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THE STANDARD.

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EDITORIAL.

The ballot reform bill passed unanimously by the legislature and signed by Governor Hill is a good bill and it assures to the people of New York real ballot reform. It does not sacrifice a single principle contended for by intelligent reformers. The vital thing sought by the advocates of the blanket ballot is that every voter shall have placed in his hands, by sworn officials on election day, a ticket bearing the name of every duly nominated candidate, and that he shall be compelled to make his choice from among such candidates in secret and be deprived of all opportunity to prove how he voted. This is necessary for many reasons. One is that it breaks the tyranny of the party machines and enables new parties and independent combinations to get their candidates before the voters at a small cost and with absolute certainty. Again it puts an end to all the frauds and deals that have arisen through the "bunching" of tickets. It releases the voters heretofore intimidated from espionage and prevents the bribed from proving to the briber that he has voted as he was paid to vote.

Owing to Governor Hill's persistence in his silly objection that such a ballot is not the ballot intended by the constitution, the Australian form of ballot was abandoned in the last Saxton bill that was vetoed. That measure provided for as many tickets as there might be sets of candidates, all printed side by side on one sheet. The voter was at liberty to strike out whole tickets by a single stroke, leaving only the one for which he chose to vote. Again he might strike out some names and leave others, or he might paste on as many or as few names as he desired. It is obvious to anyone who will consider the matter that the convenience of the voter for voting a split ticket—which is obvious in the real Australian ballot—was completely sacrificed in this arrangement. The party voter who votes a straight ticket could quickly run a pencil through all opposition tickets and leave the names of his own party's candidates untouched. Suppose, however, that such tickets had been in use at the last state election, and a man wishing to vote a split ticket had entered the booth with one of these blanket sheets in his hand. Let us suppose that he wanted to vote for the democratic candidate for secretary of state and the republican candidates for the other state offices and to vote for a democrat for the senate, a republican for assembly and a prohibitionist for alderman. He must, in order to do this, take the democratic column on his big sheet, and, line by line, strike out the names of all candidates for state offices except that of the candidate for secretary of state. He must next erase the names of the candidates for assembly and alderman. Turning now to the republican column, he must erase the name of the candidate for secretary of state, leaving the three succeeding names stand; then erase the names of the candidates for senator and alderman, leaving that for assemblyman stand. He must now turn to the prohibition ticket and carefully erase every name on it except that of the candidate for alderman. If there were any more tickets on the blanket sheet he must run his pencil through such tickets. Could anything be more

cumbersome? Could any plan be devised that would make counting more difficult and uncertain?

The governor's stubborn persistence in his objection to compelling the voter to put in the ballot box any name for which he did not vote—even though such name were erased—caused the representatives of the New York ballot reform league to propose the practical splitting up of this great blanket sheet into separate tickets, one of which shall be voted and the others be handed to an election officer to be destroyed. This necessitates the selection by the "scratcher" of the ticket containing the greatest number of names for which he wishes to vote, and the writing in or pasting on of any names he wishes to substitute for those printed. That is just what the scratcher has been doing all along, and he will have no trouble about doing it hereafter. Scratching will not be as convenient as it would be with a real Australian ballot, but it is certainly more convenient under the Ballot reform league's bill than it would have been under the last Saxton bill vetoed by the governor. Nothing whatever was sacrificed by the so-called compromise, and nothing is sacrificed save convenience, in substituting the multiple official ballot for the single official ballot of the Australian system. The secrecy is perfect, and the state furnishes every voter with the opportunity to make his choice from among all the candidates named, or to write out a brand new ticket for himself if he so desires.

The governor in his memorandum dwells on the paster as a great concession to his solicitude for the rights of the ignorant voter. Mr. Hill knows this is mere claptrap. The only concession made was to an ignorant governor, rather than to an ignorant voter. Every bill that Governor Hill has vetoed contained the provision for the use of pasters. Every one of them would, if passed, have permitted the use of just such a paster as is provided for in the new bill. The governor did not happen to see this until these provisions were necessarily rewritten, to adapt them to a bill providing for the voting of one ballot and the destruction of the rest, and then he chose to make much of it. He knows perfectly well that this is the case, but it suits his purpose to pretend that the provision is a new one.

As a matter of law and fact illiterate voters and naturalized citizens, who cannot read English, have a constitutional right to vote in this state, and the legislature cannot deprive them of that right either by direct or indirect action. Such voters must be permitted to obtain advice or direction either inside or outside the secret booth. If such advice is given inside by one or more election officers those giving it know how the voter has voted. If it is given outside, in the preparation of a paster, the person giving it has no way of obtaining evidence whether that particular paster was voted or not. So far from being a defect, the distinct allowance of a paster and the denial to the illiterate voter of the privilege of taking into the secret booth any person is a distinct improvement on the Australian system.

It is true that this still leaves an excuse for the assessment of candidates for the printing and distribution of "pasters," but those who can read and write will

have no need for such pasters, and the illiterate will not proclaim their illiteracy by obtaining them of party workers within 150 feet of the polls. They will thus, in time, come to be printed only for private distribution among the illiterate, and their cost will not be sufficient to prove a cloak for the blackmailing assessments that have been common in this city. Furthermore, the paster, whatever its demerits, does provide a way for the establishment of the real Australian ballot without disfranchising the illiterate. It meets the objections urged by Governor Abbott as fully as it meets those of Governor Hill, and if the governor of New Jersey wants to emulate the governor of New York in getting himself and his party "out of a hole," he will ask that the official ballots, which he wants distributed to private parties, be put in the form of "pasters" that must be pasted on the official ballots, and he will thereby suggest a bill that will be better than that just passed in New York, if, as we believe, the pending New Jersey bill provides for the Australian ballot.

Most of the criticism of the so-called compromise bill prepared by the New York ballot reform league comes from those who sought something more than mere ballot reform. They wanted the voter "compelled to make an intelligent choice." They demanded that the organized parties should be shorn of their powers, etc. This is no part of real ballot reform. The voter has a right to his choice whether he makes it intelligently or not. Certainly the legislature has no power, either directly or indirectly, to set up some new educational test of the intelligence of the voter's choice. Furthermore, political parties are necessary agencies for accomplishing definite political ends, and they are entitled to whatever power they may fairly acquire. What the new bill does, is to deprive these parties of the unfair monopoly they have had of putting candidates before the people. The old parties still enjoy whatever power comes through prejudice, affection, or the intelligent conviction of many voters that, on the whole, it is best to sustain the party representing one's principles, but every new party or temporary combination of voters will have just as good a chance to present candidates to the voters as is enjoyed by the regular machines. This is all that can reasonably be demanded. The fact that the new election law does not go further than to give opportunity for an absolutely free expression of the people's will, will make it more workable and avoid any danger that it may break down, because it is too cumbersome or complicated in operation. The criticism that the league accepted half a loaf rather than no bread is not just. It got the whole loaf, but Governor Hill insisted that it should be cut into slices before it was delivered.

In his memorandum accompanying his approval of the bill Governor Hill makes a somewhat lame attempt to pose as the great, and almost the only, friend of ballot reform. This is amusing, but the governor has probably as much right to make the claim as the republicans in the legislature. The simplest way of answering these pretences of zeal for the reform is by a brief statement of the actual facts.

There can be no doubt that Governor

Hill, in his frequent vetoes of the early ballot reform bills, was animated by a desire to prevent any really effective reform. He was willing that the Connecticut system should be established, but opposed to that modification of the Australian system known in this country as the Massachusetts system, and which, but for him, would have been known as the New York system. He has abandoned, one by one, many of the objections with which he started out, and he has done so with manifest reluctance. He is, however, a shrewd politician, peculiarly susceptible to the opinion of workingmen, and when he discovered that the Knights of Labor were pledged, as one man, not merely to the support of ballot reform, but to the overthrow of Governor Hill, if he persisted in his opposition, he became really desirous of signing some bill that would at least appear to meet their demands. Some of his enemies, of course, assert otherwise, but his conduct, as a whole, justifies the opinion just expressed.

By the passage of the last of the Saxton bills, the republicans had most unfortunately put themselves in an untenable position. Most of them believed that Governor Hill's objections to the constitutionality of the clause providing for the election of some ballot clerks by a minority of the voters, were well taken, and it was evident that some change must be made in the bill. Therefore, no attempt was made to pass it over the governor's veto. Nevertheless, Mr. Saxton, in the senate, and Mr. Acker, in the house, were both thoroughly committed to the passage of some ballot reform bill, and each of them, in his anxiety for success, was willing to sacrifice some of the vital principles of the reform. There was imminent danger at one time that a faulty and defective measure would become a law, and thereby delay for years anything like true ballot reform. It was at this juncture that Mr. Saxton and a representative of Governor Hill asked for a conference with representatives of the New York ballot reform league, with a view to preparing a bill that would not require the governor, for the sake of maintaining an appearance of consistency, to veto it. The Ballot reform league appointed a committee to prepare such a bill, if it could be done without a surrender of its own principles. Thereupon Mr. Horace E. Deming, chairman of the general committee of the league, entered into consultation with a representative of the governor, and to the surprise of everybody a satisfactory bill was agreed on. The principles of the Ballot reform league are:

(1) "All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense." The new bill complies with this demand.

(2) "The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot." The compromise apparently ignores this demand, but it practically recognizes it by insisting that the voter shall receive and account for a number of ballots containing all the names of candidates. It simply requires the cutting up of the blanket ballot into as many slips as there are parties, and does not violate the essential principle of the clause quoted, which is, that all the names of candidates shall be placed before the voter in the secret compartment.

(3) "All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials." This is fully recognized in the bill, and no man can vote except by the use of such an official ballot.

(4) "Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his

ballot and the secret of the ballot made compulsory." This principle is strictly adhered to and the provisions for privacy are probably better than in any previous bill.

(5) "Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions." The utmost care has been taken to provide for such nominations in the bill signed by the governor.

Absolutely, the only concession is that of splitting up the blanket ballot into slips. This seemed to satisfy the governor, and to the surprise of the committee he substantially agreed to sign such a bill if it passed. Mr. Saxton having read the bill, thereupon agreed to introduce it.

Up to this time the advantage was unquestionably with the republicans of the legislature, and the governor had manifestly backed down. Senator Saxton, however, temporarily lost his head, and when Mr. Fassett, who had all along posed as a ballot reformer, discovered that a bill had been prepared that was satisfactory to the Ballot reform league and certain to receive the signature of the governor, he hastily called a republican caucus into which Saxton was weak enough to go, and the result was the loading up of the bill with amendments that made it certain the governor would not sign it. No human ingenuity could have contrived a situation so absolutely satisfactory to Governor Hill. Mr. Saxton is supposed to be a shrewd politician, but a beardless young man in a town meeting would be incapable of worse politics than Mr. Fassett displayed on this occasion. At once Governor Hill's supporters heralded him throughout the country as the great ballot reformer, and the Tammany and other opponents of reform in the legislature hastened to commit themselves to the proposed bill. Mr. Saxton had allowed himself to be put in a position utterly inconsistent with honor and good faith, and he was too much a man to remain there. He positively threatened to make a motion to reconsider and to bolt the caucus, and it was the threat of this bolt that brought Mr. Fassett and the Platt gang to terms. They plainly saw that if Saxton bolted and got his bill through by the votes of a few republicans assisted by all the democrats, that the Platt machine would be put before the people of the state as the malignant enemy of ballot reform. They hastily undid their work, therefore, and consented to a reconsideration of the bill, which thereupon unanimously passed the senate, because, during the time intervening between Fassett's foolish caucus and the reconsideration of its action, the democrats had unanimously committed themselves to the support of the measure.

Up to this point it was entirely possible to say that Governor Hill had publicly promised to sign the bill simply because he believed that, because of his proclamation of his intent the republicans would refuse to pass it. From this time on, however, it is due to Governor Hill to say that he appears to have acted with absolute loyalty and good faith. The Ballot reform league had received no promises from the assembly. There is no doubt, whatever, that a considerable number of republicans in that body would have been more than glad to defeat any effective measure of reform. With the aid of the democrats there would have been no difficulty in accomplishing such a result. Even apathy on the part of the democrats would have imperilled the success of the bill. There can be no doubt that Governor Hill exercised his influence from this time forward to put the bill through the assembly. His hand can be discerned in the hasty gatherings of the Kings county democratic commit-

tee, and of the Tammany committee, here, to indorse the pending measure, while the action of Mr. Sheehan, on the floor of the house, demonstrated to every democrat in that body that the governor desired that they should support the bill. This is the simple truth, and on his attitude after the bill had passed the senate Governor Hill has the right to plume himself. If he had simply done this, instead of putting forth a long manifesto to prove that he has always been in favor of the principles of the bill, he would have won more respect and deserved more credit. As usual, however, his passion for tortuous ways has misled him into forfeiting the credit really due him by a dishonest attempt to claim that which is not his due. It would probably be unreasonable to expect Governor Hill to attain to any high standard of political morality, but it would really greatly profit him if he could rise to the utilitarian basis of ethics expressed in the maxim, "Honesty is the best policy."

By the death of Senator Beck the people of the United States lose a faithful public servant, and the state of Kentucky loses one of the ablest of the many able men who have represented it in the federal congress. The dead senator was a Scotchman by birth, but came to this country at the age of sixteen and lived here for fifty-two years. He served in congress through an era marked by great corruption, but his own character has ever been above suspicion. Throughout his long public career Senator Beck has been a persistent foe of the protective humbug, though he was probably never a free trader in the full sense of the word. He has helped on the good work, and he at least lived to see the awakening of public interest in the questions to which he had given so much study and effort.

None of our readers can afford to neglect the Washington letter in this issue. It gives an elaborate history of direct taxation by the federal government and brings out a fact probably not known to many, that the federation proposed to raise the revenues necessary for the general government by a tax on real estate alone. The failure of this attempt was not due to the selection of the object of taxation, but to the fact that the jealousy of the separate states prevented them from delegating to the federal government the power directly to raise its own revenues, or to compel the states to raise their respective quotas. It is also a notable fact that the moment the federal government departed from the direct tax system, the vicious tariff system grew up in its place. To those who profess an inability to see any connection between tariff legislation and the single tax, this historical fact ought to prove most significant.

Mr. Harold Frederic, the London correspondent of the New York Times, in a letter to that paper discussing English politics, says "The house of lords as it now exists is very obviously a doomed institution. Within even this closing decade of the century we may quite easily see a parliament in Westminster, which shall, with stern determination of purpose, attack the very foundations of the present system of landlordism by the taxation of ground rents." This is a remarkable prediction to come from so conservative a correspondent. It goes to show that the single tax idea is making great practical progress in England.

Mr. Edw. L. Hyneman, secretary of the Ohio single tax league, writes a letter which is printed elsewhere, among "Letters to the Editor," in which he "exposes

the true character of the Lodge bill now pending in congress. This is the bill that the so-called National ballot reform association is supporting. It is a partisan bill, designed to perpetuate the protectionists in power, and its ballot reform features are not effective and are merely incidental. The attempt to make it appear that ballot reform is the object of the measure is grossly dishonest. We have no doubt that Mr. Hyneman is right in assuming that any single tax men who have permitted the use of their names as members of the so-called national committee of this protectionist side show have been duped.

On Monday, April 28, William Lloyd Garrison addressed, by invitation, the Unitarian ministerial union at Channing hall, Boston. A report of his speech reaches us too late for publication in this issue of THE STANDARD, but we hope to publish it in full next week.

A correspondent speaks of "signed editorials" in THE STANDARD. The only signed editorials that ever appear in THE STANDARD are those written by Mr. George. No other editorial articles are signed, and the articles bearing signatures are not editorials. This enables us to present a variety of opinions on various subjects for which THE STANDARD assumes no other responsibility than that necessarily involved in the admission of any article to its columns. The correspondent who thinks that certain opinions expressed by a contributor over his own signature are not in accord with THE STANDARD's opinions may be right, but their appearance in THE STANDARD over the writer's own signature is no evidence of inconsistency.

THE LABOR DEMONSTRATIONS.

The demand of organized labor for the establishment of the eight hour work day was not so general or determined in this country as was hoped for at the time the movement was resolved on, but here and there victories were won that seem to indicate the final success of the effort. As we have already pointed out, the American workingman now fails to receive the full product of his own labor, and falls so far short of it that he would still be giving employers more than they pay for were his hours of labor reduced from ten to eight. Furthermore, under any approximation to a just system of distribution of products, under conditions that gave men easy access to natural opportunities, eight hours' labor would be enough to satisfy reasonable wants in a country so rich as this is in natural resources. Looked at, therefore, from any standpoint, the demand for a shorter work day is reasonable and just, and the only question concerning the recent effort is as to whether it is the most effective. So far as it succeeds it is justified, and it gives hope that it may lead those engaged in it to look further and seek for the establishment of conditions necessary to assure to labor its just reward, no matter how many hours constitute the work day.

In Europe the "great uprising" of the working people, that the masses hoped for and the classes feared, was a rather tame affair, so far as the continental nations were concerned, but the great meeting of workingmen in London, last Sunday, was all that could have been hoped for. The newspapers estimate that 170,000 men participated in the parade, and that nearly half a million people attended the meeting. The socialists had a little corner to themselves and made their usual claim to the whole credit for the great demonstration, but the gathering was manifestly one of workingmen who are not committed to the socialistic or any other idea, but who merely repre-

sent the general feeling of workmen throughout the world that they are the victims of injustice and their desire that, somehow, the wrong shall be righted.

The man who does not see that this feeling and desire exists is blind. The man who thinks he can persuade these people to rest content with existing conditions is stupid. The men who are entitled to call themselves the true conservatives of our time are those radicals who go to the very root of the difficulty, and who propose to allay discontent by establishing justice. The socialists honestly think that they alone propose this. We think that they are mistaken, and that their remedy is the construction of a vast machine that would be more despotic than any autocrat that ever reigned, and would go to final wreck in the most frightful catastrophe ever experienced by mankind. Nevertheless, socialism appears to offer a remedy for the time being, and the habits and prejudices of the workmen, rather than their settled convictions, prevent them from embracing it. That the masses are awakening to the need of some action is demonstrated by the eight-hour movement in this country and the great demonstration in London. Is it not time that those laying claims to statesmanship, and that all those who essay the discussion of public questions, were beginning to seek a true remedy, instead of trying to prop a tottering system? There is a remedy, and it is not socialism; but the conceit of the learned has caused them to ignore it.

A QUEER DISPLAY OF IGNORANCE.

In the New York World of April 28 appeared an editorial on the eight-hour agitation, in the course of which the writer said: "It is not work that men desire but the fruits of work, and these are, in a large degree, denied to men through arbitrary restrictions upon the freedom with which the products of one man's labor may be exchanged for those of another's." The writer goes on to say that the most elaborate body of laws on our statute books are those designed to restrain free exchange and to establish monopolies, and to limit the opportunities of workmen to sell their products. It urges the advocates of an eight-hour work day to "strive with still greater strenuousness for liberty to work for the world instead of a restricted part of it," and says, "they should especially insist upon the abandonment of the practice of imposing taxes upon them for the benefit of a favored class." These are thoroughly sensible utterances, and far more thoughtful and far-seeing than most of the editorial comments found in the daily press on labor questions. It is surprising, therefore, to find in the same journal of April 25 the following paragraph:

Professor Rein, a scientist who has been investigating the material resources of Japan, says: "They reveal a national frugality and economy of a marvellous type. The area of Japan is less than that of California. Its cultivated land is less than one-tenth of its total acreage, yet its products support about 38,000,000 people. In Japan 2,500 persons subsist from each square mile of tilled land." If the land were divided up among the people a single taxer wouldn't have room enough on his own plot to swing his theory without knocking down his neighbor's fences.

Here is an editorial writer who evidently imagines that single taxers propose to divide up the land into little bits and give each man a piece. It is astonishing that a paper displaying such sound economic sense in one issue should show such crass ignorance in another. The single taxers are men who are working to accomplish the objects sought by the writer first quoted. They are absolute free traders and propose to remove from our statute books all laws that restrain free exchange and tend to establish

monopolies, and they propose to put all taxation on land values, so that those people who occupy especially advantageous sites shall pay to the community for the privilege and relieve industry and production of all taxation whatever. The facts quoted by the World writer are really on the side of the single tax argument. When thirty-eight millions of people can manage to live in Japan, the area of which is less than that of California, it is perfectly clear that there is something in our own system of land tenure that is responsible for the fact that a million people find themselves crowded in California, and less than sixty-five million struggle one with another for an opportunity to earn a decent living in a country capable of supporting in comfort a thousand millions.

We fear that the sporting editor or the fashion editor of the World has been trying his hand at political economy. The paper will confirm its growing reputation for good editorial writing by preventing such accidents in the future.

TAMMANY'S SHAME.

The recent revelations concerning Tammany hall have unquestionably greatly increased the popular distrust of that institution. We believe that the Sun, which instinctively supports every evil cause, is the sole newspaper defender of Tammany left in this city. It does not matter whether McCann, who has told the remarkable story about Mayor Grant, is actuated by malice or whether he is accurate in all his statements. His most remarkable declarations have received a partial corroboration that invests his whole story with a degree of plausibility that impartial people were not at first disposed to accord to it. His declaration that Mayor Grant had shared the profits of the sheriff's office with Richard Croker by presenting \$25,000 to one of Croker's children was laughed at when first made, but the mayor, when on oath before the committee, confessed that he had given Croker's little girl \$10,000 in notes in the presence of the child's parents, but claimed that this was simply a gift he had made because he was godfather to the child. Nevertheless, on cross examination, he admitted that he had taken no steps to secure the money to the child, but took it for granted that Mr. Croker would invest the money for the benefit of his daughter. Such a defense is in effect little short of a confession.

The important question arising out of all this is the old one formulated by Oakey Hall and usually attributed to Tweed, "What are you going to do about it?" Shall Tammany continue to rule this city, and not only rule New York, but send to congress a body of incompetents to represent our people in one of the gravest crises of our national life?

The new ballot law puts it into the hands of the people to prevent such a result, if they choose to organize to secure good government. There is nothing to prevent the formation of a municipal party to take the government out of the hands of the political machines, and it will also be easy, if tariff reformers are intelligent and determined, to send to congress six men who will worthily represent New York in that body. The question is as to whether we have become so accustomed to depend on the machines, that our people have lost the faculty of initiating political movements with a view to securing the establishment of the principles that they believe in. One thing is certain. Any municipal movement that seeks to take the government of this city out of the hands of the party politicians will fail unless it respects the existing status and refuses to permit itself to be used to advance the interests

of either party in the election of congressmen and members of the legislature.

FORT SMITH'S SCHOOL LANDS.

Under the caption "A Crime Against the Unborn," THE STANDARD recently commented on the proposed sale of school lands at Fort Smith, Ark. It pointed out that the proper way to secure the object sought by congress—the creation of a permanent school fund for Fort Smith—was to hold on to the lots and let them on ground rent, so that the schools should forever derive an income from their increasing value. The Fort Smith Daily Times prints THE STANDARD article and comments upon it somewhat rudely. It points out a fact of which THE STANDARD was not cognizant—that the act granting the lands to the city of Fort Smith requires that they shall within ten years be sold in separate lots. The Times regards this as an ample vindication of the action of the commissioners.

This is evidently not the opinion of everybody in Fort Smith, as the letter to the editor, printed elsewhere, and signed by Thos. Boles, an attorney at law and member of the school board, demonstrates. Mr. Boles declares distinctly that the sale is urged at this time at the instigation of real estate speculators. There is really no reason for haste in the matter, so far as the law of congress is concerned, as the act was passed in 1884 and the ten years do not expire until 1894. There is ample time for the authorities of Fort Smith to make inquiry as to the advantages the city of Chicago derives from holding and leasing land it acquired from the government for school purposes. If, with this information, the local authorities were to ask congress to amend the deed of gift there is no reason to doubt that their request would be granted. The pushing of this land into the market at this time is clearly a job and deserves the title that we gave it—"A Crime Against the Unborn."

DANA AS AN ISSUE.

The desperate desire of the protectionists to divert public attention from the tariff question is singularly illustrated by the eagerness with which the republican papers have backed up the New York Sun's blackguard assaults on ex-President Cleveland. That paper has recently been publishing coarse and disgusting falsehoods concerning an alleged enormous increase in Mr. Cleveland's weight. Even if they had been true, the stories are such as could not have found their way into any decent newspaper. A reporter of the World was sent to inquire if Mr. Cleveland had anything to say in response to these stories. Mr. Cleveland wrote out and handed to the reporter a paragraph, saying that he had not seen the article, as he never reads the Sun, but that he judged from what the reporter told him that the editor of the Sun had at last hit on a subject that he supposed would annoy him (Cleveland). The reporter published this as merely part of a long interview, in which Mr. Cleveland was represented as denouncing Mr. Dana in language that was at once vigorous and coarse.

Mr. Cleveland repudiated the interview and the World, after investigation, editorially declared that it was convinced that its reporter had misrepresented the ex-president. The Sun, which had already replied to the alleged denunciation of its editor in language as vituperative as that attributed to Mr. Cleveland, pretended to believe the reporter and intimated that Mr. Cleveland and the editor of the World were both lying about the matter. The republican papers have eagerly accepted the Sun's idea and a weekly paper, published by a firm in

which President Harrison's son is a partner, prints conspicuously a letter in which the reporter says that Mr. Cleveland said all that he attributed to him and roundly cursed Mr. Dana. The correspondent himself, however, makes it plain that the written memorandum is all that he had authority to publish as coming from Mr. Cleveland; and that the other things he printed are merely his recollections of an alleged private conversation between himself and Mr. Cleveland. That is to say, he confesses himself a blackguard in order to show that he is not a liar. The public is not likely to believe such a man when his word is pitted against that of one of the most honest and fearless public men that our country has ever known.

The alacrity with which the republican papers have taken this matter up shows, as we have said, how eager they are to escape the discussion of the real issue in American politics. They cannot succeed; but if they could, it would not help them. On the sole and naked issue that he had cursed Charles A. Dana, and denounced him as a malicious liar and inveterate blackguard, any man of fair abilities could be elected president of the United States by a practically unanimous vote of the electoral college.

A REPUBLICAN PAPERS PROTEST.

The St. Paul, Minn., Pioneer-Press, in denouncing the McKinley tariff bill and the policy of which that bill is simply the perfect outcome, declares that "this is not republican policy, it is not protectionism, it is the mere madness of those who believe in the abolition of foreign trade at any cost. * * * It is a plan formed by a little junto of extremists in congress who propose to force their views upon the party, and to bind it, by the passage of this bill, to a policy which it has never approved and which a great portion of its members repudiate."

The Pioneer-Press doubtless expresses the prevailing sentiment among intelligent republicans in the northwest. They are determined to remain republicans, come what may, and therefore they insist that the policy toward which their party has been inevitably tending for years, and which it is now seeking to establish by legislation and rivet on the country through fraudulent seizures of power, is not the republican policy. All such protests are in vain. Whatever may be the opinions of individual republicans who see the danger of allowing the monopolists to thus use the party for their own benefit, it is useless to deny that the republican organization is thoroughly committed to the McKinley bill, and that that measure can only be defeated by a bolt on the part of men calling themselves republicans, who are forced by a fear of consequences to rebel against a party mandate.

The republicans of Minnesota, and of the other northwestern states, may as well make up their minds now as later that they have got to choose between supporting the policy that the Pioneer-Press denounces and abandoning the republican party. They may elect tariff reform congressmen, but this will accomplish nothing toward lifting from their shoulders the burdens put there by the robber tariff so long as they elect republican legislatures, which send to the United States senate men who assist in making that body the last bulwark of monopoly when attacked by a popular uprising. It is natural that party papers should make the effort in which the Pioneer-Press is engaged, but it will not profit them in the long run, and they will have to give up this form of protest or take their place outside the republican party. There are plenty of reasons why such people may dislike the democratic party, but whatever its faults and however unsavory its

record, it is to-day the only political agency that can be used to overthrow protection. The northwest must give up its inherited hatred or continue to groan under the tariff burden.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PLAN.

We print elsewhere a letter from Mr. Hamlin Garland, in which he gives the form of the credential sent out by the single tax state central committee of Massachusetts, and the platform of principles printed on the back of the credential. The plan is an admirable one for ascertaining the number of single tax men (unlimited) in every state, though like every other device of the kind it will fail to accomplish a complete result, owing to the fact that many of our friends, for some reason, hesitate to formally enroll themselves in the single tax ranks. It seems to us that the plan would be worth trying in other states beside Massachusetts, and that it would be a very good thing, indeed, if a separate blank, printed on paper of another color, could be sent out with a view to securing the enrolment of the single tax men, limited, who for active work are at present as useful as any others.

We are authorized by the single tax enrolment committee to say that it will gladly place its enrolment of over 80,000 names at the service of state organizations desiring to adopt the Massachusetts plan. If these state organizations already in existence were to try this and find it successful, state organizations would doubtless be formed elsewhere for the purpose of carrying out the plan. If the state committee of Massachusetts, or of any other state, will pay the postage, the enrolment committee will gladly send out such blanks as the state committee may provide and accompany them by a circular asking those signers of the petition who believe in the single tax to sign the blanks and send them in. Of course it would be well that the experiment should first be tried in a single state, because there are many signers of the petition who are not single tax men, though all of them have learned more or less of our doctrine through the literature they have received. If an experiment in a single state brought good results, however, other states would doubtless follow the example, and a considerable percentage of the signers of the petition would thus be enrolled. With them the percentage would be still larger if the separate enrolment for single tax men, limited, were arranged for.

NOT WITHOUT PRECEDENT.

At a recent monthly meeting of the Ministers' association of Milwaukee the Rev. Theodore Clifton, a Congregationalist, read a paper charging the churches with pride and ostentation and with indifference toward the laboring people. He denounced the existing inequalities in the rewards obtained by laborers, on the one hand, and by mere schemers and monopolists, on the other, and insisted that ministers should preach on such questions, and that their congregations should show a greater desire to treat the poor with courtesy and welcome them to the churches. He said the people were worse than the ministers and that the latter were far more democratic than their parishioners.

The paper called forth a sharp discussion, and quite a number of the preachers thought that Mr. Clifton was too severe in his criticisms. Several of the preachers said that the fault lay with the laboring people rather than with the church, and the Rev. Dr. Herr declared that he did not think the labor leaders were disposed "to lead men toward the house of God," and he complained that "when we go to the unions they request us to join with them instead of responding to our

request to join with us in going to church." Why does Rev. Dr. Herr not accept the invitation? The unions are engaged in the serious work of trying to better the condition of the poor. Those composing them would be likely to listen with respect to ministers who showed sympathy with their hopes and aspirations. Many of them would doubtless be led by such ministers into the acceptance of Christian doctrine, or, better still, Christian practice. Considering the amount of money and energy that the church has expended in trying to bring the heathen to Christianity, it would appear reasonable that its ministers should jump at the chance of getting on good terms with the intelligent workmen of their own communities.

The thing is worth trying, and there is ample precedent for the effort. When Jesus of Nazareth, a carpenter, preached the gospel to the poor nearly nineteen centuries ago, his assistants in that work of love were themselves Jewish workmen, and the chief among them was a fisherman. These people managed to get at the poor, and no general complaint has come down to us that the early Christian teachers were compelled to meet in convention to discuss the question as to "how the workmen are to be reached." They were workmen themselves, and they simply talked to their fellow workmen about the things in which they were interested. We commend the example of the Fathers to the clergy of Milwaukee.

A FABLE FOR OLD CHILDREN.

In a partially eleemosynary institution—which, I fear, is a large word for you, my children—there is a committee of ways and means and various devices for securing alms to incapacitated manufacturers. On any day there is to be seen a sight which cannot but draw tears from a well-regulated lachrymal gland. For men appear before this committee with pitiful yarns; and draw rhetorical pictures of laborers kicking their heels in the daisies—of clouds raining uninterrupted showers, of cold, and flood, and devastating panic. And they all of them ask for high duty with large and refreshing check. They have things to sell; and they tell the committee that they represent so many thousands of men engaged in such and such an industry; and they get a promise that something shall be done for them, after which they depart for their homes to devise means whereby they may reduce wages.

On a certain day there came before this committee a member of an industry not before represented. He was humbler than those who had preceded him. He was little and insignificant, and his back was bowed as of one accustomed to the carrying of great burdens. He stood a little in the background, as became one in unregarded position in life. He advanced with a modest and pleading air, and the Napoleon of the committee said to him sternly—for he was less robust than his fellow beggars, and had not that confident attitude which distinguishes the alms seekers when addressing the committee: "Well, sir, what do you represent?"

"I, sir," said the man, while a faint gleam of pride not yet crushed out of him lighted his weak and watery eye, "represent sixty-five million of people, yet my constituency has not been heard in the sessions of this committee. I have hastened here from everywhere, beset by winter winds, against which the sixty-five per cent duty on wool was no protection; my head, which has become bald in attempts to reconcile the statements of the men who come here, was sheltered by a hat on which there is a good deal of protection; but it was the hat and not the high duty which afforded me comfort."

"Have done this babble," interrupted the Napoleon angrily. "What do you want?"

"Protection," said the weak one, wearily.

"And who are you?" said Nap, much perplexed.

"I, sir," said this person, in voice of intense melancholy, "am The Man who Buys Things."

Jersey City. JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

THE ETHICS OF TRUSTS.

The modern trust, like all other economic devices, has its advocates and its opponents, the former including both those who from selfish motives find it to their personal interest to uphold, and those who desire the ultimate concentration of all industries into a common whole; the latter including those whose thought rises above the individual, as such, to the universal, and who see greater progress and development by conformity to great natural laws than by their abridgment by the merely statutory.

To either class it must be self-evident, and I hold it to be such, that back of all the regulations, restrictions, or arrangements, devised by individuals or by society, there exists a fundamental base from which all prosperity springs, viz., the inherent and inalienable right of the individual to exchange, either his labor or the product of his labor, to the best advantage, free and untrammelled.

This natural, divine right is inherent in the very constitution of civilization and under no just circumstances can be compromised without injury. Therefore any scheme or artifice which conspires to destroy or abridge this right is not only a crime against the higher sense of government, but is a check upon the progress of humanity itself.

In considering any form of organized method the relation to the natural law and to the social cosmos must always be borne in mind. That trusts are not organized with an eye to the general welfare is openly admitted. That they are constructed solely with a view to control and enhance the prices of production without consideration of proper return either to the laborer or the consumer, is evidenced in the sad experience of the people, from the farmer in the purchase of his needed implements of tillage to the toiling housewife in her humble dealings at the corner grocery.

The words of Mr. Beecher to the workmen of Liverpool, while not spoken in connection with trusts, are apropos and penetrate to the very core of this question. If admitted as sound, they not only dispose of the equity of trusts, but likewise show the fallacy of other customs under which society to-day acts. Said he, "Success to the working classes depends upon three conditions: (1) Liberty to produce. (2) Liberty to distribute. (3) Liberty to consume."

Is the statement rational and just? And if so, are trusts in harmony with it? Do they conserve the liberty of, by and for all, to produce, distribute and consume?

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a justifier of things as they are, says that trusts are simply a reaction from the results of overproduction; that so many more goods of a kind are made than can be consumed, and as a consequence there is created a fierce and destructive competition, from which relief can only be obtained by the makers of such goods pooling their business upon a basis of mutual interest. And further that when production shall have once again become normal, such combinations will dissolve. From these premises he argues that trusts can be but temporary, not permanent. But industrial death to the toiler is no sweeter by reason of the death blow being given by a temporary assassin. Or if consigned to the poor house of earthly struggle, he surely will not find his bed the softer because a temporary rogue has deprived him of his natural rights and possessions.

The claim that trusts are the result of overproduction is false, for the simple reason that there is not, nor can be, such a condition as overproduction as long as there are human wants to be satisfied. The reality is inequitable distribution.

Unfortunately for such a claim the history of trusts shows their construction to be mainly on commodities not produced in excess of legitimate consumption, the dominating principle being to enhance prices as well as to control production.

Now to control production is to violate the law of "liberty to produce," and it logically follows that the greater the concentration or control in the hands of the few the greater the injustice and injury to the many.

And thus it further follows that if the liberty to produce is checked, the liberty to distribute and consume is also checked, for whatever a man consumes must be paid for out of what he produces. To illustrate simply: One man wants clothes, but can only make shoes; another wants shoes, but can only make hats; a third wants hats, but can only make clothes. In order, therefore, that their respective wants may be gratified, an interchange between them takes place, regulated primarily in each case by the quantity of goods produced. It matters not how great you enlarge either the number of producers or interchanges, the principle of transaction is always the same.

Whatever a man produces, just so much can he buy or consume; and as he increases his measure to consume, just in proportion will his wants enlarge and know no limit. If by any scheme, such as trusts, his producing power is crippled, so is his consumption, and as a resultant the producing and consuming power of others.

Instance the sugar trust. As soon as arrangements were completed, a number of large refineries were ordered closed, thus throwing out of employment hundreds of men whose compulsory wages had been reduced already to the bare living point. The owners of the refineries thus closed were to be compensated from the general fund, but what of the men thrown into idleness? The loss in distribution of money which these men would have earned acts and reacts upon the community, until, like waves from a stone thrown in a pool, the whole mass is more or less affected.

Look, if you will, at the operations of the vast coal combinations which control the output of a most vital necessary of life. Occasionally the managers of these corporations, numbering perhaps not over a half dozen, meet in private conclave, and by reason of the monopoly which they have acquired, decide the industrial fate of hundreds of willing laborers. By their fiat is determined just how many tons of coal shall be mined, how many men shall be employed in the mining thereof, the wages which they shall receive, and the prices which the consumers must pay. No better illustration could be given to show the inherent principle of extortion in such combinations, and the weakness of an economic system under which such a condition could exist.

Is it not pertinent to ask who created and placed the needful coal in the Pennsylvania fields, man or God, and for whose benefit it was intended, six non-producing millionaires or the people of the continent? What, indeed, can be the ethics of such a system? In varying degree the underlying principle of the coal combination is the same throughout all other forms of centralized power.

Trusts are efforts in the commercial world to overcome the universal law of survival. In the commercial realm as in the scientific, the fittest will survive. Nature knows no exception to this rule and punishes him who attempts to controvert it. Ultimately this law holds good in the industrial sphere. Under modern methods of business a large factory is probably the best and cheapest instrument for producing. The consumer is interested in obtaining his supplies from the cheapest source, and therefore seeks the large producer. The small manufacturer, however, finds himself unfit, for various reasons, of surviving by the side of his large competitor, and endeavors to seek relief in union. But in pooling their industries the large producer will not sacrifice any portion of his

profit for the benefit of the smaller, and the only way by which the obstacle can be overcome is to fictitiously raise the price of the article produced, the enhanced price at once creating a fund from which both can draw an unnatural profit. At first thought this may seem a kindly act of fraternity, but it must be remembered that the consumer pays the bill, and there can be no ethics in any arrangement by which the masses are bled to support the few.

The law of commerce is as fixed and as immutable as any other law of the universe, and should be left to operate in absolute freedom, in which all laws accomplish the best universal results. Capital and labor, like water, if left free, will seek their own levels and flow through the channels of trade with just and regular movement, but when restricted by artificial means are often spasmodic, wild and dangerous.

By carrying out to its logical conclusion the thought here outlined, it can be readily seen that trusts not only interfere with natural rights, but by reason of the essential principle raise fictitious prices on the products they control, destroy competition which has been regarded as the "life of trade," depress individual enterprise by reason thereof, and increase the already bitter struggle for existence.

Thus considered, trusts have no ethical basis whatever. They are immoral, with no redeeming feature.

It has been said that civilization is a battle, but it is only in the seeming. Under a reign of intelligent forces the truest civilization is the turning of guns into plowshares and swords into pruning hooks. Society is the reflex of human desires, the evolved condition of human wants. Man is so constituted that his safety lies in the freest use and expansion of his creative energy. To create, to develop, is the soul of ambition.

To check by artificial means the operation of these divine faculties is to invite social disorder, in like manner as does the engineer when he closes the outlet to his steam. As the confined steam is the source of destruction, so the blocking up of the natural channels of industry and trade causes the outburst of social forces. There is and can be but one result. The production of wealth is lessened and discouraged; the distribution is made more and more unjust; the true producers of wealth are thrown into idleness—"the devil's work shop"—and from such a condition springs poverty, ignorance and vice.

WM. M. CALLINGHAM,
Camden, N. J.

OFFICIAL SILLINESS.

That which the author of "Progress and Poverty" had to combat in almost every chapter of his book, confusion of thought, reigns supreme at Washington. J. R. Dodge, statistician of the department of agriculture, has issued what he calls a report on "Agricultural depression and its causes," under the supervision of the honorable the secretary of that department, and "one of the best friends the farmers of this country every had," namely, J. M. Rusk.

In this document we are told "we cannot force foreigners to buy our bread. There has been a mass of ineffable nonsense regarding the markets of the world for wheat. Half of the people of Europe scarcely know its taste, while few of the nations of Asia and Africa have any knowledge of it." Further, "there should be no more need of going to Italy or Japan for raw silk than there is to India for raw cotton, and just as little need of going to Cuba for sugar. * * * If the policy of going abroad for all fibers except cotton, shall be put into permanent practice, and for all sugar and fruits, barley and oil seeds to be paid for in corn, wheat and cotton, which are already crowded into foreign markets to the last pound and bushel, there will be no necessity for a 'single tax' to make the farmer's land valueless and no need of account books or pocket books, and little demand for books of any kind."

I quote from an abstract of this report

in the American Economist of April 4. I cannot tell from this whether these are the words of the statistician, supervised by Governor-General Rusk, secretary, etc., or the words of Van Buren Denslow; nor is it important to tell whose words they are. They fully exemplify the confusion of thought, the ignorance and stupidity along with something still worse, which are now triumphant at Washington.

N. NILES.

Belleville, Ill.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE DIRECT TAX REFUNDING BILL—A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF DIRECT TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES—THE REMARKABLE TAXATION PLAN ADOPTED BY THE CONFEDERATION—LAND VALUES AND IMPROVEMENTS THE SOLE SOURCE OF FEDERAL REVENUE—POINTS IN THE DEBATE IN CONGRESS OVER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION—WHY THE ARTICLES FAILED AND HOW THE CONSTITUTION CAME TO BE FRAMED—THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO INDIRECT TAXATION—THE APPEARANCE OF THE FIRST FEDERAL TAX—THE DIRECT TAX LAW OF 1793—THE LAW OF 1813—THE LAW OF 1861 AND POINTS AND PASSAGES IN THE DEBATE OVER ITS ADOPTION.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 5.—The direct tax refunding bill, which passed the senate in January, may not get through the house. Speaker Reed is said to be opposed to it, not because it is a bad bill, not because it proposes to return moneys as fairly and justly levied as were any other taxes imposed during the war, but because it would take a large sum out of the treasury which he would prefer to see expended on war ships, on steel forts and in other ways indicated by the administration. The refunding bill, if passed, would return more than \$15,000,000 collected, for the most part, from the northern states under the act of 1861, imposing a direct tax of \$20,000,000 on all the United States.

As there seems to be a general lack of knowledge about the meaning and significance of a direct tax under the constitution of the United States, and of its history, and of the causes which led to its adoption, it may be of interest to briefly review the subject, beginning with affairs at the time of the foundation of the government.

Very shortly after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, on July 4, 1776, congress set about drafting articles of confederation which would bind the colonies together and give the congress a constitution upon which to act. This work was not completed until the close of 1777. Meanwhile congress proceeded to meet the expenses of the war by the emission of bills, calling upon each of the states to redeem in gold and silver its quota, which was determined by its proportion of population. It was "resolved" that "each colony provide ways and means to sink its" quota "in such manner as may be most effectual and best adapted to the condition, circumstances and equal mode of levying taxes in each colony." But as the taxation clause of the articles came to be discussed a variety of views were expressed as to the things on which the states should lay taxes intended for the support of the confederation. At length the following article was reported from the committee of the whole:

That all charges of war and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare, and are allowed by the United States assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the federal states in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex and quality, except Indians, not paying taxes in each state; a true account of which, distinguishing the white inhabitants, shall be triennially taken and transmitted to the assembly of the United States. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid or levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states within the time agreed upon by the United States assembled. (1)

A substitute for this was offered reading as follows:

That the proportion of the public expense incurred by the United States for the common defense and general welfare to be paid by each state into the treasury be ascertained by the value of all property except household goods and wearing apparel within each state, to be ascertained agreeable to the direction of congress. (2)

In the debate which ensued, however, Dr. John Witherspoon of New Jersey expressed the opinion that the value of lands and houses was the best estimate of the wealth of a nation, and that it was practicable to obtain such a valuation. This, he said, was the true barometer of wealth. (3) This coincided with the sentiment of the majority of the members of the congress so that it was moved and carried that the proportion of the public ex-

(1) Journals of Congress, vol. 3, p. 423.

(2) Journals of Congress, vol. 3, p. 421.

(3) The Madison Papers, vol. 1, p. 34.

pense to be paid by each state "be ascertained by the value of all land within that state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land, the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be estimated, according to such mode as congress shall from time to time direct and appoint." The delegates from New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina voted in the affirmative, the delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut voted in the negative, and the votes of New York and Pennsylvania were divided. (1) The passage as finally worded and adopted in the articles of confederation read:

Article 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for common defense and general welfare, and allowed by the United States in congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon, shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled. (2)

The articles were recommended to the states on the 15th of November, 1777, but, owing partially to a reluctance to give up any privileges, and partially to differences of opinion regarding various points, all the states had not ratified until 1781, when Maryland, the last one to hold out, signed in March of that year. Article 8 raised a good deal of discussion in the state legislatures. Massachusetts thought an amendment should be made "so that the rule of apportionment may be varied from time to time by congress until experience shall have shown what rule of apportionment will be most equal, and consequently most just." Rhode Island urged that after the word "appoint" be added the clause: "Such estimate to be taken and made once in every five years." New Jersey stated that by articles 6 and 9 the "regulations of trade seem to be committed to the several states within their separate jurisdiction, in such a degree as may involve difficulties and embarrassments, and be attended with injustice to some states in the Union." She was of opinion that "the sole and exclusive power of regulating the trade of the United States with foreign nations ought to be clearly vested in the congress, and that the revenue arising from all duties and customs imposed thereon ought to be appropriated to the building, equipping and manning of a navy, for the protection of the trade and defense of the coasts and to such other public and general purposes as to congress shall seem proper, and for the common benefit of the states." She did not, however, propose that this should affect the eighth article, though she stated "that, as frequent settlements of the quotas for supplies and aids, to be furnished by the several states in support of the general treasury, will be requisite * * * it cannot be thought improper or unnecessary to have them struck once at least every five years, and oftener if circumstances will allow. The quality or value of real property in some states may increase much more rapidly than in others, and, therefore, the quota which is at one time just will, at another, be disproportionate." None of the suggested changes were made in the articles as drafted, though the reason is not clear.

Thus, under the articles of confederation, drawn by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, a tax on land values and improvements was to furnish the only means by which congress was to obtain the revenue it needed to meet not only the general and ordinary wants, but the great special demands of the war as well, and no provision whatever was made for custom duties, excise, personal property income or any other kind of a tax. This one tax on the value of land and improvements was deemed after mature deliberation to be all sufficient, not to say the most equitable.

But it will be observed that this tax was to be "laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states." Under the articles congress had no more authority to lay taxes itself, nor to command the laying of taxes by the states, nor even power to enforce its demands upon them, than it had before. It could not enact laws, but had to confine itself to the adoption of "resolves." The difficulties arising from this condition of things presented themselves at once. It was a fundamental principle with the confederation that each state was the equal in power and authority with any other, without the

(1) Journals of Congress, vol. 3, p. 431.

(2) Journals of Congress, vol. 3, p. 507.

slightest regard to wealth or population, (1) so that there were constant jealousies and contentions between them that made prompt and harmonious action in the matter of general revenue an impossibility. The plan of obtaining federal revenue by a tax which the states should lay upon land which the states should value was at an early date "strongly objected to by the delegate from Connecticut, Mr. Dyer, by Mr. Hamilton, by Mr. Wilson, by Mr. Carroll and by Mr. Madison, as leaving the states too much to the bias of interest, as well as too uncertain and tedious in the execution." (2) It was proposed by Mr. Madison, as a way out of the difficulty, "that a valuation be attempted by congress without the intervention of the states," but general jealousy of state rights stepped in and prevented this. Mr. Wilson of Pennsylvania, in behalf of a committee composed beside himself of Mr. Madison and Mr. Carroll, and appointed to report on a method of taxation under the articles of confederation, said that the peculiar repugnance of the people of the United States to taxes proceeded, first, from the odious light in which they had been, under the old government, in the habit of regarding them; and secondly, from the direct manner in which taxes in this country had been laid, whereas in all other countries taxes were paid in a way that was little felt at the time. He therefore suggested that an impost on trade be combined with the land tax. (3) Madison thus clearly describes the complex situation:

The principal difficulties which embarrassed the progress and retarded the completion of the plan of confederation may be traced to—first, the natural repugnance of the parties to a relinquishment of power; secondly, a natural jealousy of its abuse in other hands than their own; thirdly, the rule of suffrage among parties whose inequality in size did not correspond with that of their wealth, or with their military or free population; fourthly, the selection and definition of the powers, at once necessary to the federal head, and safe to the general members.

To these sources of difficulty, incident to the formation of all such confederacies, were added two others, one of a temporary, the other of a permanent nature. The first was the case of the crown lands, so called because they had been held by the British crown, and being ungranted to individuals, when its authority ceased, were considered by the states, within whose charters or asserted limits they lay, as devolving on them; while it was contended by the others that, being wrested from the deposed authority by the equal exertions of all, they resulted by right and in equity to the benefit of all. The lands being of vast extent, and of growing value, were the occasion of much discussion and heart burning, and proved the most obstinate of the impediments to an earlier consummation of the plan of federal government. The other source of dissatisfaction was the peculiar situation of some of the states, which, having no convenient ports for foreign commerce, were subject to be taxed by their neighbors through whose ports their commerce was carried on. (4)

But the radical infirmity of the articles of confederation was the dependence of congress on the voluntary and simultaneous compliance with its requisitions by so many independent communities, each consulting more or less its particular interest and convenience, and trusting the compliance of the others. While the paper emissions of congress continued to circulate, they were employed as a sinew of war, like gold and silver. When that ceased to be the case, and the fatal defect of the political system was felt in its alarming force, the war was merely kept alive, and brought to a successful conclusion, by such foreign aids and temporary expedients as could be applied—a hope prevailing with many, and a wish with all, that a state of peace, and the sources of prosperity opened by it, would give to the confederacy, in practice, the efficiency which had been inferred from its theory.

The close of the war, however, brought no cure for the public embarrassments. The states, relieved from the pressure of foreign danger, and flushed with the enjoyment of independent and sovereign power, instead of a diminished disposition to part with it, preserved in omissions and in measures an attitude incompatible with their relations to the federal government, and with those among themselves. (5)

Thus, through the jealousy of the states and the uncertainty of the times, men were led to tolerate and even approve ways of acquiring federal revenue which should be less easily perceived and felt, and those who, under other conditions, may not have been favorably disposed toward indirect taxation, came to see the advantage it in this respect possessed. Madison, himself, suggested as "practicable objects of a general revenue, first, an impost on trade; secondly, a poll tax, under certain qualifications; thirdly, a land tax, under ditto." (6) Even as

(1) The Birth of the Republic. Daniel R. Goodloe; p. 363.

(2) Elliot's Debates, vol. 5, p. 25.

(3) Elliot's Debates, vol. 5, p. 33.

(4) The Madison Papers, vol. 2, p. 690.

(5) The Madison Papers, vol. 2, p. 692.

(6) Elliot's Debates, vol. 5, p. 24.

early as February of 1781, before the confederation had been finally ratified, congress applied to the states for power to levy a five per cent ad valorem duty upon merchandise imported into the United States, but Rhode Island stood out against it, despite the persuasive eloquence of Hamilton and Madison. To show the desperate condition of affairs it is only necessary to cite the fact that on the 30th of October, 1781, congress made a requisition upon the states for eight millions of dollars, and that in January, 1783, one year and three months later, less than half a million of this sum had been received into the general treasury. (1)

It was these great difficulties that made a remodeling of the political organism necessary, and out of them that our constitution grew, giving power to congress "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises," and prohibiting any state, without the consent of congress, from laying "any impost or duties on imports or exports," except what might be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws. With that constitution also came the provision that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the states * * * according to their respective numbers," or, as worded in another place, "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken," while all duties, imposts and excises, it was decreed, should be "uniform throughout the United States." Then came the complexity of plans for raising our federal revenue. A tariff soon made its appearance, and though only a little one at first and instituted almost solely with the purpose of raising revenue, to what gigantic proportions has it grown to-day, and upon what a preposterous assumption is it perpetuated!

The first direct tax law was enacted in 1793, under which \$2,000,000 were raised for the federal treasury. The next act was passed in 1813, under which the general government laid and collected a tax of \$3,000,000. The third and last time direct taxation has been resorted to under the constitution was in 1861, when congress laid a tax of \$20,000,000. It is the moneys raised by this act that the present congress proposes to return to the states.

This act of 1861, which was three-fold in its nature, proposed to raise \$50,000,000—\$20,000,000 by a direct tax "laid on the value of all lands and lots of ground, with their improvements and dwelling houses," and the other \$30,000,000 partially by increased customs duties, partially by a personal property tax and partially by a three per cent tax upon all incomes exceeding the sum of \$800 per annum. Fifteen per cent discount from the direct tax was allowed to any state who would collect the moneys and turn them over to the general treasury. The bill as originally drawn laid a direct tax of \$30,000,000, and provided that the remainder of the \$50,000,000 should be raised by personal property and increased tariff taxes, but such a sentiment was developed against so heavy a land tax that the measure was reported back to the ways and means committee with instructions to modify the bill so that but \$20,000,000 should be raised in that way, and provide that an income tax should be laid. The debate in the house is very interesting to-day, as it involved many points that are developed in the course of the agitation for the adoption of the single tax.

Thaddeus Stevens, who was chairman of the ways and means committee and reported the bill, stated that the personal property tax would "fall particularly heavy upon the larger cities and upon the older states," while the direct taxes would "fall more heavily upon the new states."

Schuyler Colfax expressed much opposition to the taxing of land, which he said was the "most odious" tax that could be levied. He preferred to take the bill with only the taxes upon whisky, carriages, watches, "and upon all articles recognized as luxuries." Mr. McClelland of Illinois said that the bill would fall with ruinous effect upon the great agricultural states of the west and southwest. Their population was large, yet their wealth was comparatively small. Why should land be taxed and not other property? Rhode Island, with half the population of Iowa, possessed twice the pecuniary ability to pay taxes as Iowa.

William Kellogg of Illinois declared that what he objected to was that "the tax should not be levied exclusively upon what is known as real property." He explained himself in this way:

It may seem a little strange that a member from a western state—and agricultural state—should be opposed to any relief from taxation upon real estate. But yet it will not ap-

(1) Constitutional History of the United States, G. T. Curtis, Vol. 1, p. 118.

pear strange when it is recollected—and I wish to call attention to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Colfax] to the fact—that a large amount of the real estate in the western country is held by non-residents. The effect of the gentleman's proposition would be to relieve from taxation non-residents who hold millions of property in the west, and to impose taxation on the residents. A taxation on real estate, as well as on personal property, would be more just, more equitable, more reasonable, and would fall alike on resident and non-resident property holders. I want to tax the non-resident land holder—the man who has invested his money and holds property which is becoming valuable by the efforts and energies of those who live in the western countries. I want to tax his interest equally with the interest of those who live on the land and by their improvements of the country make the non-resident's investment really valuable.

Roscoe Conkling said he was opposed to a scheme imposing so enormous a burden upon the rural districts—"upon agricultural property"—excluding entirely from its operation the immense active and dormant capital which falls, not under the designation of real estate or land, but belongs to the personal property of the country. "I protest," said he, "against taxing farms until everything else is taxed." To this one of his colleagues from New York state, Alex. S. Diven, answered:

It has been said by my colleague that this imposition of a tax upon real estate will operate hardly upon the rural districts and upon the farming interests of the country. Let me tell him that in the state he and myself have the honor in part to represent the valuation of real estate will show that the cities and towns predominate over the rural districts. I can name a man in the city of New York who, under the bill, will pay as much tax as one-fourth of his [Conkling's] entire constituency or one-half of my own. I tell you, sir, that for the purpose of placing our credit upon a sure foundation, and for the purpose of securing money at a low rate of interest, no temptation can be offered a lender that would be equal to the levying of a tax upon real estate.

One word to those who are in favor of levying a tax upon personal property as well as upon real estate. How is that to be carried out with any regard to equity and justice? If carried out at all it must be by taxing the personal property found in the possession of individuals. Let us go the city of New York. There the assessors may be conducted to the large commission houses, where are deposited hundreds and thousands of dollars' worth of the products of Ohio and Illinois and the other western states. The assessor will assess that property in the hands of commission merchants; but will those merchants pay the tax upon that property? We could in that way levy much of our contribution from those products of the west. In like manner, go to our great store houses where property is deposited, worth millions, where those with whom it is deposited have the lightest of all interest in it. I tell you, sir, that this mode of collection will be found impracticable. * * * I can tell you, also, that your tariff does not, by a long way, operate with as much justice as this.

Mr. Edgerton of Ohio wanted to know if it was fair that the "war should be sustained wholly by the landed interest of the country?" Should the farmers of the country have their lands pledged as security for the payment of the debt, while the merchant princes of Wall street and all the great capitalists were to go free and bear none of the burden? Mr. Diven answered that he understood that an income tax was talked of. But had the subject really been considered? How could the assessor fix his [Mr. Diven's] income, which depended upon the results of his profession? If himself called upon to tell how much he received, it would be a riddle to him. "So as to the merchant," said Mr. Diven, "who one year is successful and makes \$10,000, and the next year is unsuccessful and loses \$10,000—one year up and another year down—how are you to fix his income? I have said, and I repeat, we require something tangible that we can place at the disposal of the creditor, to show that the security is sure and certain; and, hence, this direct tax should be levied upon something specific."

Mr. McClelland asked if it was held "that a tract of land in Ohio worth \$1,000 might be taxed \$100; and a tract of land of the same value in Illinois be taxed \$500?" John A. Bingham, of Ohio, answered that "when you come to tax the land of the country, by every construction and all precedent, you lay a direct tax and apportion it among the several states, according to their representative population."

Mr. McClelland—And it must be uniform. Mr. Bingham—No, sir; a direct tax must not be "uniform;" it must be apportioned among the several states according to their representative population respectively.

Mr. Kellogg (of Michigan)—This bill imposes a tax of \$750,000 on the state of Michigan and only \$175,000 on the state of Rhode Island, which owns property to five or ten times the amount of Michigan.

Mr. Bingham—I answer the gentleman that it is because Michigan has the soil by which alone nations live, and she has also nearly five times the population of Rhode Island to wring from her vast territory its annual increase.

Mr. Arnold of Illinois presented the fol-

lowing table, based on official figures, to show the unequal way in which the direct tax would bear upon the western states:

States.	Valuation of Real Estate.	Amount of Tax.	Rate per Dollar.
Illinois.....	\$287,219,310	\$1,719,827	5.99 mills
Massachusetts..	475,413,165	1,236,872	2.60 "
Michigan.....	123,605,084	75,645	6.09 "
Vermont.....	65,649,983	316,602	4.82 "
Wisconsin.....	148,238,766	779,533	5.26 "
New Jersey.....	151,161,241	675,201	4.47 "
Iowa.....	149,433,433	678,132	4.54 "
Connecticut.....	121,478,842	462,321	3.81 "
Kansas.....	16,489,602	107,615	6.49 "
Rhode Island....	83,778,204	175,445	2.09 "

Mr. Kellogg of Illinois, in reply to these figures, said: "We are in a time of war, acting upon a condition of things and circumstances, that requires us to place the credit of the country upon a rock; and that rock in America is real estate."

However, the supporters of the bill could not withstand the onset of men who, had they known more about the incidence of taxation, may have given willing assistance. But the land tax was new, having been laid but twice before since the framing of the constitution, and neither of those times coming within the political experience, if, indeed, within the lives of those thus suddenly called upon by the outbreak of the war to impose it. As it was, the opposing elements were found to be too strong, and so the bill had to be so changed that the tax falling upon land values and improvements had to be lessened and the taxes upon trade, internal as well as external, and personal property, had to be increased. A tax upon incomes had to be added as well. The bill thus modified was quickly passed through the house and then through the senate, and in a few days received the signature of President Lincoln.

From the foregoing brief review it will be seen that direct taxation has played a very important part in our country's history. It appears that that was the method deliberately selected by the fathers of the republic, and, what is of more significance, was ratified by the separate action of the thirteen sovereign states. "All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for common defense and general welfare shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated," decreed the Continental congress in 1777. How that plan of federal taxation, which, after full and free debate, was selected by those men whom we have been taught, and, upon investigation have reason to believe, were far above the average of mankind in intellectual abilities, and who must have been for the most part governed by pure and patriotic motives, has been seen. "Circumstances over which they had no control" forced the introduction, or at any rate increased the temptation of instituting indirect taxation, the burden of which could not so easily be perceived. The evil that was thus begun was not to be got rid of without a struggle, so that in attempting suddenly to go back to the direct method of taxation, even at a great crisis in the nation's affairs, there had to be a compromise.

Though the fathers saw but "as through a glass darkly," though they taxed "buildings and improvements," they had got hold of the great principle for which single tax men are working to-day, and we may justly claim that in urging the taxation of land values as the sole means of federal support we do but ask for the reinstatement of a part of the old law—that we do but assert a mere simplification of the eighth article of the articles of confederation, which the signers of the Declaration of Independence drafted and which all the colonies accepted.

The constitution, in declaring that direct taxation must be apportioned among the states according to their population, seems to impose a barrier which will have to be cleared away by an amendment. Then, in the words of our first constitution, slightly modified, "all charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for common defense and general welfare, and allowed by the United States in congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state." Then will have gone tariffs and all systems imposing burdens upon production and exchange; then will have gone many of those elements which engender and foster centralization and "strong government;" and we might, perhaps, be justified in reviving the old boast of our fathers that we have the best government on the face of the earth, because it would be the government which governed least. Then will the republic have taken that high station in the affairs of nations which the prophetic eye of Jefferson seemed to discern.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Columbus, Ohio, April 22 1890.—Mr. Thos. G. Shearman, New York—Dear Sir: I have read your article in THE STANDARD of March 26, replying to my query in the previous issue, with much interest. But it does not make clear to me the problem I had in mind when I wrote the question. And as this problem is perplexing a great many sincere advocates of the single tax in this vicinity, I venture to re-state it in another form and trust you will help me to a solution of it. The elements of the problem are these:

(1) Let it be assumed that the population of the United States comprises 3,000,000 capitalists and 10,000,000 penniless laborers; meaning by capitalists, those who have wealth to spare for investment, and by penniless laborers, those who live from hand to mouth.

(2) Under the single tax limited or unlimited, "the irresistible tendency of taxation to increase would continually press it toward the limit of economic rent."

(3) The limit of economic rent is the excess of production on the land whose value is taxed over that on the most productive land whose use can be enjoyed for nothing; or, where there is no free land, it is the excess of production over a bare subsistence.

(4) The single tax being applied, "no one would be allowed to exercise control over any land without paying some tax upon it." There would, therefore, be no land to which access would be absolutely free.

(5) The tax will be levied and collected strictly in advance. "No one would be allowed to remain on any tract of land long enough to gather crops without paying the tax on that land."

(6) The mere desire of a penniless man to enjoy the use of a piece of land would be of no effect in increasing the taxable value of that land; just as the mere desire of the same man is of no effect in increasing the price of hothouse grapes. And the combined desires of 10,000,000 such men could have no more effect than naught multiplied by 10,000,000.

(7) Under these circumstances the tendency of the single tax toward the limit of economic rent would be arrested before it had gone very far; since the effectual competition for the privilege of using land would be confined to a mere fraction of the population.

(8) But the necessities of the 10,000,000 penniless laborers would remain constant, and would find expression in the competition among the laborers for the privilege of working for constantly decreasing wages.

(9) This society would divide itself into two classes—a small class of land rating capitalists and a large class of wage earning laborers; the first class enjoying the privilege of controlling land at a rent tax which would leave them an ample margin of profit, and the second competing for the privilege of work at wages which would be constantly forced by competition toward the margin of subsistence.

Now, the question that perplexes me is: In what way will the great class of penniless laborers be benefited by the concentration of all taxes upon land values? or, as I expressed it in my letter to THE STANDARD, how will the single tax free land?

H. S. McCLEES.

These suggestions are useful, but some assumptions in the above are not admissible.

(1) There are very few literally penniless laborers. Of the millions who are very poor, there are few who cannot raise enough to pay the rent of a piece of land in advance. Not one in a hundred would be found unable to do this to-day. The few who have no money or property of their own could easily borrow enough to pay the tax on the land which they could profitably use.

(2) Consequently "competition for the privilege of using land" would extend to practically the entire population.

(3) Society might still be divided into a capitalist class and a wage earning class, because the former might be able to pay more to the latter than they could make out of the land, undirected and unaided by capitalists. Certainly, if I were driven to make a living by farming, I should make more by hiring out to an experienced capitalist farmer than I could by working land myself, even if it were given to me free of rent and close to a market. But, if land were thrown open to all laborers, upon the mere payment of a semi-annual rent, with absolute security for improvements, enough skilled laborers would betake themselves to the land to raise the wages of even such a bungler as I should be on a farm.

(4) The single tax, unlimited, would make land free, to the extent of making it unnecessary to have any capital for its purchase; since the only terms upon which land could be sold would be for the payment of the annual taxes. Any one who could raise the value of a piece of land for one year would be as well able to buy as the millionaire. If a poor man knew how to make a piece of land available better than a millionaire, he could outbid the millionaire for that land, assuming, of course, that each was actuated only by the usual desire of profit. For the product of the land would more than repay the tax each year.

(5) The single tax, limited, would have a similar effect, to the extent to which it approached the full annual value of the land. But even if it fell far short of this, it would make it ruinous for land owners to keep land out of use; and therefore it would make the competition of landlords for tenants far more active than the competition of tenants for

land. This competition would keep rents down, making land cheap and readily accessible.

(ii) The single tax in any form, would relieve all the people from all taxes which they now pay in addition to their rent. As they must, by a law of nature, pay rent in any case, it is plain that the "great mass of penniless laborers" who now pay rent for the land on which they live, and taxes upon their food, clothing and shelter, would be immensely benefited, even if land were not made free. And, as the taxes which they now pay amount to more than enough, in the case of even the poorest family, to pay the rent of \$500 worth of land, the single tax, limited, would in effect give to the poorest laborer a \$500 tract of land for nothing; while it would give to the average skilled laborer a piece of land now worth \$1,500. That is, it would leave enough money in the pockets of such laborers to enable them to pay the full rent and taxes on such a piece of land, without working any harder or living on any lower scale than they do now. If that is not making land free, how much more ought we to expect? Do we want the whole earth?

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

According to the daily papers the greatest syndicate upon the face of the globe has just been formed. It is the Anglo-American gas lighting company, whose capital stock is \$50,000,000, and whose business it will be to furnish light to cities in Europe and America. The old traction crowd in Philadelphia, which controls street railways in many American cities, figures largely in the new concern. The organization of this vast scheme for monopoly suggests the wisdom of agitation in favor of municipal ownership of the illuminating apparatus in American cities.

A correspondent asks the Boston Globe how much the protective tariff costs the people annually. The Globe thinks about \$2,000,000,000. So, then, each man, woman and child under the dominion of the Stars and Stripes pays about \$40 a year to keep up the system; or, reckoning by families of five members, each head of a family pays \$200 a year for it. The protective tariff comes high, but we must have it.

J. L. Caldwell of Mart, Texas, sends THE STANDARD a newspaper clipping which is sure to be read with satisfaction by single tax men everywhere. Here it is, from the Marlin, Tex., Ball:

The most hotly contested municipal election in the state was at Houston where party lines were closely drawn between the democrats and republicans, each party having a full ticket in the field. The democratic nominee for mayor was Henry Scherffius and for city attorney H. F. Ring (formerly of Marlin). The democrats gave the republicans a Waterloo defeat, and Mr. Ring ran ahead of his ticket in every ward in the city. If the democrats of the Houston district want a congressman to succeed Charles Stewart what's the matter with Henry F. Ring?

After indulging in some pardonable "ghoul-ish glee" over the above, Mr. Caldwell goes on to say: "The Marlin Ball is one of our democratic papers which thought not very long ago that 'the single tax would ruin the farmers.' But now it sees nothing the matter with the author of that world-popular tract 'The Case Plainly Stated.'" THE STANDARD hopes the democratic party of Texas will have the good sense to act on the suggestion of the Marlin Ball.

Hegins, Pa.—During a debate on the single tax the following points were made: Please answer each.

J. H. SCHROPE.

1. This is the same system that was adopted during the early settlement of Virginia with disastrous failure.

Will the debater who made this point give the particulars of resemblance?

2. It is the same James Ogilthorpe adopted in Georgia.

Ditto.

3. The only place where it is now in force is in the southern parts of Asia (India), where it is a curse to the inhabitants.

Ditto.

Neither the single tax, nor any approach to the system, was adopted in the settlement of Virginia, nor of Georgia, nor is it in force in India or any other part of Asia.

4. Henry George never said a truer thing than that "the tax on products of labor diminishes production." Why not tax whisky, tobacco, etc., to such an excess as to prohibit its production?

If it is true that a tax on products of labor diminishes production, why do your adversaries want to continue taxes on good things? Are they so opposed to good things that they want to diminish production? As to whisky and tobacco, which they evidently look upon as bad things, let them read in the April Arena what Mr. George himself says upon the subject.

Kansas City, Mo.—What is the difference between nationalization of land and the ef-

fect that the single tax would have upon land?

H. W. ALLEN.

The economic effect would be about the same. The single tax is the simpler mode of making land common property; it may more readily be brought into practical politics in this country, and is less liable to abuses.

It makes a great difference whose ox is gored. This has been recently illustrated, says the Richmond Times, in the well-known Manufacturers' club of Philadelphia, which was originally composed exclusively of protectionists, who were unanimous in their views on the tariff, because they thought it was essential to the profitability of their various forms of business. As soon, however, as the McKinley bill proposed to protect the sheep growers of the west at the expense of the carpet manufacturers of Philadelphia, many members of this club repudiated the tariff system because it would, if the McKinley bill were passed, bear most ruinously upon their special interests.

The Winnipeg, Manitoba, Star reprints the letter from Edward Osgood Brown, dated at Winnipeg, which appeared in THE STANDARD of April 16. The Star frequently quotes from our columns, always giving due credit, a thing that might be done by numerous papers with credit to themselves.

Zanesville, Ohio.—The statement was made in our club that under the single tax unlimited there would be no inducement to improve, and this being disputed, questions about as follows were asked:

1. Is not the full measure of economic rent all that can be earned in any occupation over what could be earned in the most remunerative occupation that can be conducted on land for which no rent is paid—capital and labor being the same?

2. Would not the single tax, if fully applied, absorb all this economic rent?

3. If the single tax were fully applied would there be any inducement for a man to apply his labor to good land in preference to poor land?

The answers to the first and second questions were yes; to No. 3 no settled opinion was given.

E. C. CRUMBAKER.

The answers given to Nos. 1 and 2 were right; as to No. 3 the farmer would seek for farm land; not for Wall street lots or rich coal mines. The storekeeper would have no use at all for farm land, whether good or poor, nor for Wall street lots or coal mine tracts; his business would require land in the midst of a more or less dense population, and, if a wholesaler, in a center of his own class of business. The metropolitan banker would seek for the most valuable land—that is, the land that was in greatest demand. If you follow this idea, you will see, I think, not only that men will seek for land adapted to their occupations, but also that they would seek for land adapted to their abilities. The more skillful a man is in his own business, the better land he will want on which to carry it on. A business man, or mechanic, or farmer, of the first class, can utilize the best land of the kind he requires more profitably than farmers, business men or mechanics of a lower class can, and more profitably than they themselves could utilize poorer land. Thus a metropolitan merchant could do better on high taxed city land than on low taxed village land. Therefore, the best men in any line of industry will seek the best land which is adapted to their industry.

But there is really no importance to the question. The objection you state at first is, that "there would be no inducement to improve." That is an important objection. But when you formulate the question it is, that there would be no "inducement for a man to apply his labor to good land in preference to poor land." That is immaterial. Though he took the poorer land in preference to the better the inducement to improve would be stronger than ever, for it would be by improvement only that he could prosper.

Lincoln, Neb.—What would be the effect of the single tax in the case of a widow with a young family dependent upon her, and who has all her money invested in mortgages on unimproved land?

N. D. BAKER.

Her condition would be like that of the widow with a young family dependent on her and who has no money at all, with this difference, that, whereas such a widow is now driven into the slums and forced to support her dependent family by drudgery for starvation wages, both widows would then find ample opportunity at living wages to provide for their children, and the children as they grew up would find a world anxious to get their work and to pay them for it what it was worth.

The Arnold publishing association of Boston, whose object is to "awaken interest and disseminate information on (sic) vital issues of our national life," has sent to THE STANDARD two pamphlets on the public school question. One is an Irish Catholic layman's appeal to all classes "to make common cause for the preservation intact of our pub-

lic schools as against all foreign interference." The pamphlet contains addresses delivered by Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop Kane, Edwin D. Mead and the Hon. John Jay at the annual meeting of the National educational association at Nashville, from last year. The price of each pamphlet is ten cents. The object seems to be to get at the best that each side has to say upon the question at issue.

The Canadian government has increased the duty on imported doll babies five per cent. The result will be, of course, an increase in the manufacture of rag dolls in the pauper foreign homes of Canada, and the keeping out of that market of our free American made dolls.

Table Rock, Neb.—In your issue of April 7, replying to a question by A. Smith, you say that a suggestion that other nations by imposing a tariff might destroy our trade with them while their trade with us remained undiminished is "unthinkable." At the present time, according to statistics, we import many million dollars' worth of goods more from some countries, as China and Brazil, than we export to them. Do we, therefore, get our tea and coffee for nothing? If not, what is there to keep other nations from keeping out our goods by tariffs while they continue to sell to us?

E. D. HOWE.

Though we do not export many goods to China and Brazil, we do export things to other countries, and those countries export manufactured goods to China and Brazil to pay for the goods that we receive from those countries. Suppose we buy a million dollars' worth of coffee from Brazil and sell a million dollars' worth of grain to England, while England sends a million dollars' worth of manufactured goods to Brazil, can Mr. Howe not see that the three transactions balance one another? The Brazilian coffee merchant draws on the American merchant for \$1,000,000. The American shipper of wheat draws on the English consignee for \$1,000,000. The English manufacturers draw on Brazilian merchants for \$1,000,000; and if the amounts were exactly equal the whole business would be managed by the bankers without the use of a cent of money, as the several drafts would extinguish one another. It is simply a three-cornered swap of goods for goods. We send wheat to England to pay for coffee that we receive from Brazil, and England pays Brazil in manufactured goods. If it were not for the obstacles that the tariff throws in the way we should do much of this trading directly, and thus make the profit on manufacturing, exchange and freights that the existing system throws altogether into the hands of Englishmen. Mr. Howe need have no fear that we will get coffee, tea or anything else for nothing, but if we did, would that hurt us? Did the Israelites in the Wilderness complain of the cheapness of manna?

WHY NOT TAX THESE?

Correspondent of Boston Post.

Not enough credit has been given the McKinley bill for its devotion to the interests of the poor man. Taxes on blankets and clothing and carpets and all household utensils, even upon fruit—which the fruit dealers will say is an "unhealthy" taxation—can do them no injury so long as they have the following articles free:

Catgut, whipgut and wormgut.
Dandelions.
Chicory.
Diamonds and precious stones.
Currants.
Human hair.
Dates.
Grease.
Old scrap.
Moss and seaweeds.
Rags.
Mother of pearl.
Tobacco stems.
Kangaroo skins.
Raddle.

HOW TO PRONOUNCE COYOTE.

Mansy's Weekly.

Tourist (headed westward)—Are there many wolves in Kansas?

Mover (headed eastward)—Heaps uv 'em, pardner!

Tourist—How do you pronounce the name by which they are called—c-o-y-o-t-e or k-i-o-t-e?

Mover—Wall, some calls it one an' some the other, but them that have run agin' 'em much pronounces it real estate agent.

BE LIKE THE HUNTED OSTRICH.

Boston Globe.

Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson has discovered that "free trade ideas" command an overweight of influence in the American press. He therefore advocates close communion for all republican newspaper readers—that is, never read anything but a republican newspaper. This kind of collar is very much out of date in this age of free discussion.

GETTING READY FOR THE NEW TARIFF.

Boston Post.

Webb—"Say, old man, that is a vile cigar you are smoking; the smell of it is enough to make one sick." Piper—"I know it, Webb, I know it. But you see I am trying to get used to the time when the new tariff will leave a man no choice between imported Havanas and cabbage leaf."

SOCIETY NOTES.

The princess of Wales uses a cosmetic the nature of which the ladies in her court would willingly pay dear for. Although nearly fifty years of age her highness has a complexion as smooth in texture and as delicate in tint as the beauty of a school-girl. It will stand the closest scrutiny, the test of sunshine and the electric lantern, and is proof to handkerchief and lorgnette. Even the famous Patti has endeavored to penetrate the secret of the royal beauty box, but without success.

A special dispatch from Quebec to the Philadelphia Telegraph says: "Great destitution exists in this city. Please come; my third child is dying of hunger. I have no doctor, and two of my children have been sent to the graveyard." Such were the cries addressed to a gentleman by the mother of a family of six children. He followed and tried to give all the help possible, but was placed face to face with a seven-year-old child who died a few seconds after, having refused a crust of bread dipped in water, the only eatable thing that was left in the house. Behind a small stove could be seen a cot, over which the father of the unfortunate family, maimed and sick, was crying. The poor man was helpless, with nothing to eat and no means of paying a doctor. There was no work on hand. He was compelled to look on and see his children dying, and all he could offer to the last victim of this terrible state of things was a glass of cold water. 'Poor but proud' seems to have been the motto of the family of which Gabriel Morise is the chief. The eldest child was buried Sunday, and two others on Saturday; another is very ill, suffering from convulsions, and will probably die. The father and mother are so much broken down that they seem to have lost all sense of what is going on. Another family, that of James Tanguay, also from Labrador, is in pretty much the same position. The charitable societies seem to be ignorant of the dreadful state of affairs."

From select and exclusive English designs "the pullback" takes precedence. It also takes leave of the petticoat, forcing the wearer into the union suit of silk or merino underwear, over which an India silk divided skirt or woven tights are worn. The garters and waistbands disposed of, there is nothing to interfere with the fit of the skirt, which clings about the hips as snugly and as creaselessly as the tailor-made bodice does to the figure. In the London pullback the wearer has perfect freedom in walking and sitting, a couple of strong elastic bands taking the place of the torturous steels formerly used. In the skirt foundation darts are cut about the top of the lining to give it the proper fit and over the hem a plaiting is laid to hide from view the pull over the feet while walking. Over this carefully made lining goes the drapery without so much as a wrinkle in the front and side gores, the back, however, being very full, through a space of about three inches. It might be mentioned that this style is only suitable for heavy material such as brocade cloth, serge or velvet lined satin. Then, too, there is the necessity for learning how to walk. The regular heel and toe will not do. The glide only is indorsed. This movement consists in advancing on the toes, with a rigid knee, but a free hip. To bend the knee is to break the gore in the pullback. —[New York World.]

Portland, Me.—"Be easy with me, your honor; I was starving," said a wretched looking fellow who stood in the dock of the municipal court this morning.

"What is your name?"

"Fred White."

"Where is your home?"

"I have none; my folks are all dead," and the wretched looking tramp broke completely down.

"Where did you live before you took to the road?"

"In Boston."

A few more questions brought out the fact that White had been looking for work, that he went from Boston to Lawrence, from there to Dover, then to Biddeford where he got a short job, and when there was no more work for him he wandered to Windham where he could find nothing to do. Refused shelter, the homeless tramp found an old barn full of hay and rats. There he took up his quarters and stayed until he was on the verge of starvation, as his appearance plainly shows. There is a grocery store in the place, and that store White raided night after night, "running up a bill in two weeks of \$10.24." He took canned goods, bread, crackers, tobacco, cigars and a little candy. He was at last found in the hay in the barn and was arrested and brought here. Recorder Dyer was moved by the appearance of the prisoner, who was the very picture of complete dejection, and more in pity than otherwise sent him to jail. He might have held him for breaking and entering but preferred to send him up as a tramp. —[Boston Globe.]

Somebody has invented a sweet rouge and named it Patti paste. This unctuous cream is the color of a poppy leaf, and, besides being curative, tints the lips a healthy, natural red. Like the albuminous cream that bakers frost their cakes and patties with, it has a satiny, shiny gloss on the lips, and is as firmly set when dry as the epithelium itself. With it a girl can do much kissing, sipping, eating and lip-biting as though the crimson had been ingrained by nature. —[Ex.]

GEORGE IN AUSTRALIA.

COMMENTS OF THE AUSTRALIAN PAPERS ON HIS SPEECHES.

THE GENERAL TONE OF THE PRESS RESPECTFUL AND FRIENDLY—THE PROTECTIONIST ORGAN BITTER AND MALEVOLENT—SOME ENTHUSIASTIC ADVOCATES OF THE SINGLE TAX.

Mr. George's appearance in Australia has called forth from the Australian papers a mass of discussion such as would fill many issues of THE STANDARD. A few bushels of this matter have reached the office of this paper, and some notion of its tone may be gathered from the appended extracts.

"Bible and the Land Monopoly" is the title of an article in the Jewish Herald of Sydney. After discussing the ancient Hebrew system of land tenure, the writer says:

I have endeavored to show, and hope that I have been fairly successful in my attempt, how a primitive people (although they certainly had guidance and help which no other nation has had since) practically solved by peaceful methods the problem which, according to Mr. George, is the root of all poverty. The resemblances between the jubilee year of Genesis and the "tax on unimproved land values" advocated in "Progress and Poverty" and the "state landlordism" of the land nationalists do not at first sight seem very great. But the times and circumstances are now quite different, and ideas have to be altered to suit them. The principle underlying them all is practically identical, and the one had, and the others have, the same object in view. Whether the disciples of Henry George expect too much from their theory, or whether his single tax system of taxation, or a scheme of land nationalization, or neither of these will eventually be adopted, it is not for me here to say. All honor is, however, due to those economic thinkers who are endeavoring by different methods to find a way to apply in these modern times the ancient biblical principle of allowing to every man a fair share in the use of the land, and who thus hope to reduce poverty in the world and to raise the general status of mankind.

Heartily enough is the welcome of the Lithgow Mercury and Miners' Advocate, which says:

Henry George will be welcomed to Australia not so much because of his literary achievements, or his reputation as an economist, or because he occupies a large space in the public thought. Whatever of enthusiasm may be thrown into the greeting which awaits him will be manifested by those who see in him, not the qualities of a party leader, but the zeal of the unselfish propagandist. What is known as "Georgeism" applies, if true, with equal force to every nation; and the message which the reformer himself has to convey is one that appeals with greatest force to the moral nature. In the democratic community such as this the sympathies of the people will naturally, too, go out to the man who is the universal champion of popular rights in the truest meaning of the term. The masses will not forget that he has devoted a lifetime of labor and talents to the highest order to the advocacy of their cause. That idea exists, however vague and indefinite their knowledge may be, in the minds of those who know nothing of his personal history and have never studied his works, and must prove a considerable factor in determining the reception which he will receive in all the colonies. In a future issue we will have something to say regarding the policy associated with his name, and descriptive of the methods through which he looks for its realization.

John Farrell, writing in the Australian Standard, notes that "most of the influential papers are at present advocating the single tax or giving so much space to its discussion as can only lead to one result." He adds:

When the people find out that free trade has never yet had a trial, and get an inkling of what it means, there will be no danger of the advance of protection here. A good many politicians know this, and, for the first time in their lives, begin to look into political economy, while many others are quite prepared to accept the single tax or anything else that looks good enough to get elected upon without bothering about details. It is probable that, considering the state of parties here now, Henry George's visit will save the free traders from the defeat which their miserable past would otherwise have brought on them by converting them to free trade. There is no other way of political salvation open to them, and whoever hopes to see New South Wales keep the lead among Australian colonies and show the others how to vote, cannot do better than work his hardest to make Henry George's lecturing tour a great success.

Another writer in the same publication points out the difference between a land tax and a tax on land values, and makes estimates of the revenue that New South Wales would obtain from the single tax.

The Sydney Herald gives a sketch of Mr. George and a summary of the land doctrine.

According to the protectionist Australian Star, Mr. George's reception on landing in

Australia was much overshadowed by that of O'Connor, the orator. The Star insists, too, that even the free trade press was cold. The Star bitterly assails Mr. George as a free trader. It says:

Some of his remarks in the town hall inclined to buffoonery. For example, in contrasting the treatment given by the customs officials to new arrivals in New York and Sydney, he said the great republic asks you to open your trunks for the inspection of a lynx-eyed officer. And he added, "Lynx-eyed officers, indeed! But if there is a greenback there they won't see far." Almost his first act in Sydney, then, was to besmirch his own country. But why refer to the alleged corruption of the customs officers in New York? Is not passengers' luggage carefully searched at the customs house in London? and is not the country of which that city is the metropolis continually being held up to our admiration as not only the defender of the Christian faith, but also the defender of free trade? Are we to understand that the English customs officers are proof against bribery?

The Gloucester Gazette, a single tax weekly published near New Castle, N. S. W., heads its article "The Man of the Century." It says among other things:

We do not claim on behalf of our distinguished visitor that he was the actual discover or inventor of the theory christened by him the single tax. On the contrary, we have already in these columns traced the historical evolution of the single tax theory for over one hundred and fifty years, and we have specified the names of his predecessors on the same path, with the titles and dates of their respective works; but the claim we set up on behalf of Henry George is that he has harmonized the theory with the other truths of the universe, and has made it the basis of a perfectly logical system of political economy differing in its leading points from the teaching of the current schools.

After congratulating Mr. George upon his reception at Sydney, the daily Telegraph says:

It is one of the most gratifying features of the single tax movement that it has brought to the front a greater proportionate degree of youthful energy, vigor and aggressive intellectuality than almost any other phase of our political life. And Mr. George showed that he is quite qualified to lead the most energetic and aggressive of his followers. He is made strong by the faith that is in him, and in his attacks neither gives nor asks quarter. There was no namby-pambyism about his speech last night. It was direct, incisive, clear and effective. He had not uttered a dozen sentences before he had made plain his position as a single taxer and an uncompromising free trader. Not a word was spent in mere pleasant courtesies, in pretty compliments or qualified statements of his views to suit the mixed character of his audience. He comes here with a mission, and that mission he is evidently determined to preach in all places and to all men. It would be difficult to say in which respect he is most ardent—whether as a single taxer or as a free trader. In the latter he will be a thrice welcome aid to the cause of freedom in New South Wales.

According to the Adelaide Register, some Australian followers of Mr. George profess themselves protectionists, which seems to the Register, as it will to American single taxers, highly absurd. The paper acknowledges that private ownership in land carries with it the germ of all the mischief that it has done in the mother country. The article closes thus:

We have used Mr. Henry George as the text for our article, though we have said but little about him. It may be hoped that he will visit South Australia, and gratify large audiences here, as he has in other places, by his eloquence and his evident grasp of the land question. We trust, however, that his visit will not have the effect of leading us away from the practical work which we have done and have yet to accomplish. This is the only colony that has a tax on the unimproved value of land, irrespective of the ownership or of the quantity held by any one person. The amount of the tax might, we think, fairly be raised to three farthings or a penny. There is no doubt that we shall soon have the assessments for local rates levied on the unimproved value of the land. Already South Australia has taken the lead on this question, and our only fear is that in an attempt to grasp the larger issues we may endanger that which we have already secured. Finally, we may venture to suggest that men are not to be scolded or abused into any good thing, and the harsh and intemperate language that has sometimes been used has done much to delay this social and economic reform, and to create a prejudice against it.

Here are utterances by various Australian newspapers:

Let a man have an attractive literary style, or a magnetic tongue, and he can convince multitudes that any absurdity he chooses to teach represents an absolute truth. But as a rule the deluded creatures find out in a short time that they made a mistake. Most of Henry George's American disciples have forsaken him.—[Australian Star, protectionist organ.]

Most of his audiences must have felt that there was less definiteness, less cogency, less convincing power in his exposition of his solution than in his statement of the problem. We have no doubt that if this is so, the needful detail of statement and justification will be supplied in future deliverances. And while we have no doubt that the visit of Mr. Henry George will be productive of great strengthening of the position of his school in the community, we are equally satisfied that the effect of his philanthropic advocacy of the claims of the masses and the duty of society toward them will be to deepen the earnest sense of social responsibility and the desire to honorably acquit it among many who are not able to go all the way with Mr. George as to the means to be pursued toward this all-important object.—[Sydney Telegraph.]

Henry George opened his single tax campaign at the Protestant hall on Saturday night in a manner showing how fully he deserves the reputation he has earned for himself as a popular speaker, and the talents he will be able to display as a debater when the time comes for him to deal with questions and objections. That his audience, which was a general one, admitted by payment and without the slightest attempt at selection, received him cordially, did not, even as far as individuals were concerned, raise any protest that passed beyond the bounds of good order, and was more cordial when he closed his remarks than when he began, was a remarkable sign of the respect which he has inspired, and a tribute to the intelligence with which he had grasped the best manner of formally presenting himself to the people of a city in which his personality is unknown. He minced nothing of his extremist doctrines, but spoke out as boldly as though he had been addressing convinced followers in New York. His hearers were taken with his candor, and carried away by the fire which would certainly have been lacking had he made any attempt to soften his message and feel his way. The result was a brilliant success.—[Sydney Evening News.]

To the fact that England taxes about half a dozen imported commodities, including grog, Mr. George attributes a great deal of the wretchedness existing in the country. That such a shallow sophist as Mr. George should have followers proves very clearly that, notwithstanding the progress made with respect to education, there are many people in the community who, to repeat the language of Mr. Barnum, like to be humbugged.—[Australian Star.]

To free traders especially it is important that such an eminent native of the land which is the fortress and stronghold of protection, viz., America, should be one of the very strongest opponents of a restrictive policy. There are many supporters of the single tax in New South Wales now, and it is only reasonable to suppose that after Mr. George's lecturing tour has been completed, the number will be larger. Still, it must not be thought for a moment that—as at present many of his most ardent admirers believe—Mr. George will leave behind him a majority of supporters sufficient to overthrow the present land legislation, and securely and firmly establish the single tax. But let the result of his visit be what it may, Mr. George will certainly have to be credited with having excited and assisted much thought, inquiry and discussion with regard to great questions which, sooner or later, must materially affect the future welfare of the people.—[Western Herald.]

Mr. George is a witness who speaks of what he knows and has seen and studied under the best possible conditions. His evidence is unimpeachable and convincing, and we venture to predict that in the coming general election the protectionist will have less to say about American protection than in the last.—[Sydney Telegraph.]

There is another point which must not be overlooked when dealing with Mr. George's theory which he presents as the complete and final solution of the social difficulty. He proposes to retain the form of land ownership, though at the same time making it financially worthless by taxing land up to its full value. Supposing this system worked out, the time will come when all land worth having will be in private hands. The state would get a good revenue, but the natural opportunities would no longer be accessible to the newcomer. The land owner would have to use his land to be able to pay his rent, and to do this he would have to be an employer of labor, and an employer who could not afford to be liberal, and who would have to look sharply after the smallest saving because he himself was so severely put under the screw by the government. How under such a system, with the natural opportunities in private hands, should we get rid of the existing antagonism between employers and employed? Mr. George has pointed to the great revenue the government would get, but that would only relieve poverty by charity, which he deprecates, or by creating public works for the unemployed which would be a system of relief works on a large scale.—[Sydney Herald.]

Some persons affect to make light of the visit of Henry George to Australia. They cynically remark that he will be a nine days' wonder, and that afterwards he and his words will pass as completely out of memory as though he had never been here. These

persons deceive themselves. If Henry George were to die to-morrow, he would not have visited this country in vain. He is a preacher of what, to the immense majority of mankind, is a new doctrine, and there never yet was a teacher of a new idea—if he received but a fair opportunity to explain it to his fellow men—but made converts to it. Some such teachers have made but ten disciples; others have made tens of millions—but all have made some. That the doctrines preached by such prophets were true or false had nothing to do with their power of converting at least some persons to a belief in them, and the success or comparative failure of a prophet has generally been more in proportion to his sincerity and his power of influencing others than to the reasonableness of his teaching. For this reason let no man lightly despise or sneer at the work of him who goes about proclaiming that he has discovered a new truth, and that that truth contains within itself a panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to; for even if those disposed to sneer or laugh could mathematically prove—as it would probably happen they could not—that the proposed panacea or universal remedy was a complete fraud, there yet would be numbers, perhaps considerable numbers, who would believe that the remedy was all its designer claimed it to be. Witness, for one thing, the success of all quack medicines.—[The Australian Courier.]

The free trade and single tax principles are natural allies; in fact, the latter is but the logical ultimate of the former. Free trade, pure and simple, if carried to its logical conclusion, must end in the total abolition of the custom house, excise and all forms of indirect taxation whatever; it must remove all fetters from every form of industry—whether primarily productive, transformative or distributive. If this be done, whence shall we get our revenue? Surely, from precisely that source which the single tax principle affirms to be the only legitimate subject of taxation—the unearned increment. Thus we see that free trade, carried to its logical conclusion, leads inevitably to the single tax. We have now in our midst the man who first made plain to the world at large the inherent justice of the single tax principle; the man who, of all the men of this age, have done most to popularize that principle and to point out the fallacies of "protection"—we refer to Henry George. To put the conventional "Mr." before such a name is to belittle it; to drag down among the ruck and mass of mankind the man who has raised himself above it by the force and grandeur of his intellect, by his straightforward antagonism to wrong and by his grandly honest and fearless support of all that he deemed right. When such a man speaks his utterances are worthy the attention of all intelligent men, whether they agree with his views or not. It will be a sad commentary on the intellectuality, and even intelligence, of our people if Henry George does not get immense audiences while among us.—[Australian National Times.]

What was perhaps more noticeable in Mr. George's address than anything else was the closeness of his touch with the moral instincts of humanity, the intimate relations on which he seemed to be with creations designed, the burning zeal with which he vindicated the character of the Creator from the foul aspersions cast upon it by the advocates of the Malthusian creed, and the clear and convincing manner in which he laid down the laws by which the universe must be ruled. In a private conversation Mr. George, speaking of John Stuart Mill, praised him for his "intellectual honesty." Mr. George himself is a remarkable example of what enormous influence a man can wield whose "intellectual honesty," and, above all, whose moral conscience is so true to the inmost core of his being, as is evidently that of our distinguished visitor. This intense love of truth and unswerving search for it, is what, above all, distinguishes the great men from the little ones. It is an absolute certainty that no man can be really great who is not sincere, and that none can be even approximately great who makes his own personal advancement the only aim of his life. It is because Mr. George possesses this love of truth in a superlative degree, because he is prepared to follow it whether so ever it may lead, and because, above all, he is devoting his great powers, not to his own personal advancement, but to the emancipation of the masses, and the elevation of mankind, and because we believe that he has given us the only solution by far the most intricate problem that stares the world in the face to-day, that we claim for him the leading place among the men of this century, and hope that the truths which he preaches may sink deep into the hearts of the people of New South Wales.—[Gloucester Gazette.]

That nationalization of the land will be among the reforms which social progress will accomplish there is every ground for believing. But that it will be effected by the single tax method appears improbable. The narrowing of the application to the single tax will, we believe, as regards Australia, have the effect of indefinitely postponing the accomplishment of land nationalization which otherwise might have been realized within an appreciably limited time.—[Sydney Bulletin.]

In all Mr. George's addresses there has

been a strong undercurrent of sympathy with the masses. This sympathy seems to have been the mainspring of the actions of Mr. George's life. We believe the public recognize that whether his theory for the relief of the working classes is politically good or otherwise it is dictated by high minded motives. His personal character is clean, his antecedents are honorable and consistent, his life work has been unselfish and the moral aspect of his appeals to the public is above reproach. He has spoken with earnestness and power and perhaps with some passion of the sufferings of the masses, but he has never advocated "broken heads and flaming houses." His mission is to promote a peaceful revolution, and whether the particular method by which he proposes to accomplish the amelioration of the condition of the laboring classes be approved of or not as a practicable solution of a great social problem the motives and purpose of Mr. George himself are admittedly moral and sympathetic. And we have no doubt that one result of his visit will be to quicken the sense, which is growing in this as in every civilized country, of the responsibility of the whole community for the social condition of the masses of the people and especially of the laboring classes. —[Sydney Telegraph.]

The prophet of San Francisco is not, in size and color, what his photograph led most people to anticipate, but he is regarded, judging by public manifestations of approval, quite up to sample as a speaker. George is a small man, physically, florid of complexion, with a gingerly mustache and beard, the latter white beneath the lip, with small but expressive steel-blue eyes, a powerful dome-shaped head whose forehead threatens in the saccharine and sudden subsequently to know no boundary but that provided by the laundry-maid, and the hair that remains, like his whiskers and beard, has the sun-and-air-dried, blown-about appearance usually appertaining to that of sailors and bush coach drivers. His shoulders are broad; his chest deep; his commissariat, capacious; sitting behind a table he looks a big man, standing he is much below middle height, for he has a long body and short legs. His hand is small-boned and white, with, like Parkes', little force in his grip, but he has a good grip of the land, as well as of the land question. When speaking his mouth squares and his cheeks bulge; evidently thinking slowly and carefully on his feet, he walks the platform as does a skipper the quarter-deck, with measured steps and slow, and with an eye which ranges the horizon now aloft and then below. George is, moreover, a rugged, forcible speaker, as one should be who aims to overthrow social barriers, to tear down the edifices of privilege, who uses homely language and works ponderously, methodically, often monotonously, up to his points, weighing every word, accentuating every syllable, pausing lengthily at every comma and semicolon and doubly accentuating a full-stop by standing stock still and fixing some waiting guest with his glittering eye until he is perfectly sure what is to be the gist of his next sentence. But his points are made with irresistible power—the preliminary tapping and shaping accomplished, the bolt is driven home with a sledge hammer stroke, whose reverberations are invariably drowned in a thunder-clap of applause. —[Sydney Bulletin.]

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THE STANDARD,
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

DON'T LIKE HIS OWN MEDICINE.

Boston Globe.

Congressman Niedringhaus, a great borax consumer of St. Louis, who spent \$70,000 for the honor of being elected as a champion of protection, now finds himself taxed \$25,000 a year by the McKinley bill and is very wroth. Here is a weak patriot willing to barter away "broad principles" for a mess of borax.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

DR. CROSBY AND THE RUM SELLERS.

"Government by Rumsellers" is the title of an article in the May Forum by the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby. Why not government by rum sellers, asks Dr. Crosby. Is not rum selling a legitimate business? Are not business men fitted to govern a city? Is not business talent needed to manage finances? In spite of all this we do not want government by rum sellers. It brings up a picture of dirt and disorder. Why is this? A government of iron sellers or of wool sellers would not suggest any such thing.

Dr. Crosby then proceeds to answer his own question. A saloon keeper is engaged in an immoral business. The frequenters of saloons are not moderate drinkers. They do not go to slake a reasonable thirst. There may be one such here and there, but the mass go for the excitement of drink. The saloon is the resort of idlers, loafers and roughs. Any one who has helped the poor of New York city knows that a very large part of the distress he sees comes from the waste of money on drink. Wages go; rent is not paid; the family removes from place to place; children become street arabs and grow up into criminals. The rum seller never heeds the warning against selling to the father of such a family. When he is brought into court under the civil damage act the rum seller has no property to levy on. Dr. Crosby would, on conviction, forfeit the license, and upon failure of the rum seller to pay damage would put him in prison.

These things have made the saloon odious in the eyes of the community and have demanded legislation to guard against its evils. The opium joint is its only parallel. The saloons are supported by the depraved and careless classes. The depraved enjoy its vulgar jests, its quarrels; the careless inwardly despise it, but for a moment's gratification take their glass at the bar and lend an air of respectability to the loathsome place. Though moral persons, they abet immorality by their abuse of responsibility.

The rum seller becomes morally obtuse. He does not hesitate to break the laws and swear to falsehood, though, of course, there are exceptions to this. He does not have the benefit of intercourse with high bred men and attrition with cultivated minds. In other trades are found refined customers: men and women of dignified character whose examples are wholesome to the tradesmen.

It is because of the immorality of the business and the rum seller's liability to moral obtuseness that government by rum sellers is dreaded. Yet, in spite of the universal distrust of rum sellers as a class, political trickery and political prostitution put them in office. Ten aldermen out of twenty-six in New York are rum sellers. Their legislation has become a by-word. When any ceremonial is held to greet distinguished strangers, the city is ashamed that such as these officially represent it. The city, manipulated by these low minds, is made to send like characters to the legislature. Intemperance cannot be met by wholesome laws while these men sit at the source of legislation.

The sole remedy is the destruction of the rum shop. The rum seller does not rule because he represents a majority. He and his followers always form a minority of the whole. The respectable but blindly partisan voters and the non-voters are responsible for government by rum sellers. The non-voters are chiefly well-to-do people too busy with private ends to care for public welfare. Twenty thousand such men in New York habitually abstain from voting. This abstention is counted on when rum sellers make nominations. Were all right-minded electors to vote according to conscience the rum power would be suppressed at once, public office would be purer and the people more prosperous. This is the most important question now before the American public. The tariff, silver, all others are merely subordinate.

MAKE DRUNKENNESS A CRIME.

"Another View of the Rum Problem" is what Henry A. Hart, M. D., calls his article in the May issue of the Arena. The views of the rum problem that have preceded him are those of Mr. George, General Fiske and Dr. Crosby. Dr. Hart's remedy is neither free rum, nor high license, nor prohibition. He would solve the problem by making drunkenness a crime, and he applauds the statute to that effect recently enacted in Minnesota. He believes that prohibition if successfully enforced would leave the unquenched thirst for rum to quench itself perhaps with something worse. At best high license could accomplish but a part of its object. If it restrained the poor from drink, it would leave the unhappy rich still

open to temptation, and Dr. Hart is much troubled on account of the unhappy rich. He would make drunkenness a crime because it is the parent of many crimes. The vast body of liquor dealers of all sorts are interested in the suppression of drunkenness, because it gives them a bad name and involves them in much expense in struggling against adverse legislation. Once settled upon the policy of fighting intemperance by making drunkenness a crime and you enlist the rum seller on the side of temperance.

CONSERVATISM RUN MAD.

Professor Simon Newcomb, LL.D., F. R. A. S., talks of the "Soap Bubbles of Socialism" in the North American Review. Despite the title of the article, Professor Newcomb's effort in this instance is not so much directed toward refuting the arguments of the socialist as to showing that there is really no cause for discontent among the masses. He thinks that the socialism of our day differs from that of the past in being founded on ideas which pervade every grade of society. He believes that the opinion is common among all classes that too much wealth is held by the few. In this view socialists, anarchists and labor reformers are at one with perhaps a majority of the educated community. The divergence of opinion begins when the practicability of change is discussed. The typical philanthropist's attitude toward socialism is that of admitting the wrongs of the present system, but doubting the remedy suggested; of suggesting that with better discipline poverty would cease and all would be supplied with the necessities and decencies of life with less labor than is now required to obtain a bare subsistence.

Professor Newcomb doubts this conclusion. Would the masses be better off than now if all were good, none eager to be rich, and everyone ready to act in accordance with the community's notion of the highest wisdom? He points out that dissatisfied men can try what social experiment they will, and marvels that so few are tried. He believes that for such an experiment capital could be obtained, and he asserts that fertile land is available at nominal cost. The few such experiments that have succeeded have done so through industry and self-denial.

Having said this Professor Newcomb proceeds to demolish various "fallacies." He does not believe that the inequality between poor and rich in the "enjoyment" of wealth is increasing. The key to his attitude is the word "enjoyment." He does not deny that inequality in the ownership of wealth is increasing, but asserts that the poor enjoy much that they do not own. Measured by popular standards the miser who enjoys none of life's comforts is rich; but in reality he is miserably poor. Compare him with the professional man who lives in a rented house, uses rented furniture and lives luxuriously by paying next week for food consumed this week. Measured by popular standards this man is a pauper, though he enjoys a large income. The truth is that the proportion of men who earn little or nothing becomes larger because it is yearly easier to enjoy what one does not own. For a dollar a man can ride over a million dollars' worth of railroad.

Professor Newcomb denies that the masses have good reason to complain of an unfair distribution of the wealth they produce, because their weekly wages will buy so little. A thrifty workman who lives well in a cheap place on a dollar a day is better off than an unthrifty one who lives ill in a dear place on \$3 a day. The rich man really gets very little more of real pleasure out of life than the poor man. Rich food, fine horses, yachts, travel, airy apartments, may confer no more happiness than the outfit of a tenement, and in the latter there may be no skeleton in the closet. If the wealth of one thousand millionaires were distributed among one hundred thousand poor families, how would the latter benefit? They could not decently oust from their bed the rich man's servants, so they must, to share his house room, bivouac in the parlor. Half a dozen of the beneficiaries would get new suits of clothes and each would get the one hundredth part of a wild duck for dinner.

Again Professor Newcomb attacks the fallacy that there is enough for all if only the poor had money with which to buy. But there really isn't enough goods to go round. During the last fifty years there has been no more clothing made than was needed. To be sure the rich man buys more clothing than the poor man, but he gives it away half worn to dependents, and it serves their purposes. If after all the clothing gets worn out one tenth of the people are in rags and another tenth insufficiently clad, what then? Evidently there is not enough clothing to go round. This is true of all the good things that the poor cannot get. If all that exists were divided among the masses to day, the want would be deeper than ever in a few

months. But the social reformer believes that this underproduction of necessities caused by the absorption of labor in caring for the rich. But all the efforts of the labor organizations are directed toward increasing the cost of the necessities of the poor. Those who make shoes for the poor strike for higher wages that will increase the cost of production. Who ever heard of a strike among a rich man's servants?

Professor Newcomb denies that the laboring classes are oppressed by the capitalists, and thinks that the reverse is true. He instances the attitude of the London dock strikers as an example.

Finally Professor Newcomb denies that the labor movement is philanthropic. On the contrary it is selfish and intended to elevate only the "union" men. He is astonished at the sympathy shown to men who attempt to starve "scabs" by preventing them from obtaining employment.

The professor's remedy is to cheapen the necessities of the poor. He would get as much productive labor as possible out of the criminal classes; would promote cheap building by teaching the mechanic arts to as many youths as possible; discourage the eight-hour system as lessening the amount of work done. He believes that the problem is not one of distribution, but of production.

DIVORCE AND THE REMEDY.

Rabbi Solomon Schindler sets forth his views on the divorce problem in the Arena for May. From what the rabbi says, and equally from what he leaves unsaid, it appears that he takes very much the view of the marriage question held by Johann Most. He asserts that any legislation aimed at divorce must either prohibit divorces, prohibit divorced persons from marrying, or leave the right of divorce as heretofore, with perhaps only a few restrictions of national application. The question is whether divorce is right and a just thing or wrong and productive of evil. He believes that those who have studied the divorce question have failed to prove that modern communities are more subject to marital irregularities than ancient communities; that they have not shown what are the causes of the increase of divorces during the last twenty years. No writer has shown that the changes going on in our present social conditions may have anything to do with the evil. By these changes Rabbi Schindler means particularly those that have altered the relations of women toward society. In primitive times women were dependent and domestic of necessity. Individualism was highly developed; a family was sufficient for itself. Meals could not easily be obtained out of the house, and all such had to be provided at home under the supervision of the wife. All this is now changed. Many lines of employment are open to women and they are less inclined to marry, less necessitated to remain in the married state, and therefore more inclined to be critical of husbands. There are thousands of young couples wedded, but not constituting real families. The husband has his daily work at which he earns his salary; the wife has her's and she may earn as much as the husband. They have lodgings or they board; they buy clothing ready made, their washing is done by the Chinaman. Children they have none, or, if one or two, they are given into the care of strangers. If such a couple disagree a separation is easy. We are drifting into conditions under which the present conception of family life will find no ground or will at least be too narrow. The purpose for which families were built in former ages has ceased in large part to be the purpose for which they are at present established.

Writers on this subject have assumed that people marry for the sake of establishing a family and doing their duty toward the state. This was a false start for those who were studying the question of divorce. Young people marry in large part for sexual reasons. Children in their infancy demand somebody's care, and inasmuch as the mother becomes incapacitated for many active labors it is entirely natural that the presence of children in a household should bring about the division of labor between husband and wife that in past ages of the world has been the customary one. This co-operation for a common end brings about the ideal friendship between husband and wife which novelists have assigned as the cause of marriage, when in reality it is its effect. The cause must be sought for in the very working of nature that pruriency so determinedly ignores. Statisticians may be able to bring long tables of figures to show the assigned reasons for divorce, but they will never be able to show the thousands of true reasons. These will always remain a secret in the divorce courts, and can be gotten at only through family physicians. The statistician who fails to take this evidence will never be able to show the real cause for the alleged

frequency of divorces in our age, or to prescribe a legislative remedy.

Rabbi Schindler believes it a mistake to suppose that in the matter of divorce the woman is always the sufferer, nor is it true, in his opinion, that men as a rule are responsible for domestic unhappiness. Young people marry without really knowing each other, because in days of courtship the intellect is befogged. Why should persons remain miserable forever and spread this misery over generations to come merely because at twenty the man or woman did not carry on his or her shoulders the head of a person of fifty. The question of divorce must not be treated from a religious point of view, nor from a sentimental. The only third person whose right is to be considered is the child. But for the necessity of providing protection to the child divorce legislation would be an easy matter. Rabbi Schindler believes it only a short step to the time when the child will become in all respects the ward of the state, when it will be supported by the state in case such support is needed, and when it will be taken entirely out of the hands of the parents who, through their intemperance or immorality, are unfit to make useful citizens out of their children. When this time arrives the question of divorce will settle itself in the simplest and easiest way.

FUNNY MR. DAVIS AGAIN.

Nobody suspected the Forum of being a humorous publication until Mr. C. Wood Davis's article upon the farmer's poverty appeared in the April number, and Mr. Davis's humor in that issue might have been excused as an oversight of the editor were it not that the same writer is permitted to be funnier than ever on the same subject in the May issue of the Forum. Readers of THE STANDARD will recall that Mr. Davis traces the poverty of the farmer to the overproduction of the staples that go to sustain human life. Mr. Davis's second article is directed to showing how and when the farmer will become prosperous. Of course he expects the farmer's prosperity to be brought about by a check upon production and the growth of population. As no one can any longer pretend to take Mr. Davis seriously we will not attempt to give the readers of THE STANDARD a summary of all his facts and figures. It is enough, however, to say that he believes that the year 1894 will see us with 72,000,000 people, requiring for their support the staple crops grown on an area of 226,800,000 acres. The area now employed in growing such crops is 211,000,000 acres. Mr. Davis estimates that by 1894 12,000,000 acres will have been added to that area. This will bring the whole area for such crops up to 223,000,000 acres, and Mr. Davis is greatly delighted to figure out from all this that in 1894 we shall be 3,800,000 acres short of the amount of cultivable land necessary to give us clothing and food. By all this evidence Mr. Davis is persuaded that before this decade is half spent all the products of the farm will be required at a good price, that lands will appreciate greatly in value and that the American farmer will enter upon an era of prosperity, the unlimited continuance of which is assured by the exhaustion of the arable area.

Mr. Davis's delight at the prospect of exhausting our arable area is not a particle funnier than his cheerfulness at the thought that the corn lands of Indian territory will not produce a surplus because the Indians are poor farmers; that in various parts of the country agricultural depression has checked the growth of farming; that the supposed vast area of wheat growing country in British America is really a very small matter.

PROTECT OUR HOME MADE SKELETONS.

Richmond, Va., Times.

The misdirection of a skeleton sent by express to Waltham, Mass., has brought out the fact that most of the skeletons used in this country are imported from France or Germany, and that there is no tariff for protection against the foreign pauper made skeletons. It is not likely, either, that any duty will be imposed, for republicans are confident that the preventive tariff, as increased by Mr. McKinley, will result in a big output of home manufactured skeletons.

THE PEOPLE WILL RULE UNDER THE SECRET BALLOT.

Boston Globe.

It is the universal testimony in Rhode Island that it was the liberated factory operatives who gave the late election to the democrats under the secret ballot. The factory barons confess themselves to be completely "knocked out" under this system.

PROTECTION THE CHIEF INCENTIVE TO SMUGGLING.

Boston Globe.

Senator Sherman says that naval officers are notorious smugglers. But are not all classes who are trying to cheat the custom house on technicalities, and otherwise, smugglers? Does not high protection offer the chief incentive to wholesale smuggling?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

AN OFFER WITHDRAWN.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Several weeks ago I offered a prize of \$100 to the newspaper publishing the best article discussing farmers' interests in taxation, etc. From the amount and character of the correspondence that has since reached me, I am corroborated in my view that this is one of the best lines on which we can work. But at the same time I am convinced that the offer of a single prize of that amount will not be a sufficient inducement to cause a very widespread discussion; and, therefore, as no paper has up to date undertaken to compete, I herewith withdraw my offer.

But if \$1,000 could be raised for the purpose, divided into prizes of \$500, \$200, \$100, \$50, and six at \$25, the inducement would be great enough to cause a general discussion, and I have no doubt but that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of papers would make a series of efforts to get it. If a thousand prizes aggregating a million of dollars were offered in this way, the millennium would be ushered in immediately after the next general election. It is only necessary that a very small percentage of voters have a clear conception of what must be done to solve the problem, and this would educate more than enough. Perhaps some millionaire, who thinks he is really doing something worth doing when he spends some millions in founding a college, and who fails to realize that he is merely giving to a few people a power to override the rest, might get a suggestion from this plan, and thus purchase an immortal name. These prizes are most important because they will give a leverage to single tax men toward securing the publication of their articles in papers that would otherwise refuse to publish them.

I will subscribe \$100 to a fund of \$1,000 to be devoted to this purpose, and will let my subscription stand if but \$500 is raised. Let us hear from others who can and will help for any amount, even \$1. If \$10,000 could be raised, the effect would be enhanced in geometrical ratio.

C. B. HEMINGWAY.

Washington, D. C., April 22.

WEAKNESS OF PROFESSOR HUXLEY'S ARGUMENTS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In Professor Huxley's article, "Capital the Mother of Labor" I find this sentence, and it refutes his whole argument: "The only indispensable form of capital, *vital capital*, can not be produced by human labor." The italics are mine. Having thus indirectly asserted that economic capital is not indispensable, what does his argument on wages amount to? Reduced to its logical conclusion, it amounts simply to this: That economic capital is not necessary to the production of wages, only vital capital is necessary; that wages are produced by the vital capital of the laborer, and this, in turn, by the vital capital existing in plants. Vital capital itself is made by—whom? This the professor has not yet explained. Perhaps he would like to imply that wages are created by God? Certainly. The Creator is the source of all things. But that is not to say that wages are not produced by labor.

If labor did not produce the price paid for it, no employer would be foolish enough to hire labor and pay wages. If it produces the price paid for it, it produces its wages. That is the theory. The practice is, that in every case the employer is in possession of what he would rather possess than the wages he has promised to part with to obtain it—the labor's product—before he pays any wages. Bearing these things in mind, how can wages be drawn from capital?

Even if the professor's theory that labor creates no value before the product is finished were true, many workmen would still produce their wages. A horse shoe is a finished product. Let us say a blacksmith makes a number of horse shoes; another blacksmith fits and fastens them to horses' hoofs, and at the end of the day the first workman receives a portion of the proceeds of the operation in wages. Is it not plain that he has produced the price paid him for his labor, and, having "finished" a product, produced his wages? Now, in what respect does his case differ from that of the other blacksmith, or from that of the miner who produced the price paid for his labor by digging the raw material of the horse shoes out of the ground? Why should the one be able to produce his wages and the other not? What shall we say of the wages of men engaged in transportation or distribution? Is their labor unproductive? It seems to me the labor of running a railroad must have something to do with the "earnings" of the company, out of which wages are paid. The railroad, itself, and all the materials pertaining thereto, from the carpet in the president's office to the shovel in the hand of

the section man, represent value given for wages received—afterward. That labor created value in the road-bed in advance of the finishing of the product was shown by the fact that the shares of the company increased in price as the work was progressing.

Having shown that, in fact as well as by inference from the great scientist's argument, wages are the result of the laborer's exertion, let us now consider the premise of his argument. I cheerfully grant the truth of what has been said of the necessity of vital capital. I admit that the vital capital in the body of the laborer is the condition precedent to labor, and that without its replenishment by food, labor could not long be exerted. But this proves absolutely nothing for Professor Huxley, and it proves everything for the single tax.

As to food, it is a matter of fact that, with the exception of rare cases in which the workman is the recipient of charity or hospitality, he furnishes his food himself until after he has by his labor produced the value food for his employer. Given the opportunity, a healthy man destitute of food, no matter what might be his trade or occupation, could, before his stock of vital capital were exhausted, produce the value of a food supply that would last him at least a day. It would not be necessary for him to produce the food itself. If he received the value of his labor (wages) he could buy his food.

With regard to the vital capital in the laborer's body the question naturally arises, to whom does the laborer's vital capital belong? If it is the property of the capitalist, then the laborer must be the property of the capitalist, and slavery has not yet been abolished but should be, by the single tax. If it belongs to the laborer, then it should be credited to labor by Professor Huxley when he considers the relations between capital and labor, between the wages of labor and the products of labor, between land and the "green plant" and labor. If he would do this, he would probably thereafter be of opinion that vital capital had no place in political economy; for if it had, it would cut every inch of ground from under the iniquity of landlordism and allow it no longer to infect, as with some horrible disease, the civilization of this century.

Judging from what I have seen of his writings, I can not think the abolition of landlordism would suit the professor. It was the probability of such an occurrence, which he saw in the signs of the times, that caused him to coin a term in the hope that it might serve as a screen to cover the hideousness of his protegee, fast becoming apparent to the public view. But that was the very worst thing he could have done for landlordism. For, so long as labor is dependent for its vital capital on the greed or caprice of non-producers who monopolize God's earth, from which alone man's vital capital can be drawn, so long will idleness reap where it has not sown and live in luxury off the sweat of less than half-paid industry.

When the annual value of the land, or of such portions of it as have a value, is taken in taxation for the benefit of every child which God has placed upon it, then every human being can have access to vital capital either by the application of labor to land which has no value, but which can not then, as now, be kept from use for speculative purposes, or by paying to society the premium for the use of superior land. This premium may be expressed in the term single tax.

In my opinion, the day must come, and the coining of "vital capital" will help to hasten it, when the common sense of every nation will bring about so just and equitable a state of affairs.

Professor Huxley's theory of right is the power to "take and hold." Therefore, a contributor to a precious cause but recently born into the world of politics may take for a nom de plume one of the professor's terms.

Vina, Cal., April 25. WORK STUFF.

THE LODGE BILL.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I am glad that you, editorially, noticed the "National ballot reform committee," which is seeking to enlist single tax men in favor of the Lodge bill. How this committee was made up I do not know, but I do know that some of the gentlemen who allowed their names to be used did so without knowing the nature of the Lodge bill. I think that few of them would have appeared on this committee had they read the bill.

Those who will take the trouble to do so will see that, in its present form, it is a purely partisan measure. It is using the Australian system as a cloak to cover its ulterior design. Whatever of the Australian system is provided for in the bill is nullified by other provisions. Thus section 17 shrewdly per-

mits any voter's ballot to be recognized by providing that when the voter is challenged his name, his residence, the cause of challenge and the challenger's name shall be written on the back before voting it.

The bill virtually provides for the administration of our congressional elections by the United States judges, who are appointed by the administration party. These judges appoint the election officers, and they superintend the elections; they also sit in judgment over the acts of the election officers whom they appoint, and they decide whether their management of the elections was proper.

The bill makes fraud easy to the administration party, and that party will not hesitate to use its advantage. And as it attempts to prevent fraud on the part of the opposition party, that party will be stimulated into finding new methods for evading the law, because the administration party, freely committing fraud, has a political advantage which the other party must necessarily seek to overcome by like methods. So that this bill, instead of preventing fraud, really gives additional incentive to all parties to evade the law. And what is much worse, its technicalities are so shrewdly framed that the fraud takes on the form of law. Thus, the registrars of elections make up lists of those who shall be allowed to vote. One registrar may insert names in the list, but it requires all the registrars to strike the name out. (Section 2.) So the judge may throw out entire precincts if one or both of the registrars, being apprised that it is necessary to have the precinct thrown out, send in more than one return of the vote. (Section 18.)

In fact this bill, of which I have only given a few illustrations, is a shrewdly prepared scheme to perpetuate the power of an administration now in control of all the machinery of government. If this bill passes through congress, under the name "Australian system," and its effect is understood, it will bring such odium on the Australian system as will throw our ballot reform movement back twenty years. There is great danger of the bill, or a similar and far more iniquitous one, passing through congress. The administration party, seeing itself losing ground on the tariff question, proposes to perpetuate its power and the continuance of the high tariff by resorting to revolutionary measures. It is well to prevent single taxers unwittingly committing themselves to such measures, hence this brief letter.

EDW. L. HYNEMAN.

"A CRIME AGAINST THE UNBORN."

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I have just read your article entitled "A Crime Against the Unborn," and as a member of the school board for this school district hereby tender you my sincere thanks for it. I wish we could have had it here earlier.

Our board has been wholly ignored in the matter, and while opposing the sale at this time have been run over thus far.

The city council was influenced to make this sale by real estate men who are loaded down with real estate they cannot dispose of at what they think it worth; and yet they hold on, paying taxes, etc., on their own property, but urge the sale of the school property, which is not taxable—thinking that such a sale may give life to the real estate market.

Of course they use as an argument the limited time allowed by the grant in which to make the sale. Steps have already been taken by the school board to have the time extended and authority to lease. And I apprehend no trouble on that score.

The school board is of the opinion that it is a gross outrage upon this school district, but their protests in the premises so far have been of no avail.

Again thanking you for the article above referred to, I am, very respectfully,

THOMAS BOLES.

500 Garrison avenue, Fort Smith, Ark., April 30, 1890.

MR. GEORGE NEEDED IN THE NORTH-WEST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I notice that Mr. E. O. Brown, in a recent letter to THE STANDARD, says: "Wouldn't it be well for Mr. George to supplement his Australian campaign with one in the 'new northwest'?" I think it would. I believe the whole northwest is ripe for such a visit. If the friends of tax reform in all these northwestern states and provinces could only arrange to have Mr. George visit all the prominent points therein it would immensely hasten the reform in a field ripe for such work. Let us hear from other northwestern brethren and see if we cannot get Mr. George to visit us.

W. E. BROOKAW.

Box A, Watertown, S. Dak., April 31, '90.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions

NEW YORK HAS IT.

BALLOT REFORM AT LAST EMBODIED IN THE STATUTES—WHAT THE GOVERNOR SAYS.

The compromise ballot reform bill has become a law through the signature of Governor Hill. The governor accompanies his approval with an explanatory "note." He congratulates the state on the unanimous enactment of a constitutional and fairly satisfactory ballot reform law, and while regretting its alleged imperfections and cumbersome features, he is sure that it will bring about a measure of reform. He thinks, however, that the great political parties must give the law support if it is to have its best effect. The governor coolly asserts that for three years he has been endeavoring to have some such measure enacted. He declares that he has felt constrained to yield his scruples as to some features which he deems imperfect and which he believes will in time be so generally regarded.

He notes what he regards as features of the bill that improve upon the original measure. The former, he says, did not contemplate or authorize the voting for any candidate except those duly nominated on the official ballot. Of course this is untrue, for every one of Mr. Saxton's bills contained provisions for blanket pasters and for blank spaces, wherein the voter could write the names of such candidates as he wished to vote for.

The governor insists that a failure to provide for such independent voting is peculiarly distinctive of the Australian ballot. Another distinctive feature of the system, says the governor, is that requiring each elector to vote for the candidate of his choice by marking upon the exclusively official ballot a cross (thus x) opposite the name of such candidate, and prohibiting him voting in any other manner.

This feature, which was part of the original bill, the governor regarded as unconstitutional and likely to disfranchise the illiterate voter. He says, too, that it is universally conceded also that the provisions regulating the election of ballot clerks were in violation of the organic law. The governor refuses to discuss the question as to which party has conceded most in the compromise bill, and then summarizes the measure in this fashion:

The bill provides for the private booth or compartment system in which the voter must enter and where he is at liberty to prepare his ballot in secret. That provision I have urged and earnestly recommended ever since it was first suggested.

The bill provides for independent as well as party nominations, and authorizes the printing of all ballots at public expense. While originally doubting the wisdom of these innovations, I have repeatedly stated in my various messages that I entertained no serious objection thereto, provided the powers conferred were carefully guarded with necessary and suitable restrictions for the prevention of abuses. It may well be doubted whether these provisions will effect all the reforms claimed in their behalf, or that they will materially reduce the expenses of candidates, but they are worthy of a fair trial.

The "blanket" ballot, which has been one of the leading features of all the previous bills, has been abandoned. To that form of ballot I have always strenuously objected, believing it to be not only cumbersome and unnecessary, but unwarranted by the constitution. There has been substituted in its place the form of ballot now in use to which the people are accustomed and to which I firmly believe they desire to adhere. Each set of nominations is to be printed on a separate ballot, and one additional ballot is to be furnished, on which only the names of the offices to be filled are to be printed; and each voter on entering the polling place is to be given one set of these ballots, and upon entering the private compartment he is to select one of them to vote and to return the others to the ballot clerks.

The bill also provides for a new species of ballot known as a "paster" ballot, which the elector can procure outside of the polling place—at his own home or elsewhere—and which he is at liberty to bring with him to the polls; it may be gummed upon the back, and he is allowed to paste the whole thereof

upon any of the official ballots which may be handed him, and vote the same.

The "paster" ballot answers every purpose of the "unofficial" ballot contemplated in the Linson bill, and preserves every substantial right of the elector. Instead of placing his ballot in an official envelope the elector is allowed to affix the same to an official covering which really performs the same service as the envelope. The illiterate voter may effectually indicate his choice by the use of the "paster" ballot, and he is not required to perform the impossible task of erasing names which he cannot read or of making discrimination which he cannot comprehend.

A constitutional ballot is sacredly preserved. An elector is permitted to vote a ballot which contains the names of the offices to be filled and the names of the candidates of his choice and those only. Nothing else is permitted, upon the ballot. For the purpose of still guarding the rights of the elector and avoiding the constitutional questions heretofore raised, one official ballot, which the elector is to receive and upon which he is at liberty to affix his "paster" ballot, contains only the names of the offices to be filled. It cannot, therefore, be said in case the elector uses that form of ballot that any other names of candidates appear upon it, above it, or under it, except those for whom he intends to vote.

The governor sorrowfully admits that perhaps the exclusively official ballot has been practically retained, but he thinks the illiterate voter safe in the hands of the compromise. He is pleased with the system of numbered stubs as a sure guarantee against the "Tasmanian dodge." The governor regrets that the bill does not provide for a proper system of general registration. He closes with the assertion that the new bill does not provide for the Australian system, but for a modification of that system.

PERSONAL.

Henry Doblin, a member of the Manhattan single tax club, has blossomed as a playwright—a successful one at that—being one of the authors of "The Shatchen," which is having a successful run in Philadelphia. It will be produced at the Star theater shortly.

W. I. Webber is writing for the Canton Journal a series of articles on "The Social Problem."

J. A. Forsyth has been having an argument with the editor of the Yonkers Statesman, in which the latter has been slightly unfair. Mr. Forsyth sent a letter, which was printed in the Statesman, upon which the editor commented. Then Mr. Forsyth sent an answer, which the editor ignored. But he has by this time discovered that he has made a mistake, for the rejoinder which he refused to print appeared in full in the Yonkers Herald. Mr. Forsyth is to be congratulated; the next best thing to having an editor accept the doctrine is to have him oppose it.

Charles H. Krause of Indianapolis asks in the Sentinel why peddlers should be taxed. He makes a good argument to show why they should not be; and it only remains for some lover of the licensing method to try to clear Mr. Krause's mind on the matter.

R. J. Bell of Providence, R. I., thinks it strange that the single taxers of his state do not communicate more freely with THE STANDARD. He thinks a great deal of good could be done by having more Rhode Island single tax news appear in the single tax department. He speaks with some pride of the good work that is being done by "our able senator, Dr. L. F. C. Garvin," evidence of which was shown in the last issue of THE STANDARD.

J. Bellangee of Des Moines, Iowa, writes that if a strong man could be brought out for congress in his district, who would make an aggressive fight in favor of tariff reform, that he would be elected.

Frank S. Billings has two articles in the Western Resources of Lincoln, Nebraska, in which he sets forth, for the information of the Nebraska farmers, the evils which protection works to them. His slogan is: "Down with the barriers!" It is a gratifying sign of the progress of our movement that the single tax men and free traders are receiving respectful attention from the ultra-conservative journals—especially the papers printed in the interest of farmers.

Alfred H. Henderson, secretary of the Cincinnati single tax club, has just recovered from a distressing illness. He will go to Alabama shortly, to assume the position of abstract and title lawyer of a land and mining company.

James Middleton of New Orleans delivered a lecture on the single tax, before D. A. 102, Knights of Labor, on Monday evening, April 27.

BEATING THE RECORD.

Boston Globe.

Pennsylvania is taking its own medicine under the McKinley bill. For bankruptcies among the farmers and general business failures it is now beating the record of every other state in the union.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

MR. CLARKSON'S ADMISSION.

Headman Clarkson of the post office department said regretfully in a speech at Pittsburgh the other day:

Political contests are coming more and more to be fought in the arena of discussion and in the newspaper press. The days of parades and demonstrations are passing away. The campaign of 1892 will be largely a newspaper campaign, and it has already begun. Let us be frank and say that the democrats saw this before the republicans, for any close observer must have seen with interest, and almost astonishment, the marvelous manner in which the democratic party has been strengthening its lines in the newspaper or the magazine. In latter days it has been beating us in our own game. In the large cities of the east they have captured nearly all the magazines and illustrated papers. The reinforced democratic press is a startling thing for the republican party to face, and it must face it with courage and wisdom.

In New York city 1,400,000 copies of daily newspapers are printed daily. Less than 200,000 of them are republican. This means that two-fifths of the republicans of New York city and its environs are reading democratic papers, taking the democratic version of things, and the young people of the household being educated unconsciously against the party of their fathers. In Boston the papers of greatest circulation are also democratic. New England has largely gone from the faith of the days of the war in its newspapers. The same is true of nearly every large city in the country. Democracy has also pressed its conquests to the agricultural press, and in the last three or four years many of the farmers' papers in the west have become advocates of free trade.

Such a propaganda has never been known in America as that of the democrats in their hunt in secret, and through a changing press in behalf of free trade in the west to-day; and I submit to you as republicans that it is time for our party to take notice of what the opposition party is doing by increasing and strengthening its press.

The republican newspapers stand ready to cover the land with the true gospel. It remains for the republicans in the neighborhood, in the home, to supplement the labors of the loyal press and all the time to extend their circulation and influence.

The American theory is for frequent changes in all public offices, and for every American boy to have an honest chance, whether he seeks it in politics or elsewhere. There is no American sympathy for a life-holding class in office, and no real American sympathies attend the present experiment of creating a profession of office holders. Americans realize the truth stated by Hallam in his great work on constitutions, that "all governments begin as pure democracies, drift into oligarchies, and end in monarchies." They do not believe in the English theory of superior classes and life-holding classes. Their own acts, and not the theory of reformers, constitute their own opinions. All officers under their own control they change every two years or four, whether in township, city, district, state or nation. Never anywhere have the American people made the least expression in favor of life tenure in civil office. I believe the claim of the mugwump, that the people favor a life-holding class in office, if submitted to the people themselves, would be rejected by 10,000,000 votes.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

H. A. Simpson of Centerville, Mich., writes to the Farmer's Voice of Chicago on impost taxation. He cites the rebellion of the American colonies against taxation without representation, and says: "The ultimate tax against which the colonists struggled and in opposition to which they took such anarchical measures was but three pence a pound on tea. But you reply it was not the amount of the tax but the fact of their being taxed without their consent. Very true, but do I understand you to infer that you are taxed with your consent, not three pence per pound on the one article of consumption, but from 20 to 100 per cent on almost everything you buy, and that, too, not for the benefit of a nation or people that might lend you some aid or protection in return, but wholly for the private benefit of some man or set of men, who being already needlessly rich only strive for more wealth to more completely equip a machinery that is already pressing men to poverty, vice, crime and degradation?"

LESS THAN EIGHT DOLLARS A WEEK.

Percy F. Smith of the Pennsylvania Grocer recently returned from the fifth convention of the Retail merchants' association at Scranton. The merchants endorsed the tariff bill on sugar, and recommended Pennsylvania congressmen to vote for it. The question of clerks' salaries was brought up, and the fact was disclosed that their average pay per week was only \$7.66. The constitution and by-laws were revised, and the per capita tax was reduced to twenty-five cents.

TARIFF REFORM IN MARYLAND.

The Tariff reform club of Washington county, Md., was opened formally on Friday evening in the Academy of music at Hagerstown. Colonel H. Kyd Douglas of Hagerstown is president. The speakers were W. C. P. Breckenridge of Kentucky, William M. Springer of Illinois, and William L. Wilson of West Virginia.

DEMANDING FREE COD LIVER OIL.

Wholesale druggists in New York and Philadelphia protest against the continued

imposition of a duty on cod liver oil. The present rate is twenty-five per cent ad valorem, with packages free. The McKinley bill proposes a specific duty of fifteen cents per gallon and a duty on packages that will add three to five per cent to this rate. The druggists insist that cod liver oil should be admitted free of duty.

A LIBERAL TEXAN.

ATTORNEY GENERAL HOGG ON RAILROADS AND THE ABUSE OF LAND MONOPOLY.

Attorney General Hogg of Texas, who is running as democratic candidate for governor, outlined his views on various public questions in a recent address. He declared himself in favor of state regulation of railways, and showed the analogy of railways to toll roads, where a private corporation maintains the roadbed and charges a sum fixed by law to all persons traveling over the same.

Beginning with common earth roads, graded and leveled, public highways changed not in principle, but in condition and methods of use and enjoyment. Passing through many transmutations, from the plain dirt road to the gravel way, from the latter to the horse-car line, and from that to the steam railway, the public highway developed, as it is now, into the greatest civilization known to civilization, indispensable to commerce and to the wants of the public, has never escaped the control of the power that gave it life. So long as they were simply earth or turn-pike roads but little or no question was raised as to the right of the government to control or regulate them, but since they have become laid with post-oak sleepers and steel rails, ballasted with sea shells, equipped with fine coaches propelled by steam engines and controlled by magnates, pools and combines they are defiant of law and revolt at control in all respects. They are now called "private enterprises."

Quite as striking was what Attorney General Hogg said on the land question. He spoke thus:

Our constitution further provides that, "Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free government and shall never be allowed." This provision was almost at corporate power in all respects, but especially as their ownership of lands. Under our present laws land corporations are not prohibited, nor are they expressly admitted; though they are operating in our state by a kind of license and the law of comity to an alarming extent. They control and own about one fourth of all the lands within the state. When title vests in them, as they live on forever, it becomes a perpetuity. In the way the evils of the English laws of primogeniture and entailment so distasteful to Americans will be surpassed by corporate estates. The control of the property in large tracts is equivalent to a monopoly. Many of them each own and now have exclusive possession and enjoyment of over a million acres of land in one body. Go into the far west through some of the richest counties of our state and you will find great pastures and corporate estates wired in and controlled exclusively from settlement; their management committed to agents; their titles in aliens, English lords, syndicates and corporations. The like has never been known to any country that guarded well its institutions with respect to the rights, liberties and privileges of the free people that compose it. These large estates, controlled now for pastoral purposes, will soon be in demand for settlement. As time goes on, within a few years, as the demand for homes becomes stronger, these princely estates will be cut up into small farms and rented or leased and operated by foreign peasantry, uncongenial to our people and under the absolute control of men who do not understand nor respect the principles of our government. In time they will become voters, and cast their ballots as free men according to the will of their landlords and rulers. In this way the time is not far distant in Texas, if this condition of affairs should be permitted to continue, when our people will be met in their councils by representatives of English aristocracy elected by their serfs and peons.

While we have the power in the legitimate exercise of our rights as citizens, it is well not to overlook matters of such serious importance and threatening danger to the welfare of ourselves and our posterity. This is a country, not of landed monopolies and estates in perpetuity created and run for serfs and slaves, but is one of freemen that should be controlled in all things by and for them. As the title of land is concentrated into the ownership of the few, in that proportion patriotism is destroyed. The greater the number of homes, the larger the number of patriots. Deprive our people of lands and they become tenants subject to the will of those who own their homes. In time they grow poor, diseased, degenerate and servile. When that period is reached the underlying principles of our government will be only known by the blotched leaves of history; and the thoughtless, indifferent people of to-day will be condemned by the mourning millions who bear their names. Cautiously observing vested rights and principles of justice, if I am elected your governor, I shall favor and insist upon the passage of laws that will prohibit the further operation of land corporations and to limit the tenure of title in those now owning lands within this state. Within a limited period of years they can sell their lands, receive their money for them and go elsewhere if they choose to hold estates in perpetuity. Such laws will not interfere with the subdivision and sale of lands by the corporations now in existence; nor with the ownership of such real estate as is necessary for the purpose of other private corporations whose objects are not the ownership of land.

NOBODY; NOT EVEN TAMMANY.

Albany Times.

Who is blocking ballot reform?

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

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 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 in 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. 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 any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one 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 uses 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 a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

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

2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to 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 attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

THE MASSACHUSETTS PLAN.

THE SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE—A STRONG DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES—HAMLIN GARLAND WILL LECTURE IN THE WEST.

Boston, May 5.—I inclose a "credential" issued by the single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. It contains a statement of purposes, serves as a credential of membership in a single tax organization, and presents a splendid declaration of rights. The credential and platform are as follows:

SINGLE TAX STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Organized under a State Call in Boston, February 16, 1890.

The purposes of this association are: 1. To enroll all believers in the single tax living in this state. 2. To systematize and facilitate agitation of this important reform. Any resident of Massachusetts over eighteen years of age, who indorses the principles set forth in the following credential, and signs his or her full name and address in the space provided below, may become a member of this committee and shall have a voice in any convention under its call.

CREDENTIAL. No. 448.

To the end that privileges and monopolies may be abolished and equality of opportunity guaranteed to all, I believe: That all ground rent should be appropriated for public revenue by a single tax upon the rental or site value of land; and that all taxes upon labor products which line and hamper production, and all tariffs which obstruct distribution and exchange, and all capitation taxes which oppress the individual and encumber his political rights should be abolished.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Sign both blanks and return one to be placed on file by the secretary. This credential is not transferable.

EDWIN M. WHITE, Chairman,
LEVI H. TURNER, Secretary,
272 Bunker Hill street, Charlestown.

PLATFORM.

We hold that God has made ample provision for the needs of all men during their residence upon earth, and has given to all an equal right to life.

Therefore, since the use of land is essential to life, we hold

That all men have an equal right to obtain from the earth by labor the means to support life.

That every man has a right to the full products of his own labor, and the right to freely exchange the same with others.

That the right to the use of that portion of the earth occupied by any community, belongs equally to all persons in that community.

Therefore, we denounce, as infringements of equal rights, laws which interfere with the free exchange by all men of the products of their labor.

We hold further, that the value which attaches to land by reason of its natural quality or position, or of the increased competition for its use due to the growth of population and public improvements, justly belongs to the whole community.

Therefore, to secure to all men the enjoyment of equal rights, which is the object of government and the professed basis of our constitution and laws,

We demand that the public take by taxation the full rental value of land by a single tax on land values, to the exclusion of all other taxes.

I want to indorse this plan of enrolment. It is not a political scheme; it is simply a plan to discover and enroll as many single tax followers in the state as may be possible, and I ask all our Massachusetts friends, men and women, to send for blanks and put themselves on record with our secretary, Mr. L. H. Turner, 272 Bunker Hill street.

Already many people whose names were unknown to us and to THE STANDARD have signed and sent in their profession of faith. It is not intended to have this in any way interfere with the work of the national committee; it is a necessity of local organization and could profitably be adopted in other states. A signer of this declaration is not a provisional single taxer, but a man or woman who sees the full scope of our reform and is not afraid to say so. Thus we will soon have a bureau of information regarding our brethren in every town in the state.

Let every Massachusetts friend correspond with Mr. Turner, get blanks and push on the work of enrolment. The declaration on the back is strong and full of great thought. One of my friends, not a single tax man, was profoundly moved by it. "It seemed to me like another great declaration of rights," he said.

I find time to do something each week for the cause, though not so much as I could wish. One of the most interesting of my meetings was the one held at the Boston school of oratory. I spoke at the request of the school, and my audience was almost entirely women, but the questions they asked were as shrewd, pertinent and earnest as any I have ever had addressed to me in any meeting. I believe in the modern American woman. She is thinking right as well as feeling right. She ought to be at our meetings always.

It is my intention to make another trip west this coming June or July, in June if possible, and I will speak every possible opportunity.

I shall go by way of Baltimore and Ohio railway, returning via Michigan Central and New York Central. Probably I shall make no demands upon single tax friends other than expenses from point to point, and I shall be obliged to limit myself in time. I will read or speak as may be desired. It is possible that my brother, Mr. Frank Garland, may be with me—if so he will read "Under the Lion's Paw," and one or two unpublished stories, if it may be desirable. The exact date of the trip can not be given at present. I will write again concerning it.

HAMLIN GARLAND,
12 Moreland street, Roxbury, Boston.

WORDS OF WISDOM.

CULLED FROM FATHER HUNTINGTON'S BROOKLYN LECTURE.

The freedom of the nation lies in the freedom of the individuals who compose it; and the freedom of the individuals depends upon their exercise of their rights and duties.

The church has sometimes seemed to concern itself with a distant sphere, with a future life, with another world, but its first interest, its first work, is as to this world.

The church fails of its purpose and its end when it merely diverts men's thoughts from the present to the future.

Christ came to teach men about present duties and present relations.

We talk about the life of our bodies, the life of our minds, intellectual life, spiritual life; but I suppose we recognize pretty clearly that our intellectual and spiritual life depends upon our physical; that unless we have food to put into our stomachs, our thinking apparatus is not going to last very long; that we shall not be able to indulge in spiritual exercises unless we have something to keep the blood circulating in our veins—unless we have our animal life protected and supported.

If people are deprived of freedom of access to this physical universe; if they are stinted in their supply of these necessities for the body, then just so far forth their lives are weakened, impaired—the life of their bodies first, the life of their minds and souls afterward—you will have, first of all, poverty, in the sense of poverty of the body; then poverty of the mind, and then poverty of the soul.

We see that just so far as life is diminished, cramped, so far liberty is destroyed, and therefore that the nation to-day is losing its freedom, because of a lack of freedom in so many of those who make up this nation.

The nation has no right to pick a man's pocket, even though it says it is "protecting" him in doing so.

WORK FOR WOMEN TO DO.

Some weeks ago a suggestion from W. E. Hicks was published in THE STANDARD, suggesting the formation of a woman's single tax union. Among the letters he has received in reply from earnest women in all parts of the country is one from a lady whose name frequently appears in THE STANDARD. She is one of the single tax leaders in the west.

Her letter contains so much that is of interest to women workers in the cause of humanity that a portion of it is published. The letter says:

As to the idea of a women's single tax union, I am disappointed that it should not have met with a warmer and more immediate response. Reference to my own little bit of work in the good cause gives me too much credit, but as far as the limitations of circumstances will allow, it surely is the one effort which makes "life worth living," and glorifies existence both for here and hereafter. Provided it was nobly and generously conducted, free from petty jealousies and narrow ambitions, the formation of a society such as you proposed must be a great power for active good.

And it will come in time, I believe; as soon perhaps as we are really ready for it. My greatest anxiety is that when it comes it should avoid the danger of too great a zeal for organization. Some degree of method and routine is, of course, inevitable, but rules and regulations should leave as free scope as possible to individuality in the way of working. The great value of such an association, it seems to me, would lie in the sympathetic sense of sisterhood, and the rallying point it would afford.

I have lately met with one or two instances that encourage me to think that women are really beginning at last to feel that the social problem concerns them and that ignorance of it is a reproach. Mr. George's recent visit here has visibly "troubled the waters," and this is surely one ripple of the wave. As to my little contributions to the cause—that has never counted to me as work, but as a great happiness fallen undeservedly to my share in the great endeavor. But I hope it may be mine to have some "part or lot in this matter," however small, when the day comes that sees women pressing forward with a true and pure enthusiasm in support of the only cause that can emancipate home from the perils which surround it.

Hitherto intelligent and progressive women have limited themselves too completely to the suffrage idea, and they need first of

all, I think, to have their minds disabused of the sense of its paramount importance. I have no doubt that granting the suffrage to women would awaken many to a new interest in public questions and bring their thought necessarily into the arena of living issues; but to many good and earnest women at present I think the understanding of the larger question would be the first step toward desiring the lesser right.

And what a cause for deepest thankfulness it is that Mr. George's position on this suffrage question has always been so clear and definite, though, indeed, it would be impossible to imagine him otherwise. I feel it constantly a tower of strength in speaking to the few women I have met willing to take an interest in the social question, that his name can be appealed to as a supporter of woman's equal rights. Surely every woman ought to feel that womankind owes him a double debt of gratitude—the champion of her rightful claim to citizenship and the apostle of home's happiness and freedom through the justice that would emancipate humanity.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
12 UNION SQUARE,
NEW YORK, May 6, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion.

Although the petition returns for the past month have fallen off somewhat, our friends are everywhere carrying on a vigorous propaganda campaign. The drafts on this committee for literature continue to be heavy and our distribution during the past month of tracts to workers and STANDARDS to new signers amounted to about 18,000.

Replies to our circular of last week asking for a little renewed effort in behalf of the petition are beginning to come in in gratifying numbers, and we are very hopeful that June 1 will show an enrolment of at least 100,000.

The following additional clubs have been heard from regarding the proposed conference:

For Conference.	Place.	Time.
Memphis, Tenn., Club	New York	No time
Washington, D.C., Club	New York	No time
S. T. League Maryland	Philadel	No time
B'klyn, E. D., S. T. Club	New York	No time
Houston, Tex., S. T. Com	New York	No time

The organizations heard from since our report of April 23 that oppose the holding of the single tax conference are:

San Francisco single tax society,
Black Diamond, Cal., S. T. club,
Allerton, Iowa, S. T. club.

Summary.—Number of clubs favoring conference 43, opposed to conference 7, doubtful or non-committal 4.

As place of meeting New York as first choice has 23 votes, Chicago 7, Niagara 6, Washington and Philadelphia 2, St. Louis 1.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending May 6 are as follows:

Thro' J. A. Forsyth, Yonkers, N. Y.	\$12 00
Thro' Chas. Fisher (add.), N. Y. city	50
Thro' J. S. Paton, Douglas, Wash.	7 50
	\$20 00

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$3,357 10

Total . . . \$3,377 10

Less error in subscription of A. Fleming . . . 44 00

Total . . . \$3,333 10

Cash contributions for the same period are as follows:

Rhode Island S. T. club thro' Thos. G. Shearman, New York city	\$14 00
Geo. Hawkins, New York city	1 00
T. L. Burner, Binghamton, N. Y.	50
	\$15 50

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . 742 95

Total . . . \$758 45

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . .	70,705
Signatures received since last report.	551
Total . . .	80,256

Our weekly budget of news will be found as usual in the "Roll of States" below.
G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB IN ITS NEW HOME—GOOD WORK DONE—A DINNER TO-MORROW EVENING TO CELEBRATE THE FORMAL OPENING OF THE NEW QUARTERS.

The Manhattan single tax club now lives at No. 73 Lexington avenue, and for the next two years will be glad to receive the visits of all single tax people and their friends there. The rooms will not be completely furnished and furnished for a week yet; but sufficient has been done to allow the opening

reception and dinner to be held to-morrow (Thursday) evening. Having now all the facilities for preparing a good dinner, the house committee of the club promises the members and friends who attend the worth of their money in solids, not to speak of the pleasant features of the social part of the dinner. There will be a charge of fifty cents for each plate.

The club occupies the parlor floor, the front basement and the front room on the floor above the parlors. The billiard table is in the basement room, which is large and pleasant. The parlor floor consists of two parlors and extension room, giving a clear sweep of sixty-five feet. This will be plainly furnished, thus retaining the old air of democratic comfort for which the old rooms were so well known. In the book case in the extension room will be kept all the standard magazines and reviews, and daily and weekly newspapers from all parts of the world. The front and middle parlors will be for lounging and general conversation. This floor will be stained and varnished. On the floor above is the library room. It has been handsomely carpeted and furnished with a library table and chairs for the comfort of such of the members as may desire to read or write. In this room smoking and general conversation will be strictly tabooed. The walls of all the rooms are being hung with pictures, etc., gifts or loans from a number of the members. Altogether the club may congratulate itself on having a delightfully comfortable home. As one member expressed it last Thursday evening: "This is a cozy place. Already I feel more at home than I ever did in the rooms we last occupied."

Chairman Post presided, last Thursday evening, at the first monthly meeting of the club in its new quarters. After the minutes of the April meeting had been approved, Mr. Post congratulated the club on its removal into better and more central quarters. He also desired to congratulate the club on the successful accomplishment of one of the reforms it had advocated—that of ballot reform. The single tax men had in four years, he said, agitated until the politicians of both political parties had been compelled to approve a measure to which they were opposed. Much had been done, but much more remained yet to do. He announced that the formal opening of the club would take place next Thursday evening (to-morrow), when the celebration will take the form of a dinner and social entertainment—addresses, music, singing, etc.

On the recommendation of the managing board, a committee was appointed to prepare a table of taxation of the World and Times property, to show how, as the projectors of these papers had erected more magnificent buildings, their tax rate had been increased. When the table is ready, a letter will be written to the owners of these papers pointing out the injustice being done them, which letters will be presented in person by large committees of the club.

The board also recommended, and it was approved by the club, that a committee be appointed to call on the senate committee and ask them to make examination of the existing methods of assessing property, on the ground that "there is a well founded belief that unimproved property does not bear its share of taxation."

The president, vice-president and secretary were requested to prepare a circular inviting the single tax men of the whole country to become non-resident members of the Manhattan single tax club.

In view of the probable signing by the governor of the ballot reform bill [it was signed May 2] it was decided to prepare for the next political campaign; and to that end a committee of nine was appointed to prepare a plan and submit it at the next meeting. The committee consists of William McCabe (chairman), E. Yancey Cohen (secretary), Jerome O'Neill, A. J. Steers, William T. Croasdale, E. J. Shriver, Rignal D. Woodward, L. O. Macdonnell and William D. Williams.

Having done a good evening's work the club adjourned; but before putting the motion, the chair, by request of the house and library committees, stated that they would be gratified by the loan or gift of such books and pictures as would be sent in.

There will be one, and only one, invited guest at the dinner to-morrow evening, and that will be Horace E. Deming, chairman of the executive committee of the Ballot reform league. The invitation is extended as a recognition by the club of the magnificent work done by him in pushing the compromise ballot bill to a success.

BROOKLYN.

THE BROOKLYN CLUB IN ITS NEW QUARTERS—ROBERT BAKER REMOVES TO PHILADELPHIA—PROFESSOR POTTS REPEATS HIS LECTURE.

At the regular meeting of the Brooklyn single tax club, held on Wednesday evening, April 29, Mr. Robert Baker tendered his resignation as corresponding secretary, in view of his removal to Philadelphia, and Mr. W. F. Withers was elected to succeed him. Mr. Baker is one of the most active spirits in the movement, and Mrs. Baker is not a whit behind him in zeal for the cause; and while the Brooklyn men regret their leaving, they congratulate the single tax society of Philadelphia on gaining two earnest and efficient workers.

President Peter Aitkin notified the club that he would be absent from the city during the summer, and the chair would be filled by the vice-president. And this also means a temporary loss of two valuable members, for Mrs. Aitkin is heart and soul in the cause, and was a regular attendant at the meetings for discussion.

The managing board has arranged for a series of meetings, lectures, etc., during the month of May in their new club house, No. 198 Livingston street, including a musical and social entertainment on Wednesday evening, the 21st inst.

Joseph McGuinness, Brooklyn, E. D.—Civil Service Commissioner Potts repeated on Sunday, 4th inst., before the Philosophical society of the Eastern District his great discourse on "Land and Beans." Among other things he held that the increase in land values was not due to population but to individual effort. He held that land was capital, though when cornered later, he qualified it by saying "sometimes." He held that the greatest value in railroads was not in the land they monopolized, but in their improvements.

But, oh! that Boston illustration of how a land value tax would fall with crushing weight upon the poor was such a gem—so unique, so touching, withal, that lest it might be lost to posterity I beg the privilege of recording it. Mr. Potts had obtained from the Boston assessors a list of land values separate from improvements. These he divided into three classes: Class 1, the back bay, peopled by aristocrats, the proportion of land values to the total was 48 per cent. Class 2, where the middle classes dwelt, the proportion was 44½. Class 3, where the very poor dwelt, the proportion was 63½. Thus (triumphantly exclaimed the lecturer) would your single tax fall with most cruel, crushing effect upon the poorest. Now, I have no doubt this will discourage the New York single tax men and make them desist when they learn that their mad policy is going to grind the poor (?) who own Mulberry bend.

The society courteously ceded ten minutes to each single tax man wishing to reply. Three of us responded, and some knotty questions were propounded for the lecturer to answer in his closing. Professor Denslow, however, came to his aid and uttered such a violent philippic against the single tax and "Progress and Poverty," that when Mr. Potts arose to close, he found it more convenient to indorse and further elaborate the sentiments uttered by Denslow, leaving the questions put to him unanswered.

NEW YORK STATE.

THE LOCKPORT KNIGHTS OF LABOR COMPEL ANSWERS TO PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

Lawrence J. McFarlin, Lockport.—After wrestling with the matter for three months, D. A. 52 of the K. of L. in the early part of April, adopted the catechism below for presentation to candidates in the late election:

LOCKPORT, N. Y., April 4, 1890.
Dear Sir: At a regular meeting of district No. 52 of the Knights of Labor, with jurisdiction over the assemblies connected with it in Niagara county, N. Y., which meeting was held at Labor hall, Lockport, N. Y., on the evening of April 3, 1890, the following questions were formulated for submission to the candidates of the several political parties, duly nominated for the office of mayor and alderman, to be voted for at the charter election, to be held in said city Tuesday, April 9, 1890. Be kind enough to answer the questions briefly. Evasive answers will be accepted as negative.

1. Are you in favor of the city owning and operating its own municipal plant for electric lighting? Answer.
2. Are you in favor of paying the laborers on public works twenty cents per hour, and eight hours to constitute a day's work? Answer.
3. Are you in favor of the selection of an assessor who will tax land values and exempt from taxation that which labor creates? Answer.

4. Are you in favor of proceeding at once to collect the amount due from the Lockport and Buffalo railway to the city of Lockport? Answer.

5. Will you vote against giving the city printing to an unfair or non-union printing office? Answer.

Hand your reply hereon to visiting committee or mail forthwith to George Heidenreich, secretary D. A. 52, No. 3 Buffalo street, Lockport, N. Y.

We elected men who favored the propositions. I would suggest that a catechism be adopted with appropriate questions to be submitted for answer to all public elective officers.

RHODE ISLAND.

BUSINESS MEN IN NEWPORT LISTEN TO THE SINGLE TAX ADVOCATE.

S. T., Newport.—The Business men's association of this city met here April 22 for the purpose of discussing the single tax. Mr. Carret of Boston opened with a carefully written paper on the subject, explaining the single tax. Colonel Honey, Mayor Coggeshall, A. C. Ives, F. F. Nolan, Dr. Squire and L. D. Davis took part in the debate which followed. The Providence Telegram says concerning the meeting:

The discussion, if it did nothing else, showed the need of more careful study of the single tax theory. Few of the speakers

seemed to have more than superficial acquaintance with Henry George's theory.

George D. Riddell, Providence.—Among the signers to the last batch of signatures sent to the enrolment committee are Judge Randolph and Daniel Mahoney. Judge Randolph is an old man over eighty years of age, but he is a free trader from the ground up and as full of enthusiasm as a boy. Daniel Mahoney is employed on the Journal.

PENNSYLVANIA.

CONVERTED BY FATHER HUNTINGTON—WILKESBARRE WAKING UP.

E. D. Burleigh, Germantown.—I took with me to hear Father Huntington lecture a young Englishman. He had never heard of the single tax before, but the reverend gentleman converted him.

William Hancock, Wyoming.—I lately called the attention of the public through an article in the Wilkesbarre Telegraph—a paper in full sympathy with the single tax—to the inequalities of assessment of real estate in Luzerne county. The most valuable properties in Wilkesbarre being assessed from one-tenth to one-fifteenth of selling value and farming property from one-fourth to full selling value, showing the worthlessness and fraud of present system. Since said publication the county commissioners and Wilkesbarre assessors have acknowledged to me the gross abuses that have grown up under the present system. The wealthy land owners of Wilkesbarre continually bring pressure to bear upon the commissioners and assessors, whereas the isolated farmers have no such opportunity. The great cause of land reform is making solid progress here.

Lancaster.—A workingmen's free circulating library has been opened under the auspices of the Knights of Labor; John F. Little is chairman and John J. Boyle secretary. Grover Cleveland wrote a letter to the chairman in which he said: "It seems to me that the establishment of a free circulating library and reading room for workingmen is an object that should interest everybody who cares for the improvement of his fellows." Chauncey F. Black wrote: "I rejoice to see the Knights of Labor taking this course. I have labored with all my might to induce our democratic friends to make of their democratic societies similar educational institutions, establishing in connection with each one a small library." The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott has agreed to deliver a lecture on "The Industrial Revolution" in the fall, for the benefit of the library.

Henry George's works will be found on the library shelves.

OHIO.

PROTECTIONISTS YET, BUT WILL BE BROUGHT OVER IN TIME.

W. H. McCarthy, Cleveland.—I have sent the enrolment committee a number of petitions, all of which, with one exception, were signed by men who are working in the same shop as myself. There are two active single tax workers in the shop in addition to myself, making a total of three, and between us we have gained probably forty signatures, so that the employees of the Walker manufacturing company of Cleveland has contributed very generously to the petition. There are several others, yet protectionists, of whom I do not despair of seeing their names attached to the petition.

J. J. Jones, Weston.—Some good single tax work could be done here by proper effort, and I would like to take a hand; but I am a poor man with a family of eight to feed and clothe, and consequently I can give but little time to the matter. During my little spare time I canvass for signatures to the petition.

INDIANA.

A YOUNG LAWYER SEARCHING FOR THE TRUTH—THE INFLUENCE OF THE SINGLE TAX MEN MAKING ITSELF FELT.

L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.—In my last letter I mentioned the fact that I was trying to make a convert to the single tax idea of a popular young attorney in Owen county. After sending him three or four STANDARDS, I wrote him briefly, explaining the principles of our doctrine and its probable effects on industry and society if adopted. I received an answer promptly, thanking me for sending him the papers, saying he had read them with much interest, and added:

You must remember, I am an infant on this subject; I know very little indeed of it, and am therefore prejudiced neither for nor against it. I never form an opinion on any subject without first investigating to my satisfaction. I do not feel it necessary to investigate but one side of the single tax doctrine—the affirmative. The proposed reform is in opposition to the existing order of things, and therefore has the burden of proof. If logical argument based upon a sufficient number of established facts shows it to be a better policy of taxation than the existing form, it is every man's patriotic duty to give it all the time and support that he can without neglecting his private business. If I am once convinced of the justice of the doctrine I shall not hesitate to do what I can to advance it.

He closed by saying that he has "Progress and Poverty" and will read it just as soon as

possible. I wrote him again inclosing a copy of Clark's "A Lawyer's Reply to Criticisms."

I have started in on a preacher, by sending him a couple of STANDARDS marked. He recently preached on the eight-hour question.

Two good single tax men, members of our league, Messrs. Hudson and White, are candidates for the legislature, with a prospect that one or both will be nominated.

To accommodate some who could not attend on Tuesday evening, we have changed our weekly meeting to Thursday night. The league is considering practical work for the summer months. It is desirable that the friends of the movement come out.

Charles G. Bennett, Evansville.—We are getting in single tax work here in great shape. Our association presented a petition to the city council last Monday night, May 1, asking them "not to grant any franchise, right of way, or special privilege of any kind to any individual or corporation without reasonable and just annual compensation therefore, paid into the public treasury." The petition was printed in our four daily papers. The Tribune and Courier made favorable editorial comments, the former being especially strong and closing thus:

There is something wrong in all this [the present system of taxation], and the single tax men seem to be getting close to the milk in the coconut. If they will tap some of those old rusty cocoanuts they will gain the thanks of the entire community, and if they get any milk out of them they will be the first who ever succeeded in so doing.

We have succeeded in having the cost of street improvements assessed against the owners of abutting property, and a street car ordinance, which contemplated giving a company certain rights to the public streets without compensation, has been defeated, and the question of the taxation of vacant lots is being discussed everywhere. We are all right.

ILLINOIS.

STUDYING AND THINKING OVER THE PROBLEM.

Charles J. Johnson, Chicago.—The only obstacle I find in getting signatures to the petition is the free trade clause. There are lots of people yet who believe in the tariff nonsense; but we can't expect that everybody will understand it until we get them to study and think over the problem.

D. N. Baxter, Galesburg.—On my way down from Grand Rapids I gathered forty signatures for the enrolment committee. Some are traveling men, and one is from New York city. The petition is a grand opportunity, and I rejoice in it, only wishing I had time and money for better work. Professional people are the ones easily reached, and I have many profitable single tax visits with them.

MICHIGAN.

FARMERS ASKING FOR AN EXPLANATION OF THE SINGLE TAX—SENDING IN SIGNATURES.

F. D. Clark, Midland.—A sign of the times: There will be a meeting of farmers held here this month and I have been requested to present arguments to them in favor of the single tax.

D. N. Baxter, Grand Rapids.—I have just sent sixty-two names to the enrolment committee. I have had lots of discussion and lots of fun, and I trust some good is done for the single tax. I am surprised, pleasantly, at the interest manifested by our city officials, a goodly number of whose names I obtained, together with some prominent attorneys. I am sorry I cannot devote my whole time to the diffusion of the single tax.

MISSOURI.

FURNISH OF CHICAGO IN ST. LOUIS—DEATH OF AN ESTEEMED MEMBER OF THE ST. LOUIS LEAGUE.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—Clinton Furbish of Chicago came here last Thursday for the purpose of addressing the trades union eight-hour demonstration, and we induced him to remain until Sunday. During his visit he made three single tax speeches, not counting his address to the workingmen, from which it is needless to say the single tax principle was not excluded.

Sidney A. Rendt, formerly secretary of the single tax league, died last Saturday, and his funeral was conducted by the single tax league. In his death the cause loses a tireless worker and logical speaker.

J. W. Shaw, Lane's Prairie.—If my finances will permit I shall canvass this (the Eleventh congressional) district this spring and summer in behalf of the single tax. I am constantly receiving invitations to lecture at different places.

TEXAS.

A FARMERS' ALLIANCE FAVORS TAXING VACANT LANDS TO THEIR FULL RENTAL VALUE.

J. L. Caldwell, Mait.—The county alliance of Anderson county, Tex., has unanimously adopted a resolution favoring "the taxation of vacant lands to their full rental value."

H. B. Hollingsworth, Shiner.—I have sent the enrolment committee sixty-six signatures

in the last four weeks. I prefer to solicit opponents for their signatures, for then an argument springs up and folks gather around and listen. For the benefit of those who wish to investigate, I have a few copies of "Progress and Poverty" on sale at Shiner, which anyone wishing to read can get, and by returning in good shape can get their money back. If I could convince people in a public capacity as I can in personal conversation, I feel that I would be willing to spend a part of my time advocating the single tax.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

AN OBJECT LESSON THAT IS OF INTEREST TO FARMERS—MR. BROKAW HARD AT WORK.

W. E. Brokaw, Watertown.—I have just mailed sixty-seven more signatures to the petition to the enrolment committee. No. 1 is a protectionist lawyer. No. 2 is a school teacher and ex-editor. No. 3 is a member of the state board of regents (of schools). No. 4 is an editor. No. 5 is a teacher in a business college. Nos. 6, 8, 13 and 15 are lawyers. No. 7 is an editor. No. 9 is the sheriff of Brookings county. No. 10 is an old time green-backer. No. 11 is secretary of the state railroad commissioners, a protectionist. No. 12 is a Methodist preacher, deeply interested. No. 14 is a county superintendent of schools.

I went over to Gary the 25th and talked to a small audience in the Methodist church, and answered questions to the apparent satisfaction of all. I sold a number of George's works and got a few signers to the petition. The next day Mr. Bodenner urged me to remain over Sunday and go out to Hooper's school Sunday afternoon, promising to secure a good audience for me. After much persuasion I consented to do so.

After dinner, the 27th, Mr. Westcott, whose hospitality I enjoyed while at Gary, took me out seven miles to the school house. I took a bible along and read numerous references I had selected and presented the moral side of the question chiefly.

After my talk Mr. Bodenner said that he had promised me a full house, and that as I claimed that he had failed to keep my promise he would give me an object lesson. Then he told how several of those present had come to that locality when he did, a number of years ago, and had taken land with the understanding that they would have no taxes to pay for five years—until they "proved up" on their land. Then he asked every man who now owned his land to hold up his hand. Not a hand went up. Then he told how they all worked hard and had economized; had not been drunkards or spendthrifts, and how he had at last come to see that all this time they had been paying rent to men living in New York, London and elsewhere. He pointed to the deserted farms and then to the gray heads of the landless farmers before me, who had once thought to own the farms, and hoped that the lesson would pay me for what he had fallen short in his promise.

Then Mr. Hooper gave some of his experience, telling how he had had good crops until the last four years, and that even during those he had never raised less than 1,100 bushels of wheat. How he used to think that he had nothing to do with the government; that if he minded his own business and was industrious, farmed good, etc., he would prosper. But he soon got in debt and had his stock mortgaged. Then he mortgaged his land to free his stock. His wife told him it would all go, but he thought he could get out. But now he is a tenant, with his personal property mortgaged, and has come to the conclusion that the fault is with the government, especially since he has noticed that his neighbors are all about in the same fix.

These men are practical farmers; hard working, industrious men, who do not drink up their earnings. They see the dog in the manger, and they like so well the glimpse of the cat that they have had that they are anxious to have me come again and talk in a school house four miles east of Hooper's. These men and the Gary men are nearly all republicans, but several of them are free traders, and will never vote for "protection" again.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Wm. Chapman, West Warren.—While traveling between the little towns of Ware and West Warren one day last week, I spied an old man busy at work in a field near by. I accosted him, and after talking of things in general, I asked his views on the tariff question. He began by stating that if it were not for protection things would go to the dogs. I could not help smiling at the worshipper of the protectionist idol; but I smothered my mirth as well as I could. He said: "I am almost seventy-six and have had to work ever since I was able. I don't chew, I don't drink rum, can't smoke cigars like you fellows in the factory, and yet it takes me mighty hard scratching to make both ends meet." I told him I thought if that was so, he was not very well protected. I tried to impress upon him the fallacy of protection, but he was impregnable. I asked him if he ever read THE STANDARD or knew anything of Henry George. He said: "No, I never heard tell on him." I left him with my mind made up he would soon know.

MARYLAND.

Otway G. Webb, Baltimore.—We are com-

ing to the front very fast, though the most of us are very poor—at least I am, for I work twelve hours a day and get ninety-five cents for it; yet, by stinting, I generally manage to have a dollar about me to help along the single tax cause. I am certain that I make two converts to the single tax every five days, but some of my converts are now making two to my one.

VIRGINIA.

Eugene Withers, Danville.—I am firmly convinced that if we single tax men will take advantage of our opportunity that we can take a great step forward in the next campaign. Last week the Farmers' alliance held a great meeting here, 340 delegates being present. It was a secret session, and while, of course, I can't say what was done, I can give a straw as to show how the wind is. At that meeting an intimate personal friend of mine was elected president of one of their most powerful sub-alliances. Two days afterward I talked to him long and earnestly about the single tax. When I finished my side of the question, he said in reply: "I am with you, at least this far. I am for abolishing the tariff, the internal revenue and all license taxation. I can't say that I am convinced that personal property taxation should be done away with as yet." I was delighted and surprised. I was more than surprised, for four years ago this gentleman was a protectionist, six months since merely a tariff reformer, while now he is almost an out-and-out single tax man. This gentleman must voice the sentiment of the farmers, otherwise why should they elect him to one of their important offices? He is a sound, sensible, well informed man, and with him to lead them the farmers of this community are going to make progress along the lines of taxation. I am going to get in some work whenever, wherever, and with whomever I can. I am anxious to see our cause on the aggressive. It's about time to make the old political parties feel our power.

KENTUCKY.

William M. Stinson, Louisville.—If there is any likelihood of the formation of a single tax club here, I would be glad to help the best I can.

The tornado through which we just passed is about as bad as any one man can well describe. No doubt you have seen some of the photographs of the wreck. I have seen a photograph and then walked to the spot where taken, and while the scene at the wreck makes one heart sick the photograph actually looks lovely in comparison. The weather is horrible; snow, slush two inches deep, and raining and snowing alternately. The water works have been so badly damaged that we are in danger of a water famine—only four days' supply on hand and estimated two weeks' repairs needed before water can be supplied. So, you see, in this condition we are not in a very good mood to argue points that philosophy is needed in. I am of the opinion that a leading editorial in THE STANDARD upon this tornado, and the effect of the single tax in rebuilding, would be read eagerly and cause many to see plainer how much better the single tax is over the present plan. This is especially so in this district, where one subject is deeply impressed on the mind and another can be closely connected with it, why both are more liable to stick.

IOWA.

J. Bellangee, Des Moines.—The Des Moines Daily News has printed, lately, a number of editorials that lean strongly toward the single tax. I believe the heaven is working among members of all classes, and I try to so watch public affairs that when a favorable opportunity offers a helpful hint may be dropped into the current of prevailing thought and interest.

KANSAS.

G. E. Smith, Germantown.—The good single tax seed is being sown in our farmers' alliance, which I think in time will bear fruit "a hundred fold." A county organization of the alliance has been effected in this (Smith) county with forty-six sub-alliances, of which I have the honor to be president, and I will not be slack in doing all I can in a quiet way for the right remedy to emancipate industrial slaves.

GEORGIA.

Garret Mahon, Savannah.—Our cause is moving forward faster than I had expected. Our morning paper says that it will be useless for any candidate who is not in favor of ballot reform to come before the people. If I have done nothing else I have helped sow the seed of a reform that will insure the honest counting of votes. The single tax will follow.

CALIFORNIA.

George B. Whaley, San Diego.—To the single tax men of San Diego city: For twenty-five cents per week I will place THE STANDARD regularly in the reading rooms of the following seven places: The Public library, Y. M. C. A., St. James hotel, Horton house, Commercial hotel, New Carleton hotel, Alhambra hotel—twenty-five cents per week, \$1 per month, \$12 per year. I'll do all the work—yes, I'll do more: I'll give \$5 (and go barefooted this summer). Mr. Hasset here gives \$1—that's \$6 of it. Who will help me out on the balance? Come, now is your

chance to do something. Call at my place, The Novelette, 430 Fifth street, and join the committee—the Standard committee. Don't wait for others to do it. Come yourself—right now.

CANADA.

PREPARING FOR THE COMING LEGISLATIVE ELECTION.

J. L. Dawkins, Toronto.—The general election of members to the legislative assembly of this province takes place early in June; and at a recent meeting of the executive of this society a series of questions were prepared and will be printed and sent to the candidates of both parties, asking them if they will support measures looking to the abolition, one after another, of all taxes on labor and its products, and the substitution therefore of a heavier tax on land values. Copies of this circular will also be sent to newspapers and the labor organizations, and we expect to excite a good deal of discussion, if nothing more.

A few days ago circulars were prepared and sent to all the labor unions and assemblies in the city, asking their support and assistance in agitating for the submission of the following questions, by ballot, to the electors at the next municipal election:

Are you in favor of abolishing taxation on the following classes of property: Personalty? Income? Buildings?

I received a letter from Mr. Hampden Burnham of Peterborough, Ont., early this week, saying that a single tax club had been started in that town.

At a recent business meeting of this society it was resolved to change its name from the Anti-poverty society to the Single tax association. The change was favored by the members chiefly on account of the misunderstanding the old name caused as to the objects of the society.

"THE INFERNAL FOOLS IN KANSAS."

Topeka Democrat.

"Kansas, as usual, leads the procession," said a gentleman as he stepped into a banking house in Boston two or three days after the last presidential election. "Eighty thousand majority for the republican ticket and protection. That even beats Pennsylvania. What do you think of that?" said the Kansas, familiarly clapping the banker upon the shoulders.

"Think," said the banker; "why I think you have eighty thousand majority of infernal fools out there in Kansas; that is what I think." Continuing he said: "I cannot understand it; it is utterly beyond my comprehension why the Kansas farmer should deliberately continue to vote this outrageous and unjust protection tax upon himself, and for our exclusive benefit. If I were a Kansas or western farmer, I would lead a revolution before I would pay such an unjust and damnable tax!"

"You pay us interest, or tax, now on nearly every thing you own; on your court houses, jails, bridges, railroads, street car lines, water works, gas works, electric light plants, school houses, churches, city property and farms; and what little is left after all that, you voluntarily vote to us, as a pure gratuity, in the shape of an unjust, outrageous and enormous tax—called protective tariff—on everything you eat, wear, or use, thereby taking undoubtedly the remainder of what the poor farmer can raise, and leaving him penniless at the end of the year."

"But," said he, "I don't see why I should complain, as I am one of the manufacturers in New England, and consequently one of the largest beneficiaries of a protective tariff. So as long as you Kansas farmers continue to drive up your protection cow, we manufacturers will continue to milk her; and the election of Harrison, with your 80,000 majority, gives assurance that we have a good hold on the teats for the next four years."

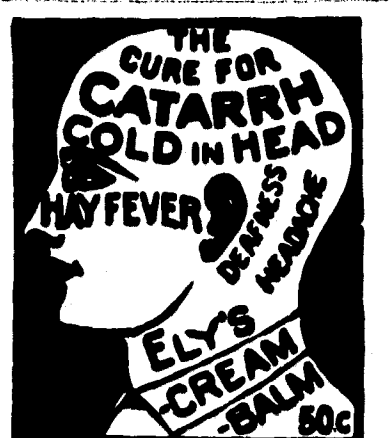
AGENTS WANTED FOR "SECRET SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES." A narrative of exciting events; \$5,000 sold in sixty days; desperate encounters; hairbreadth escapes. A great hit. PARK PUBLISHING CO., Hartford, Conn.



THE BOSS FISHING OUTFIT FOR 50 CENTS. No fisherman can afford to pass this offer by, because nowhere can he get such an outfit for double the money. Each outfit contains: One Fine Metal Reel—Will wind any line in first class style.—One Line Trout Line—The strongest line made, guaranteed to safely land the heaviest trout.—One Line Bass or Salmon Line—Adapted for big fish like salmon or game fish, like black bass.—One Long Cotton Line—Nifty cross wound on a block, and good for every day fishing after perch, catfish, etc.—One Line Parashed Complete with Hook, Hub and Sinkers—a whole outfit in itself, comprising a strong line, hook attached and neat movable bob and sinker. With this line in his pocket the fisherman can start right in and try his luck.—One Dozen Best Steel Baited Fish Hooks (assorted)—best grade of hooks, warranted strong, sharp in points and barbs, handy to use, anybody being able to tie their line into the ring of the hook.—Two Imported Trout Flies—new improved style; will draw trout from deep pools when other flies fail; are natural, brilliant in colors, strongly fastened around hooks, will give satisfaction.—One Improved Bass Fly—best approved fly for black bass fishing.—One Improved Salmon Fly—best pattern and perfect shape and color, sure to raise and catch the fish. Two Nail Hooks and Gut.—Hooks are set on long guts, and when fish are hooked and lands the fish every time. Here is a complete fisherman's outfit at the low price of 50 cents. The poorest boy or man can afford this complete assortment, and ought to keep his family in fish the year round, or catch enough to sell. As much sport can be had with this outfit as with a ten dollar one. Price of the complete outfit including everything described, only 50 cts. Sent by mail post-paid. Address BOSTON NOVELTY CO., BOX 1540, BOSTON, MASS.

Ely's Cream Balm
THE CURE FOR
CATARRH
HAY-FEVER
AND
COLD IN HEAD

Ely's Cream Balm is not a liquid, snuff or powder. Applied into the nostrils it is quickly absorbed. It cleanses the head, allays inflammation, heals the sores. Sold by druggists or sent by mail on receipt of price.
50c ELY BROTHERS, 66 Warren Street, NEW YORK. **50c**



SCOTT'S EMULSION

Of Pure Cod Liver Oil with Hypophosphites Of Lime and Soda.

There are emulsions and emulsions, and there is still much skimmed milk which masquerades as cream. Try as they will many manufacturers cannot so disguise their cod liver oil as to make it palatable to sensitive stomachs. Scott's Emulsion of PURE NORWEGIAN COD LIVER OIL, combined with Hypophosphites is almost as palatable as milk. For this reason as well as for the fact of the stimulating qualities of the Hypophosphites, Physicians frequently prescribe it in cases of

CONSUMPTION.

SCROFULA, BRONCHITIS and CHRONIC COUGH or SEVERE COLD. All Druggists sell it, but be sure you get the genuine, as there are poor imitations.

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

is one of the finest remedies known for the cure of Coughs, Colds, Influenza and Bronchitis. It speedily gives relief to the inflamed surfaces and soothes the irritated glands.

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

should always be kept in the house where there are young children, as it can be used to advantage in an attack of Croup before the Doctor comes, and may be of inestimable service.

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

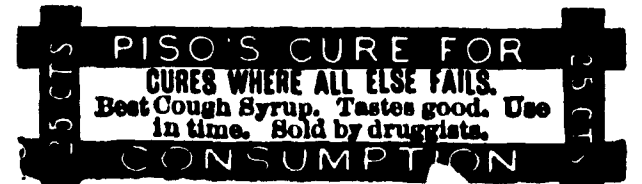
Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

is sold by all Druggists. Price 25c., 50c. and \$1 per bottle.

PIKE'S TOOTHACHE DROPS

CURE IN ONE MINUTE.



PRETTIEST COLORADO CACTUS has bright red spines and yellow flowers. One in bloom for 10c. (silver) and stamp. Moss agate specimen, 10c. Mrs. O. H. BUCK, box 108, Coal Creek, Col.

SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909 1/2 Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pearce; sec., G. A. Hubbell; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

SACRAMENTO.—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Huddins.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

SAN DIEGO.—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, Novelette book stand, 439 Fifth st.

BLACK DIAMOND.—Central Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

COLORADO.

STATE.—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 251 Marion st.

PUEBLO.—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

GRAND JUNCTION.—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

CANYON CITY.—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. 3 p. m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Willis, P. O. box 1342.

DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box A, Watertown.

RAPID CITY.—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

MADISON.—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 609 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

FLORIDA.

PENSACOLA.—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Dennis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

TAMPA.—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

AUGUSTA.—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Loflin & Meyer.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

Sparta.—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm. R. Bailey.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 827 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

STATE.—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

CLINTON.—Single tax club. Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

PORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 8 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. B. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 978 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 215 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Monahan, 900 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 6; sec., J. Ballanger.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 2:30 p. m.; 794 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnehan, 836 W. Broadway.

ALLENTON.—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirliv.

MARSHALLTOWN.—Single tax committee. Pres., James Skegg; sec., Hans Erickson.

MASON CITY.—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

KANSAS.

ABILENE.—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

GROVE HILL.—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets every Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 205 Canal st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1227 7th st.

LEWISTON.—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p. m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

Single tax association of East Baltimore. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

Neponset single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 339 1/2 Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lohrop, 43 Walnut st.

Dorchester single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Pres., Ed. Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

STONEHAM.—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

WORCESTER.—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

LAWRENCE.—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

ORANGE.—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimack assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimack st.

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

MICHIGAN.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

South Minneapolis single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hamersley.

ST. PAUL.—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Saturday, 8 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry B. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

LA DUE.—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. Meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 at headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every night. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

HERMANN.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hascritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

HIGH GATE.—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

OAK HILL.—Single tax league. Pres., F. Debolt; sec., J. W. Miller.

RED BIRD.—Single tax league. Pres., J. S. Cahill; sec., J. Krewson, Red Bird, Mo.

NEBRASKA.

OMAHA.—Omaha single tax club. Sunday afternoons, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker; sec., Cyrus F. Beckett, 411 N. 23d st.

WYOMING.—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamm.

NEW JERSEY.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the National assembly rooms, 648 Newark av. Pres., John W. Jakeway; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 207 Grove st.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 82 Broad st.; sec., M. G. Gaffney, 43 Warren place.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 169 Market street.

S. ORANGE.—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

VINELAND.—Vineland single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., Rev. Adolph Roeder; sec., Wm. P. Nichols, box 924.

JANVIER.—Janvier single tax and ballot reform club. Alternate Thursday evenings, Janvier hall. Pres., W. J. Rice; sec., Sydney R. Walsh.

CAMDEN.—Camden single tax club. Pres., Louis M. Randall; sec., Wm. M. Callingham.

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BAYONNE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. R. DuBois.

PASSAIC.—Single tax committee of Passaic. Pres., Oscar D. Wood.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK.—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 36 Clinton pl.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

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BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, 824 Clinton st., E. Buffalo.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds's Arcade. Pres., J. M. Campbell; sec., D. Waters, 80 Reynolds's arcade.

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday, 7:30 p. m. Pres., J. C. Roshirt; sec., George Noyes, 308 First st.

SYRACUSE.—Syracuse single tax club. 113 Walton street. Pres., F. A. Paul; sec., H. R. Perry, 149 South Clinton st.

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ELLENVILLE.—Single tax club of Ellenville. First and third Monday of each month, Canal st., over E. Bevier's drug store. Pres., Wm. Lambert; sec., Benj. Hull.

FLUSHING.—Single tax club. Pres., D. C. Beard; sec., Fred Sheffield.

NEW BRIGHTON.—S. I.—Richmond county single tax club. Every Monday evening, Parabol hall, New Brighton. Pres., J. B. Cogan; sec., A. B. Stoddard, W. New Brighton.

NORFOLK.—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., J. M. Wilson, 204 Front st.

TRIOY.—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

COHUES.—Single tax committee. Pres., P. C. Dandurant; sec., J. S. Crane 128 Ontario st.

GLOVERSVILLE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, A. P. Blad; sec., Dr. Wm. C. Wood, 30 S. Main st.

JAMESTOWN.—Single tax club of Jamestown. Last Saturday evening of each month. Pres., Adam Stormer; sec., F. G. Anderson, 300 Barrett st.

YONKERS.—The Jefferson single tax club, 13 N. Broadway. Public meetings every Tuesday evening at 7:45. Pres., Fielding Gower; sec., Wm. Young, P. O. box 617.

OHIO.

STATE.—Ohio Single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1638 W. son av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348 1/2 S. High st., Columbus.

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CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Sunday afternoon. Club room, Bradford's block, n. w. cor. 6th and Vine sts. Pres., James Semple, 478 Central av.; sec., Alfred H. Henderson, 23 Clark st.

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Tiffin.—Single tax committee. Sec., Dr. H. F. Barnes.

GALION.—Galion single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 S. Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

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OREGON.

PORTLAND.—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. First Monday of each month, Real Estate Exchange hall. Pres., T. D. Warwick; sec., Wallace Yates, 48 Stark st.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st.

Southwark tax reform club. Meets every Saturday evening at 8 p. m., at Wright's hall, Passyunk av. and Moore st. Pres., John Cosgrove; sec., H. Valet, 512 Queen st.

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BRADFORD.—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m. Pres., Phil. D. Tangney; sec., J. C. De Foss.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 522 Court st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, 522 Court st.

ELIE.—Eric tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

EDWARDSVILLE.—Jefferson ballot reform and single tax club. First Friday of each month. Pres., J. J. Smythe, M. D.; sec., J. P. Hammond.

LEBANON.—Lebanon single tax and land club. Pres., Adam Behny; sec., J. G. Zimmerman, 111 N. Fourteenth st.

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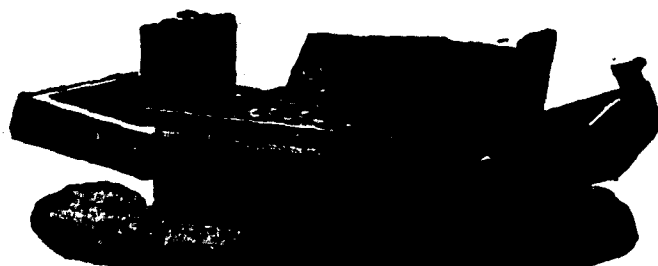
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A TARIFF ON WATER.

WHAT SOLOMON JONES SAID TO HIS NEIGHBOR PHILO WHEN THE SUBJECT WAS BROACHED.

Solomon Jones in Chicago Herald.

This last summer was awful dry here. It didn't rain from the fourth of July till corn-shuckin' time, and every well for miles around went dry. The creek that runs across Philo's place was all dried up, and lots of farmers came every day to my spring and hauled water away. I don't know what the neighborhood would do without it. One day, just when the drought was the worst, Philo come to me and sed he had another scheme.

"We'll get a tariff on water," he sez. "I see by the papers a man named Long Jones has gone to Washington to git a tariff on water, 'cause he owns a spring up in Wisconsin. I shouldn't wonder if he got it. We'll git the township trustees to give us a tariff tax on water, too, and then you can sel every gallon that runs out of your spring. I'll tend to the business for you, and divide sheer and sheer alike. Tha ain't another bit of living water in ten mile, and these peepel can do no better. What do you say?"

I looked down the creek awhile and seen a lot of Dick Gill's cattle just smokin' hot, standin' knee-deep in that cool water, and drinkin' all they wanted to. I seen Jim Manner's sons drivin' away with a barrel full for the house, and I seen a tired little boy that had growed sweaty and hot chasin' around in the boilin' sun, standin' there in the shade of the rock and dippin' up the second cupful. He looked around at me and laffed as he put it to his mouth, and then I sed, sarcastic like, to Philo:

"Of course I planted that spring, and went to grate expense to fetch the water up from way down in the ground where the sun can't strike and warm it; of course I keep it pure and healthy for man and beast, so that it will cure you when you're sick and comfort you when you're well; and of course its a shame for me to have to compete with the pawper water of other townships, but I won't go into your trade. Here's fields and fields of corn a-burnin' up. Here's tons of grass ruined. Here's women and children sufferin' for water. It comes out of a crack in a rock on the edge of my farm, and runs between two soft green carpets in a hot, brown belt, till the last drop is drunk by man and beast and thirsty land. I don't know where it comes from. I couldn't stop it or make it flow faster. It is no more mine than the wind that blows across my farm. If we had what you want, a rain would cost us money. Showers that would flood the cricks and fill the ponds and fetch new life to growin' crops and new hope to troubled peepel would be misfortune to us. Every drop from the skies would be one drop less for us to sell. We'd pray for drouth till starvin' folks would crepe here after dark and pay us all they had for just one drink of fresh, cold water. We'd laugh when little children would wake up from sleep—from dremes of pitchers full and runnin' over—and ask their mothers for a tiny taste. We wouldn't want to see them die, 'cause then tha couldn't give us money; but we'd want to keep 'em just there, choosin' between the shadow of death and what little life we would give 'em. That's what your tariff leads to. It helps them make a trust; and then they hold the coal that God stored against cold weather till freezin' women would trade their souls for half a ton. It's agin the God that made us. It will make slaves of the poor and murderers of the rich. No honest man needs it. No rascal deserves it."

But Philo was white hot. He was boilin' but he wouldn't have took a drink from my spring to save me. He posted off home mutterin' about the foolishness of men that wouldn't take advantage of circumstances,

but a thunder shower ketched him and drenched him to the skin. It rained till midnight, and I thought how mighty mean a man would have to be stand under a sky full of pure rain drops and ask for a tariff on water.

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