease fell upon her and she had no strength left for resistance. It was an unequal struggle from the outset, and she succumbed as one must whose vitality has been drained to the bottom by the exhausting cares of business. At the funeral a number of single tax friends of the family were present and the club on Thursday evening adopted appropriate resolutions of sympathy.

Dr. John Gibbons, editor of the Chicago Law Journal, spoke to us Thursday evening on "The Redemption of Farm Mortgages by the Government, and other Federal Aid to Farmers." Mr. Walter F. Cooling opened the discussion, and Clarence Moeller and Stoughton Cooley spoke briefly, while the Rev. Mr. Cleare, pastor of the Englewood Swedenborgian Church, gave a minute's talk that showed the club what a gain it has made in his accession to its ranks. In closing, Dr. Gibbons announced himself a free trader and repeated that he was not to be understood as an opponent of the single tax.

On the same evening the Sunset Club was discussing the question "How to Uplift the Masses." It was ladies' night, and 600 women and men sat around the banqueting board and listened to the addresses that followed the feast. Mrs. J. M. Flower denounced charity as a failure, and said the poor did not want alms, but justice. But she was decidedly hazy as to what justice was. She wanted, among other things, a lot of inspection officers to look after factories, and tenements, and child labor.

In commenting on Mrs. Flower's address, the Daily News says of the tumble-down, unhealthy, overcrowded tenement house:

"The assessor is the man to deal with this last problem. Its solution is simple and sovereign. The tumble-down tenement lingers only because the assessor treats it tenderly. It will go when the ground upon which it stands is assessed at its value relatively to ground upon which good buildings have been erected. Otherwise it will stay and continue to pollute morals, degrade citizenship, breed crime, and sow the seeds of pestilence."

The next meeting of the club will be addressed by Mr. Josiah Edson. The following Thursday evening the speaker will be the Rev. Joseph Adams, of Ravenswood. Following him will come the Rev. A. John Cleare, pastor of the New Church Chapel of Englewood. Another address by Thomas W. Handford, the orator of our club, is promised for an early date.

BLOOMINGTON.—Edward Homer Bailey writes: The single tax men of Bloomington and Normal (the latter place the college suburb of Bloomington) held their first public meeting on February 8th, when a temporary organization was perfected. There were twenty-two persons present, ten

being avowed single taxers and twelve on the point of embracing the cat. Prof. David Felmsley, of the Normal University, was chosen president, and Edward Homer Bailey, secretary, each of whom addressed the meeting. Professor Felmsley explained the nature of our movement in a highly creditable manner. He is a pleasant talker and is thoroughly grounded. Rev. H. O. Hoffman, one of most talented and celebrated divines in the State, gave the gratifying information that he was a firm believer in the single tax. He declared it to be the true gospel and, from a moral point of view, the grandest movement of the age. Mr. B. F. Vaughan, a Normal student, made a few forceful and intelligent remarks, showing that he was master of the single tax. Among others present was an enthusiastic single taxer in the person of Charles Cumming, a nephew of Robert Cumming, so well known to all friends of the cause. The next meeting will be held Friday evening, February 19th, when Rev. H. O. Hoffman, B. F. Vaughan, and Edward Homer Bailey will submit a constitution and by-laws for adoption, after which a permanent organization will be perfected.

ELGIN.—Percy Roberts writes: At the last regular meeting of the club ten new members joined. The membership roll is increasing rapidly. A. B. Crawford, a new member of the club, presented some very striking figures to illustrate how the single tax would work in Elgin.

A new weekly paper has been started here called the Elgin Dial, devoted to the single tax and free trade.

Single tax men will have a fight on their hands here in the spring. The citizens will have an opportunity to vote as to whether a piece of property now owned by a land syndicate shall be purchased for park purposes. We hold that the money for such purchase should be obtained by special assessment of the property benefited.

We expect E. G. Brown, of Chicago, to address the club on February 16.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis.—L. P. Custer writes: The league occupies the new quarters in the Bowman block, Eleventh and Locust streets. The officers for the ensuing six months are: President, J. W. Steele; first vice-president, H. G. Helgold; second vice-president, Mr. Gorse, editor of the Chronicle; secretary, L. P. Custer.

A great deal of interest is shown in the project of a dinner by single taxers at one of the best hotels of the city. Already a number of prominent individuals, including Dr. Short, of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, have signified their desire to participate. We have many avowed believers in the single tax among our prominent business and professional citizens.

TEXAS.

Houston.—E. W. Brown writes: Governor St. John lectured on "Prohibition" and we propounded questions as to wages and rents. He had a fine audience and proved to be a champion on the side of free trade, but not much of a champion in regard to prohibition. He spoke very highly of single tax men and their work. We invited the W. C. T. U., under whose auspices he lectured, to visit us and talk over the matter. They did so in large numbers and got so interested that we adjourned the discussion to the first Tuesday in March. In the meantime the ladies are coming up every week to join in our discussions, so that they may become acquainted with our principles.

SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—S. M. Burroughs writes: The same old question of the land needs adjustment here as well as in America, England, or Australasia. The exemption of land values from taxation is brought about here through the extort taxes on food and other articles of consumption and use. For instance, the tax on wines coming into the city is 100 per cent.—three dollars on every 100 litres of wine which are sold outside the city at \$3.

During the past twenty years the city has extended westward over lands which were used for pasture and kitchen gardens. Splendid avenues, like the Calce Cortez, lined with splendid houses and vacant lots, are here, the vacant lots selling at the rate of \$5 for sixty-four square inches, called a palma. There are some good free trade papers here, which, it is likely, will advocate the single tax.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Division A—Senator Geo. W. Plunkett, 323 West Fifty-first street, New York City. Senator Geo. Z. Irwin, Potsdam, N. Y.

Division B—Senator Edward Floyd Jones, South Oyster Bay, N. Y. Senator Jas. T. Edwards, Randolph, N. Y.

Division C—Assemblyman Solon S. Laing, East Otto, N. Y. Assemblyman E. E. Woodbury, Jamestown, N. Y.

Division D—Assemblyman J. A. Vandewater, New Hamburg, N. Y. Assemblyman Water D. Palmer, Essex, N. Y.

Write above urging passage of the Connelly Bill. See pages 2 and 4 of STANDARD, February 3 and this issue. Two names are given each division, and I would suggest that duplicate letters be sent if short of time.

Division E—Hon. Robert Macrone, Thompsonville, Conn.; has served several terms in the Connecticut legislature; is a free trader and would be a valuable ally; knows a little about the single tax, and is willing to hear more.

Division F—Rev. Emory J. Haynes, People's Church, Columbus avenue, Boston, Mass.; preached January 31st on the sweating system, in which he inveighed against the evils of competition, but offered no remedy.

Division G—J. O. Palmer, Palmyra, N. Y., is an influential man with the farmers.

Division H—Rev. W. O. Shepherd, of Rockford, Ill., recently said in a sermon: "Men may be honest and believe in communism, Henry George land theories, anarchy or atheism. Honest, severe, but demented." Explain the fallacy of putting the single tax in one class with communism and anarchy.

Divisions I and P—Evening Item of Richmond, Ind., in an article criticizing the single tax, says: "Practically the single tax people would take from men their real estate, barring improvements, by taking all that gives it value, its income. When it is remembered that the value that has been

put into land by the present owners is nearly always the fruit of labor, the wrong becomes more apparent."

Division J—Judge A. S. Bennett, The Dalles, Ore., is a Democratic candidate for Congress in Eastern Oregon, and is open to conviction on the subject of the single tax.

Division K—Pensecola, Fla., Commercial would probably be willing to publish letters explaining our principles.

Division L—Donald Bradford, ex-mayor of Helena, said at the meeting of the State Irrigation, Mont., Convention in Helena, in January, that "to set up a barrier between life and the means of sustaining life is an unnatural condition and therefore would not be tolerated for a long period by the people." Show him that his statement applies even more forcibly to land than to water in irrigating ditches.

Division M—Rev. M. D. Gage, Mt. Vernon, Wash., is a public school principal and favorably inclined to our principles.

Divisions N and O—C. L. Smith, editor of the Farmers' Weekly Tribune, of Minneapolis, Minn., advocated a protective policy in a recent address, but appears open to conviction.

1674 Broadway, New York.

MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

DOMESTIC.

The Democratic members of the Connecticut House of Assembly at Hartford refused to accept Speaker Paige's adjournment of the body, and organized after the Republicans had left the chamber. They passed resolutions providing for the punishment of members who absented themselves from the sessions.

The Senate Committee decided to make an adverse report on Senator Stewart's free coinage bill. In the House Mr. Bland is hopeful of getting through the bill he will present next week.

President Harrison has announced the establishment of reciprocal trade relations with the British West Indies. Many products of this country are admitted free to the colonies, and vice versa.

The United States is fifty years ahead of England in the making of boots and shoes, according to expert testimony before the English Royal Labor Commission.

Senator Call, of Florida, has been confirmed in the seat claimed by Davidson, the Governor's appointee.

S. V. White, the bankrupt New York broker, has been readmitted to the Stock Exchange.

The Louisiana Lottery managers announce that the company will not seek a new charter, as the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring the constitutionality of the Federal law excluding from the mails lottery advertisements and newspapers printing them, will make profitable prosecution of the business impossible.

Mr. Blaine has written a letter to T. S. Clarkson, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, announcing that he will not be a candidate before the Republican National Convention for the Presidential nomination.

Acting Gov. Thayer, of Nebraska, yields the office to Gov. Boyd, the Democrat, declared eligible by the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Hotel Royal, Sixth avenue and Fortieth street, New York, was burned Saturday night and a score of lives were lost.

FOREIGN.

Mr. Gladstone has written an article, which will soon be published, in which he reviews the history and condition of the rural population in Great Britain. He thinks the establishment of parish council should be included in any local government bill. Mr. Gladstone says that the land laws and the large holdings they make possible cause much of the rural pauperism.

Sir Morell Mackenzie, the eminent English surgeon, who treated the late Emperor Frederick of Germany, is dead.

Lord Salisbury addressed a large meeting at Exeter on current British politics. He said he was anxious to see small holdings largely increase in number, and made an earnest appeal to his party to resist to the uttermost the granting of home rule for Ireland. He reiterated his threat of some months since that the House of Lords would reject any home rule bill passed in the event of a Liberal majority in the next House of Commons.

Senhor Pioto Carvalho, Administrala General of Customs in the Portuguese Cabinet, has been forced to resign because he advanced more than \$3,000,000 of public money to a railroad of which he was president. He may be impeached.

Many Newfoundlanders have cabled the Queen protesting against the policy of the present local government, and praying that Newfoundland be proclaimed a crown colony. They charge that the fiscal policy of the government has hampered their trade relations with Canada and the United States.

Santos, an important Brazilian port, is likely to be ruined by the prevalence of yellow fever, the result of unsanitary conditions due to neglect.

The McCarthyite section of the Irish Parliamentary party has re-elected Justin McCarthy as leader.

STRAIGHT TALK.

New Bedford (Mass.) Evening Journal.

The closer the United States and England can be brought together in sympathy and in trade relations the better for both. Any attempt to stir up ill-feeling between them, from whatever source, calls for the heartiest condemnation of all right-thinking men.

HE PROFITS BY THE NOTION.

Boston Globe.

What must the Texas ranchman, who has just fenced in a cozy corner lot fifty miles square, think of the new Massachusetts economic notion that "real estate is the creature of its environment?"

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

HISTORY OF LAND TENURES.

A. H. Blain, of Seattle, writes asking THE STANDARD to prepare and publish an article on the history of land tenures. As an exhaustive article on this subject must extend to a large volume, and as any thorough marshaling of facts and statement of various theories touching land tenure would require a long course of reading for anyone but an expert, THE STANDARD cannot undertake now to give more than the bare outline given below, from the pen of Edward N. Vollandigham. Later, perhaps, we may be able to set forth the subject in a series of articles.

"It is well established," Mr. Vollandigham writes, "that land in primitive societies was held in common by the tribe. The chief, although the head of the tribe and the leader in war and peace, was not the owner of the land. Families within the tribe held portions of the land by a more or less permanent term, but seldom or never as absolute property. In many parts of Europe this form of tribal holding, more or less modified, still prevailed. As communities enlarged the importance of tribal chiefs augmented, until they came to be recognized as princes and kings. The feudal system grew partly out of the conquest of one tribe by another, and partly out of increasing complexities of progressive social life. Victorious princes apportioned conquered territory to their soldiers, upon condition of military service. Thus, the prince, instead of the tribe, came to be considered the owner of the land. The great barons on their part farmed out their lands also, upon condition of military service. As the feudal system gradually disappeared, the State came to be maintained by taxes and the great landholders relieved their tenants of military service, and took instead part of the produce as rent. For the most part land is still in theory the property of the State."

ENGLISH SHIPPING SUBSIDIES.

W. B. Mendum, of Boston, Mass., says that it has been asserted, upon what claims to be high authority, that the English Government paid for twenty years a subsidy of \$900,000 per year to two lines of steamers running alternately between Liverpool and New York and Boston, and he asks for the facts.

Captain John Codman writes in reply: I have not the statistics at hand just now, but I think it very possible that M. Mendum is correctly informed. In the early days of the Cunarders the ships were small side-wheelers, of 1,200 or 1,400 tons, with cumbersome machinery, burning an enormous amount of coal, and consequently carrying but a small amount of freight. The object of the establishment of the line was to promote regular postal intercourse, not only with the United States, but with the British colonies, especially with Nova Scotia, which is a rendezvous of the British fleet. So important was this interest that the Government was willing to spend whatever money was necessary to further it. It may be remembered that in the early days of California our own Government paid about an equal sum for the "pony express."

It has been argued by the shipbuilders and the Industrial League that England paid her money for the promotion of shipbuilding, but I have never heard horse dealers argue that the United States paid for the raising of ponies. One claim would be as preposterous as the other. At the present day the railroads have taken the place of the pony express, and improved steel screw steamships have taken the place of the old wooden side-wheelers. Consequently, the mails on land and sea can be carried at vastly less expense, and there is no reason for what would now be considered an extravagant disbursement of money.

OBJECT LESSONS.

This department contains facts, gathered from all parts of the world, that are of current interest and permanent value, and illustrate social and political problems. Information from trustworthy sources is solicited.

MAN IS A GREGARIOUS ANIMAL.

Wm. McCabe.

One of the discoverers of the Comstock silver lead in Nevada, who was lucky enough to grow rich as a result of that discovery, concluded, once upon a time, that he would like to live in a marble palace. He had always been a frontiersman and a mountaineer, and it never struck him that a marble palace would not be as good in one locality as in another; so he picked out a site for his palace in the middle of one of the Nevada plains, miles from any railroad, miles from water, and miles from population. He had his marble cut for him in San Francisco; the palace was practically built before it left that city. It was taken out as far in Nevada as the railroad trains could carry it, and the blocks were then carried on the backs of mules to the site which he had picked out. He built the palace; he had it magnificently furnished; he had beautiful grounds laid; and everything was ready for his occupancy. He lived there a little while, and then found the solitude too much for him. One day he mounted his mule and started off across the plains and never saw his palace again.

RHODE ISLAND SPECIMENS.

Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin.

Cumberland has an iron mountain which experts declare to possess great possibilities of development. It is now lying idle. Twenty thousand dollars invested in machinery, an expert has calculated, would make rich returns to the owners. But as soon as such a plant was put in, the assessors of taxes would forthwith impose upon the corporation a fine of \$180 per annum. Were the single tax in operation the valuable mining opportunity would now be paying to the town \$280 instead of a paltry \$72; and the R. I. Iron and Steel Company would soon see the wisdom of putting in the required machinery, knowing it would be untaxed.

In the southern portion of the town a similar condition of things exists. Large tracts of land, peculiarly adapted for manufacturing purposes, are held out of use by the wealthy non-residents who control them. Although

a new industry located here would be of immense benefit to the people, particularly to the homestead owners of Valley Falls and Lonsdale, it has repeatedly happened that capital seeking investment has received not a welcome but the cold shoulder. This is due directly to our foolish system of taxation. The present tax of the Hopkin and Hewes land, for instance, lying on the New York and New England Railroad, east of Valley Falls, is \$180; under the single tax it would be \$700. Then the owners, finding it to their interest to abandon the role of the dog in the manger, would doubtless be seeking anxiously to give away a site for a factory.

PERSONAL.

John DeWitt Warner, member of Congress from the Eleventh New York District, was born in Yates County, New York, in 1851. His ancestry has been American-born for nearly two hundred years, and in blood he is about one-half Dutch, a quarter English, and the remainder German and Irish. Daniel Warner, his father, was a leading Abolitionist, so zealous in "under-

ground railroad-ing" that "fugitives from labor" were frequently harbored in his house when on their way to Canada.

The Congressman worked on a farm until seventeen years old, and in October, 1868, upon the opening of Cornell University, he entered that institution, graduating in 1872. After editing the Ithaca Daily Leader for a few months, and teaching two years in the Ithaca Academy and two more in the Albany Academy, meantime studying law at the



Albany Law School, he was admitted to the bar. This was in 1872, and since that year he has been in active practice in the City of New York. He was at one time alumni trustee of Cornell University, and is now president of Cornell University Club, and a governor of the Delta Kappa Epsilon, the Shakespearian and the Reform Clubs. He was chairman of the Reform Club's Tariff Reform Committee until he took his seat in Congress; since then he has acted as chairman of the sub-committee on States other than New York.

Mr. Warner is a Democrat in politics and a democrat from principle, and he is utterly opposed to all special privileges; he is an absolute free trader and a single tax man. He was elected to Congress in the fall of 1890, receiving 17,033 votes, while his Republican antagonist received but 8,850, with less than 2,500 scattering. At that time he was not a member of either faction of the Democratic party in the city, but an independent movement resulted in his nomination by both factions. The same movement resulted in the nomination, in a neighboring district, of William T. Croasdale, by the County Democracy, but it did not succeed in Mr. Croasdale's case as it did in that of Mr. Warner in securing the endorsement of Tammany Hall. Mr. Warner is a member, in Congress, of the Committee on Manufactures and of that on Public Buildings and Grounds. He was, of course, an active supporter of Mills in the Speakership contest.

E. E. Hafer, a photographer, of Reading, Penn., says no writer has ever succeeded or can ever succeed in refuting George's position concerning private property in land.

Charles T. Bonney, Jr., sub-master at the high school, New Bedford, Mass., a popular and influential young man, is an avowed believer in the single tax. He has advocated it in a paper read before the Unity Club.

James Vernor, a leading Republican member of the Detroit Common Council, and a prominent druggist, says that the more he thinks on the subject of taxation the more he leans toward the George idea. He sees that the present system taxes the industrious for the benefit of the non-producer.

The Rev. J. C. Mason, of Houston, Texas, pastor of the Christian Church there, and a prominent Prohibitionist, is an outspoken advocate of the single tax.

E. W. Brown, of Houston, Texas, holds regular non-sectarian Sunday evening religious services at a hall in the neighborhood of the residences of the railroad workers, at which the single tax in its religious bearings is presented; or, as Mr. Brown expresses it, the service consists of a short reading from the Scriptures, the singing of hymns, a prayer, and a lecture on the human side of the religion of Jesus Christ, and the application of that religion to our ordinary daily life.

D. Allison, librarian of Knights of Pythias, of San Francisco, is a "wild and woolly" single taxer. He goes to Corvallis, Ore., this spring to enter the book and stationery business and will be a useful ally to the growing single taxers of Benton County.

William Draper Lewis, Ph.D., is the author of a pamphlet recently published by the American Academy of Political and Social Science. The title of the essay is "The Political Organization of a Modern Municipality."

E. H. Underhill has sold out his business in Boston and will settle in New York. In consequence he has resigned his position as secretary of the Massachusetts Single Tax League.

Rev. J. W. Bissell, D.D., president of the Upper Iowa University, an

strong and so situated that there is no possibility of a war being forced upon us. No nation in the world would wantonly attack us, for there is no nation that would not have everything to lose and nothing to gain by doing so. While, even if there is no higher motive to restrain us, there is no nation in the world with which the provoking of war on our part would not mean certainty of loss, without possibility of gain.

It is useless, moreover, because the ships we are building would suffice neither for defensive or offensive war. Modern invention has made them as antiquated as the coat armor of the feudal era. In case of attack from the sea, the modern means of defence consist in the power of concentration brought about by telegraph and railroads, in electricity and high explosives, torpedoes, submarine boats, air ships, and quickly placed obstructions and defences. For aggression abroad power is really measured by the swift merchant ships that can be called into service. We might build up such a navy as that of England, yet England would still be immeasurably our superior for offensive purposes in her merchant steamers. We would be to day superior to England in merchant steamers and the capacity of building them had we not taxed American ships off the high seas. We could remit all taxation on ships and on their materials, with the loss of far less to the revenue than we are now spending on the navy.

It is anti-American, for the reasons that make all standing armies inimical to our traditions and institutions. It is anti American, because organized on aristocratic principles, the impassible distinction between noble and peasant being perpetuated in the distinction between commissioned officers and enlisted men. These men are for the most part foreigners, who are only kept in our naval service, after being inveigled into it, by severe restrictions and a standing reward for running them down if they escape.

It is corruptive, as interesting a large class of permanent office-holders in influencing government, as providing means for debauching politics wherever there is a navy-yard, or a contract to be given out, and as building up corporations whose profits depend on lobbying.

It is dangerous, because it creates an influential class, whose interests are opposed to the interests of the masses of the people, and who desire war for the sake of the importance, the promotion, the contracts and the pickings that war will bring to them. It is dangerous, because the possession of a strong navy fosters among the thoughtless, even those to whom war could bring nothing but injury, the same desire to try it that the possession of a new pea shooter arouses in the small boy.

We have no reason for war, and there is no more need for our building of ironclads than there for the members of the House clothing themselves in armor because Mr. Crisp might go crazy and might fire a blunderbuss from the Speaker's chair. But if we go on building ironclads and sending ships around the world to make themselves unpleasant to even little nations, we are certain sooner or later to get a war on our hands. No such war will provoke others.

Strong as we are, war to us is the greatest of dangers. For setting aside altogether its cost in money and blood, war inevitably demoralizes republican institutions, postpones reforms, strengthens governments at the expense of the people, differentiates classes and places power in the hands of the few. And finally, even when successful, it destroys popular liberty.

Our greatest advantage over European nations is that our strength and our position exempt us from the fears that compel them to stand armed. It ought to be our pride and glory to lead them in what is good, not to ape them in what is bad. The real dangers that beset us are not from without, they are from within, and these dangers no army and no navy can guard against. They can only intensify them.

There are reasons which dispose the unjustly rich to strong and aristocratically organized armies and navies—the reasons which always dispose them to strong government. But for these very reasons, if for no others, the working masses ought to set their faces like flint against them. Standing armies and navies belong to the policy of Hamilton, not to that of Jefferson. They belong to monarchies and imperialisms, not to Democratic Republics.

THE MORTGAGE.

S. W. Foss in Yankee Blade.

He bought in 1663 a farm of stumps and stones, His name was God-Be Glorified, his surname it was Jones,

He put a mortgage on the farm, and then in conscious pride,

"In twenty years I'll pay it up," said God-Be Glorified.

The mortgage had a hungry maw that swallowed corn and wheat;

He toiled with patience night and day to let the monster eat;

He slowly worked himself to death, and on the calm hillside

They laid, beyond the monster's reach, God-Be Glorified.

And the farm with its incumbrances of mortgage, stumps and stones,

It fell to Young Melchizedek Paul Adoniram Jones;

Melchizedek was a likely youth, a holy, godly man,

And he vowed to raise that mortgage like a noble Puritan.

And he went forth every morning to the rugged mountain side,

And he dug, as dug before him, poor old God-Be Glorified;

He raised pumpkins and potatoes down the monster's throat to pour;

He gulped them down and smacked his jaws, and calmly asked for more.

He worked until his back was bent, until his hair was gray—

On the hillside through a snowdrift they dug his grave one day!

His first born son, Eliphalet, had no time to weep and brood,

For the monster by his doorstep growled perpetual for his food.

He fed him on his garden truck, he stuffed his ribs with hay,

And he fed him eggs and butter, but he would not go away;

And Eliphalet he staggered with the burden, and then died

And slept with old Melchizedek and God-Be Glorified.

Then the farm it fell to Thomas, and from Thomas fell to John,

Then from John to Eleazur, but the mortgage still lived on,

Then it fell to Ralph and Peter, Eli, Absalom and Paul;

Down through all the generations, but the mortgage killed them all!

About a score of years ago, the farm came down to Jim—

And Jim called in the mortgagee and gave the farm to him,

There's no human heart so empty that it has no ray of hope,

So Jim gave up the ancient farm and went to making soap.

He grew a fifty-millionaire, a bloated, pampered nature,

He owned ten railroads, twenty mines, and the whole State Legislature;

And thousands did his gruff commands, and lived upon his bounty;

And he came home, bought back the farm, and the entire county.

PROVERBS.

Nineteenth Century.

The Turks have proverbs without number, and very polished and cynical Turkish proverbs are. The taciturn Arabs prefer proverbs to every other form of speech, and use them with singular dignity and aptness. The Koran seems to have been enriched with them for the express purpose of quotation. The Chinese are very prone to cruel little cold-blooded proverbs, as oblique as their eyes, but full of grim sagacity. The Japanese rejoice in flowery maxims combining wisdom with humor, and often with a touch of pathos that makes them cling in the memory long after the rest of the discourse is forgotten. Even the Koreans, shamed-faced mutes as they are, indulge in a few shy proverbs. The Polynesians, with their Babel of tongues and dialects, have a myriad of proverbs, many of them highly picturesque and striking. The Maoris of New Zealand,

the finest savages in the world, cannot carry on a discussion for five minutes without resorting to proverbs. So profound is the respect for proverbs, as for everything ancient or obscure, among the Maoris that a wily and ready orator, failing to carry his audience by mere reason, will sometimes—but not too often—help himself out with an admirable proverb, invented on the spur of the moment, but fathered on some demigod of awful sanctity or some war chief of gloriously cannibal memory. Such an appeal is seldom unsuccessful, even though the audience have a shrewd suspicion that the proverb which has pleased and impressed them so much is neither so old nor so genuine as it might be. The degraded tribes that yet linger on the outskirts of civilization in Australia, and whose past is a bewildering mystery not less to the student of language than to the student of man, use proverbial expressions which make one stare in wonder. Whence have these brutish creatures descended, that they also should have the wisdom of the ancients on the tip of their tongue? These black fellows' proverbs seem a distinct echo of some far higher intelligence, and, in truth, they harmonize with many startling traces of lost religion and forgotten arts that here and there are still found among them.

CORRUPTION THE REAL EVIL.

Philadelphia Ledger.

There is no more sagacious observer or clearer thinker among American journalists than George William Curtis, whose opinions are especially valuable because they are always sincere and comprehensive. In the current number of Harper's Weekly, in a consideration of "Mr. Cleveland's Position," he says:

"It is perhaps hardly fair to regret what an after-dinner orator does not say, when he says much to the purpose. But the recent speech of Mr. Cleveland's, to which we refer elsewhere, implies that he holds the question of tariff reform to be the only one of commanding importance before the country. At least he would apparently subordinate to it all other questions. But there is much to be said against such an exclusive view. As we say in another column, there is certainly the question of silver, upon which, indeed, as upon tariff reform, Mr. Cleveland has already unmistakably declared himself. It would be impossible for him to take the Democratic nomination upon a platform which should combine free silver with tariff reform. But the real evil with which we are now dealing in this country is corruption—political corruption. The radical mischief of a protective tariff, as of all class legislation, is its necessary breeding of such corruption. It produces national demoralization. Freedom of trade, like all other freedom, is natural and healthful. But its restriction at once introduces a demoralizing conflict of individual interests. The great argument for the tariff reform, which as Garfield said, ultimates in free trade, is its justice. And it is not only just in itself, but it destroys the motive for general corruption."

EVERYBODY'S FRIEND.

Yankee Blade.

He was that from his cradle, in a negative, passive sort of way. He never cried and asserted his rights, but lay still and sucked his thumb, and blinked and stared at the great world, as if trying to solve the riddle of being in it.

And when he became a school boy he was the one to stay at home when his mother was ill, and run errands. And all he got back was black marks against his name for being late, and a reprimand from his father for not learning more.

It was so in everything. He never had a slice of bread particularly large and wide, but that it fell upon the floor, and always on the buttered side, and there never was any jam for his slice, but he didn't mind. He would rather go without than have somebody else miss it.

And when he came to man's estate and learned to love a dear gazelle, she turned a cold shoulder on him to "glad" his brother with her soft dark eye. And he gave her up without a murmur, only too thankful that he might suffer and be strong in her service.

And when in middle life he was a comfortable bachelor, with a snug competence, the brother failed, and she would have starved, but he came forward and offered his savings and helped them up again. And they gave him the attic bedroom and a comfortable bed to show their gratitude. It was then he was first called "everybody's

stand," but with the title was conveyed the idea that he was a little touched in the upper story. Why should he always persist in making a vicarious sacrifice of himself if he were not a little "off," as we say?

The years rolled, and "everybody's friend" prospered, in spite of helping others to their feet continually, and again he amassed a snug little fortune, when a young man in whom he had perfect confidence, whom he trusted as a "brother," forgetting how brothers were to be trusted, asked him to sign his bond for an important official position. He did so cheerfully, and when the young man and the official funds vanished together, he paid his obligation, and was again penniless.

But such a cheerful beggar! The brother had gone with his family on a pleasure tour abroad, and their house was let for a term of years. All the other relatives had mouths enough to feed; there was no place in the world, apparently for "everybody's friend."

Just then he went and "got run over." That is the way his relatives worded it. It was the beginning of a hard, cold winter, and he was disabled. There was nothing left, so he went to the public ward of the hospital.

He was as cheerful and serene, as much everybody's friend as ever. When he could hobble about, he helped everybody within reach, and took what he could get for himself. Of all the people he had helped, not one came to give him a cooling orange, or a bunch of grapes, or better still, a kindly word.

One day he overheard the nurse talking with the doctor.

"We want that bed for a very important case," she said, with a backward nod of her head: "he must go into the convalescent ward."

"He must go into the poorhouse," said the doctor. "He is as well as he ever will be; and unless his friends come and take him out, he will be a county charge the rest of his life."

"Well, we want that bed!" reiterated the nurse; and they moved away.

He lay that night staring at the shaded night-lamps and the white beds, as he had lain and stared at the world long ago. It seemed like a long, and dream to him—that all his hopes should have come to this, and the lights swam in tears—the first and the last that ingratitude should ever call forth. The next morning the nurse hurried to meet the doctor and tell him that the cot they needed was empty. Everybody's friend had been accommodating to the last.

THROUGH THE LAND OF LOTUS.

A Sweet Old Graduate.

Pensive through the land of lotus
Wandered we by Nilus's side,
Garrulous old Herodotus
Still our Mentor, still our guide,
Fraternal of the mystic bliss
Of Isis and of Osiris.

All the learned ones trooped before us,
All the wise of Hellas's land,
Down from mystic Pythagoras
To the hemlock drinker grand;
Dark the hour when closed the gates
Of gloomy Dis on thee, Socrates!

LET THEM SWEAR.

Parkersburg (W. Va.) Daily Sentinel.

It is reported to us that the new assessment of real estate in the farming districts in this county is being put very materially below former figures, while there has been an increase in the valuation on real estate in town. While this may rejoice the single taxers to see a step made in their direction, though only a little one, yet we opine that there will be little else but swearing amongst the vacant lot owners and speculators in the city.

A DOG AND DONKEY DUEL.

Philadelphia Record.

If they had been Siberian bloodhounds, the barking brutes could not have rushed with more voracity upon the seemingly stupid little beast with long, shaggy hair and ears. Prancing around him on both sides and watching their chance to grab him by the throat both together, the dogs, like a brace of ravenous wolves, encircled the donkey.

Squinting lazily out of his off eye, the donkey appeared most oblivious to his danger. The dogs growl lower. As both were about to catch his

Toronto Grip.



THE ORIGINAL "DEED"

THAT ENTITLED THE STRONG MAN TO THE LAND OF THE WEAK ONE.

It can never be pretended that the existing titles to such property (land) are legitimate. Should any one think so, let him look in the chronicles. Violence, fraud, the prerogative of force, the claims of superior cunning—these are the sources to which those titles may be traced. The original deeds were written with the sword rather than with the pen; not lawyers, but soldiers, were the conveyancers; blows were the current coin given in payment; and for seals, blood was used in preference to wax. Could valid claims be thus constituted? Hardly. And if not, what becomes of the pretensions of all subsequent holders of estates thus obtained? Does sale or bequest generate a right where it did not previously exist? Would the original claimants be non-suited at the bar of reason, because the thing stolen from them had changed hands? Certainly not. And if one act of transfer can give no title, can many? No. Though nothing be multiplied forever it will not produce one. Even the law recognizes this principle.—Herbert Spencer, "Social Statics," Chap. IX.

throat in their teeth the donkey, with the speed of a lightning flash, lowered his head and dashed toward the nearest dog, as if with the long-eared head to bunt him. A buzz-saw could not revolve more quickly than did the little jackass at this point. He fairly flew around as if on a pivot.

Both heels flew out. They landed squarely on the body of the nearest snapping snarling cur. At the same instant 150 pounds of donkey went spinning through the air and struck the earth ten yards away, a whining, yelping, whipped canine.

The last dog No. 1 was only an aggravation to No. 2. He snapped and growled more ravenously at the donkey than before. In two minutes more, however, the second savage assailant was cavorting over the turf in somersaults, and the donkey had closed his eyes again and retired on his laurels.

GEORGE'S REPLY TO THE POPE.

London Financial Reformer.

It is hard to say which portions of this work are the most valuable. Each reader will find for himself — points which appeal most to him. Naturally we are charmed with the way in which George, taking up the dry subject of finance, transforms it into a something most interesting. Our popular preachers would start if we asked them to preach a sermon on the National Revenue, yet Henry George does. He says "No sooner does the State arise than, as we all know, it needs revenues. This need for revenues is small at first, while population is sparse, industry rude, and the functions of the State few and simple. But with growth of population and advance of civilization the functions of the State increase, and larger and larger revenues are needed. Now, He that made the world and placed man in it; He that pre-ordained civilization as the means whereby man might rise to higher powers and become more and more conscious of the works of his Creator, must have foreseen this increasing need of State revenues, and have made provision for it."

* * * See how, with the growth of such cities, the one thing that steadily increases in value is land; how the opening of roads, the building of railways, the making of any public improvement adds to the value of land. Is it not clear that here is a natural law—that is to say, a tendency willed by the Creator? Can it mean anything else than that He who ordained the State with its needs has in the value which attaches to land provided the means to meet these needs?

ASAFETIDA PILLS

Prescribed by Dr. Leslie E. Keeley, of Dwight, Ill., for La Grippe, are manufactured by Buck & Rayner, Chicago; coated with pure gelatine, pleasant to take. Price, 75 cents per 100, delivered free with full directions by Dr. Keeley.—Adv.

ELY'S CREAM BALM

Cleanses the Nasal Passages,
Allays Pain and Inflammation.
Heals the Sores.
Restores the Sense of Taste and Smell.

CATARRH

TRY THE CURE. HAY-FEVER

A particle is applied into each nostril and is agreeable. Price 50 cents at druggists or by mail. ELY BROTHERS, 66 Warren Street, New York.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

PLATFORM

ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES AT COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, SEPT. 3, 1890.

We assert as our fundamental principle the self-evident truth enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

We hold that all men are equally entitled to the use and enjoyment of what God has created and of what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attach to land should be taken for the use of the community.

We hold that each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.

To carry out these principles we are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local

and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax we propose is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc., to be determined by impartial periodical assessments. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.

3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions blessings to all, and secure such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

With respect to monopolies other than the monopoly of land, we hold that where free competition becomes impossible, as in telegraphs, railroads, water and gas supplies, etc., such business becomes a proper social function, which should be controlled and managed by and for the whole people concerned, through their proper government, local, state or national, as may be.

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