

THE STANDARD

PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY, BY WM. T. CROASDALE, AT NO. 42 UNIVERSITY PLACE.

VOL. IX.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1891.

No. 13.

A REPLY TO CRITICS.—We devote much space in this issue of **THE STANDARD** to letters on the currency question and we have freely printed many similar articles during the past few weeks. It seems to us that nearly every phase of the question has now been presented and that the opponents of **THE STANDARD**'s position have had a very full hearing indeed. Hereafter writers must present some new views or arguments in order to secure their admission to our columns. Thrashing over old straw again and again is dull work. We have read with care every protest, and we hope our readers generally have done the same, for the questions of principle and policy involved in this controversy are of enormous importance, and a failure to reach a right conclusion would, at least, be temporarily disastrous. **THE STANDARD** is seeking to arrive at such a conclusion, and it has welcomed criticism of its own position, and has not resented the uncalled-for hostile tone of some of the communications it has printed.

We wish to say, in response to Mr. Spencer's comments, that we do not claim for our utterances on this, or any subject, any other authority than is conferred by their innate reasonableness. If we cannot convince men that our opinions are sound, we do not expect them to accept them. If **THE STANDARD** were one of those papers that seek to avoid the expression of views that will call forth violent opposition, it would not advocate Free Trade or the Single Tax. Its attitude toward the Single Tax men is not that of a promulgator of new notions, but that of an exponent and defender of their declared doctrines, and particularly of such doctrines as they have formally agreed to support. Happily, there is no opportunity for doubt as to what these principles are. The first Single Tax national conference was composed of men of all shades of opinion on the currency question. No attempt was made at any of its sessions to introduce that question into its deliberations. Its platform, formulated by a committee of which Henry George was chairman, declared explicitly not only for the Single Tax but for Free Trade, and it was absolutely silent on the silver question. Read it. It is printed in every issue of **THE STANDARD**.

The present policy of **THE STANDARD** is in full accord with the official and unanimous declaration of our own national conference, in which several of our correspondents sat as delegates. Any attempt to introduce a currency plank there would have produced discord and division, and it never entered the head of any delegate to offer such a resolution. Our letters in this and recent issues show that any attempt to commit Single Tax men now to a declaration on the money question would divide us hopelessly. There is no necessity for such division, and **THE STANDARD** will continue to resist the attempt to bring it about. Our critics seem utterly unable to remember that *they* are the men who are trying to force a new issue. Not only the Single Tax platform, but the Democratic national platform, is silent on the minor question that has lately sprung into prominence in parts of our country. The question is: Shall the Democratic party divide itself by taking up this new issue, or shall it stand by the old issue, on which it is sure to win? Suppose we were about to have a new Single Tax national conference, would any of our correspondents insist on splitting it

in two by adding a silver plank to its present platform? Surely not. Why, then, should they make a similar demand on the Democratic party?

And now a word as to Mr. Cleveland. There is not even the shadow of warrant for the assumption by some of our critics that **THE STANDARD** insists that since Mr. Cleveland has pronounced against free coinage, therefore the Single Tax men must follow suit. **THE STANDARD** does not agree with the views expressed in Mr. Cleveland's letter. It is by no means prepared to dispute Mr. Buell's proposition that, in relation to the great bulk of other commodities, gold has increased in value and silver has, of the two metals, remained more nearly stationary. Mr. Spencer also presents numerous authorities in favor of this view. This is an interesting and important question, but we do not propose, so far as **THE STANDARD** is concerned, to abandon the actual fight we are now in to engage in the discussion of this question. The evil effects of a wrong conclusion are trifling as compared with those flowing from the present system, as is tacitly admitted by all our critics, and clearly shown by Mr. Shearman's articles. Mr. Porter, of Cape May, clearly puts it when he asks: "Suppose all of the silver in the United States were coined and in circulation, how much would it benefit me if I could get none of it?" Through the settlement of the tax question we shall come to the settlement of the question of distribution, and when the producer once obtains his own, in produce, he will find a way to swap his surplus for other products that he wants. He will then compel the furnishing of a sufficient currency, or he will improve one, as we have done for many years in New York, where actual money payments are insignificant in volume.

The fact that we do not fully agree with Mr. Cleveland is the reason why we insist that his letter was timely and necessary. It was a brave and manly utterance, and the men who jump to the conclusion that it was dictated by Wall street "gold bugs" ought to be ashamed of themselves for a suspicion that dishonors them and not its object. The man who risked and lost the Presidency for the sake of his convictions is entitled to exemption from these mean suspicions. Mr. Spencer's comments on Mr. Cleveland's remark that he was glad that the business interests of New York were at last to be heard on this subject, are so grossly unfair that they must surprise those who know him. The meeting to which the letter was sent was one of Mr. Cleveland's fellow New Yorkers, and was largely composed of business men. We had been for months constantly hearing that the business interests of this or that locality demanded free coinage, or were opposed to free coinage, and the papers here were urging an expression of opinion by New York business men. There was in the phrase used by Mr. Cleveland not a shadow of warrant for the assumption that New York's business interests differ from the business interests of other parts of the country. The fact that they are really identical with those of the country at large, offered a sufficient reason why our business men should express their views. Mr. Spencer forgot to be just when he consented to put so unfair a construction on a perfectly natural remark. Mr. Cleveland expressed no new view on the silver question; he simply reiterated his known views in a letter to a meeting of his fellow

townsmen, and the utterance was important simply because it demonstrated that if the Democratic party intended to adopt a new article of belief it must take a new candidate. There cannot be found in that utterance any reason why the Single Tax men who supported Mr. Cleveland in 1888 should not support him again. If any change has since taken place it is among those who now refuse to support a man because of his expression of views that every one knew he held when these very men supported him before. If Mr. Spencer can suggest any other possible candidate whose nomination would have equal effect in emphasizing the Tariff issue, he will name a man entitled to the utmost consideration of Free Traders and Single Taxers. Meanwhile persistence on lines already defined and followed is not tying ourselves to any man, but adhering to wise policy and sound principle.

Of course, careful readers of this discussion have noted that our critics are not agreed among themselves. Few, if any, of them could be dragged into a third party advocating the issuing of currency on warehouse receipts, or the lending of Government notes on mortgages on land. Most of them are really Greenbackers, and only desire silver notes because they see no present prospect of obtaining the issue of legal tender notes that have no coin basis. Others among them are sincere advocates of the silver dollar as the fair and honest dollar. These men could not make a currency plank that they all could stand on, much less one that would hold either the Single Tax men or the Democratic party.

As to the probabilities of success, we stand by our figures. We defy any one to make any table based on actual votes, that will not show that the Democratic party is reasonably sure of success if it sticks to the Tariff issue and refuses to divide on the Silver question, with or without a third party in the field. We defy any one to take the election returns and figure out a decent possibility of Democratic success if that party consents to divide itself on the Silver question, as it would surely do if it followed the advice of some of our correspondents and sought to make both questions the issue, neither subordinate to the other.

Single Tax men are under no obligation to accept our views in this matter. The question is one of policy, rather than one of principle. THE STANDARD will adhere to the policy that the Single Tax men have followed ever since the movement got through the revival meeting stage of development and became an intelligently directed effort to incorporate the Single Tax in law. We shall resist to the uttermost every effort to substitute any other issue for that of taxation. So long as Grover Cleveland is the one man whose nomination for the Presidency will assure the supremacy of the Tariff question over all others in a national contest, we shall urge his nomination, without asking whether he has progressed with his party toward Free Trade or not. We do not, however, imagine that the man who started the movement is lagging in the rear. This does not matter much, however, so long as he is the one man whose candidacy brings the question of taxation to the front and makes it overshadow all others. This is the policy that the present Single Tax movement was organized to carry out. Many protested then and refused to join it. Some of them have since come back, but while tacitly accepting that policy they have never fully realized that in this movement the one question that is supreme, to which every other must give way, is the question of taxation. This is notably true of some who came into the Single Tax movement from the old Greenback party. They know that it is "good to be merry and wise," and they try to be merry and wise; that it is "good to be honest and true," and they mean to be honest and true, but they have never fully understood that

It's good to be off with the old love
Before you're on with the new.

They are now trying to force the currency question to the fore at the expense of the question of taxation. Others of like opinion are trying to do the same thing in the Democratic party. We hope that the Democrats will have the wisdom to resist this demand, and we know that the Single Tax men will do so. The man who has once "seen the cat," who understands that our's is a movement that definitely aims to restore the disinherited to their heritage; one that seeks, first, justice, with the faith that all needed things will follow, does not necessarily shut his eyes to other matters, nor refuse to consider minor reforms. But when any one purposes to exalt one of these minor reforms to the first place, to make it the cause of division among Single Tax men, or to use it to divert popular attention from the question of taxation, the true Single Tax man not only resists, but resents the attempt. He fights it as it ought to be fought, and he is with THE STANDARD in fighting the present attempt to check the sweep of popular sentiment toward Free Trade by the needless thrusting in of this comparatively unimportant currency question. We are not quarrelling with Greenbackers over Greenbackism, nor with silver men over silver coinage; but we shall resist all attempts to divide the Single Tax men or the Democratic party on such issues until the tariff fight is ended, and, despite adverse criticism, we expect to succeed, and to have our present critics glad that we did succeed.

THE STEIN BILL.—The favorable report on the Stein bill by the Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment at Albany, brings that important measure prominently before the Legislature and the public. This bill has been spoken of as a Single Tax measure. It would be just as reasonable to call it a bill to authorize the levying of all taxes on personal property. It is, properly speaking, a county local option measure. It continues the existing system of apportioning State taxation and then leaves to each county the selection of the class of property from which it will raise the sum required to meet its own expenses and to pay its State taxes. It is the only measure that has been proposed, or can be proposed, that will reconcile the conflicting views of rural and city legislators. Furthermore, it will, if adopted, give opportunity for testing the value of the various proposed systems. We can see no reasonable objection to it, and we believe that if the men who have recently been alarmed by such measures as the proposed listing bill, would unite in support of the Stein bill, that it would become a law at this session.

We are glad to see that the Times heartily commends the bill. Its article contains much sound doctrine on the question of taxation. It declares, for instance, that nothing is lost by exempting personal property, because it is the "possession and use" of such property "that give to land its high valuation." Again it says: "In a large city, devoted to manufacturing and trade, an enormous value is given to real estate by the use upon it of large amounts of capital and the transaction of business." That is to say, it is the presence and activity of our enormous population that gives to urban land its great value. The Times justly says: "If the Legislature cannot be induced to abolish the taxation of personal property, it may reasonably be asked to allow those counties to do so whose interests would thereby be promoted without relieving them from any part of their obligation to contribute to the expenses of the State." We hope that the Times will be able to induce General McMahon and other intelligent opponents of personal property tax-

ation now in the Assembly to accept its view of the matter.

Whatever its fate, the introduction of the bill is an important step forward. The people of this State are aroused to the consideration of the question of taxation. Mr. Baker, an Assemblyman from Delaware County, said, the other day: "The farmers of my county and all over the State have found out that the war is over and that peace has come. This taxation question is the thing they are now considering. Their politics will hereafter depend on the treatment of such questions. You are the assembled wisdom of the State. You must solve this question or the people will send men here in your place who will solve it." In private conversation members of the Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment said that the pressure for legislation on taxation was absolutely unprecedented. One of them exclaimed: "It is awful!" The people are thinking and talking of nothing else. The committee is unwilling to pigeon-hole any bill. It sends everything to the House, though without a recommendation. The Stein bill is the first important bill that has received a favorable report. This is a condition of affairs that not only paves the way for legislation on taxation, but makes it certain that such legislation is sure to come. If the men in New York City who dread the possible passage of some inquisitorial listing bill were half so wise as they think they are they would omit no effort to remit this question to the counties, and thus assure an experimental knowledge of the several systems that would give us a Legislature that would never dream of so misusing the taxing power as to drive property out of the State.

THE FREE TRADE MEETING.—There is every promise that the meeting to-morrow evening will be a great success. Fortunately some local liar on a Kansas newspaper declared that Jerry Simpson did not wear socks. That was an item adapted to the needs of modern journalism. The scissors of every exchange reader opened instinctively for the silly story, and the hired "smart" man on each newspaper saw in it a complete field for a six months' activity of his whole intellect. The fact that Mr. Simpson is a born orator, a man of sturdy sense, probably the ablest man that the astounding political revolution in the West has brought to the front, would have counted for nothing had it not been that the story of his socklessness conjured up visions of a dime museum freak in politics that delighted the editors who regard life as a circus and their papers as its playbills. Happily, in this case, the man is strong enough to make good use of his notoriety and impress with confidence and respect those who are attracted toward him through curiosity.

Mr. Simpson is an Alliance man, accepting all the ideas of his party, and filled with its dreams of complete success. He sees, however, that unjust distribution of the products of industry will, if continued, carry the better part of all dollars, no matter what they are made of, into the pockets of the few, and he has had the wisdom to see and the courage to say that the taxation and transportation questions are of greater importance than the currency question. At the meeting to-morrow night, which is called by men of varying opinions on other questions, but united in demanding Free Trade, Mr. Simpson will talk on Free Trade, and we judge from his success elsewhere and from personal intercourse with him since his arrival in the city, that his speech will be one of the strongest pleas for absolute freedom of trade ever made in New York.

The signatures to the call show how rapid has been the advance in real Free Trade senti-

ment. There is no Tariff Reform about that call. It is Free Trade, or as Jefferson put it, "free commerce with all nations," that is demanded. Why are the Republican papers so silent? Have they not been begging the Democratic party to come out and declare for Free Trade? Have they not adjured individual Democrats to "drop the mask?" Well, this call is signed by a Democratic member of Congress and a number of other Democrats. Is the Tribune happy? Is the Press delirious with delight? Not a bit of it. They see that the men who mean business have come into this fight, and that they are going to attack "Protection," not with a penknife, but an axe. They intend to kill the accursed thing, and remove all danger of its revival by abolishing all kinds of tariffs and establishing direct taxation, so that people will know what they are paying and who gets it. To-morrow evening's meeting will mean to the Protectionist party what Sherman's start from Atlanta meant to the Confederacy. Its weakness is to be exposed, its supplies cut off, and it is to die without the Christian hope of a blessed resurrection. Then let the Democratic party talk Tariff Reform if it dare.

THE TRIBUNE'S WAIL OF DISTRESS.—A circular letter has been issued by the New York Tribune and is being sent to Republican business men all over the country, which, like the "blocks of five" and "fry the fat" circular letters, issued by Dudley, Foster and other Republicans, contains some franker and plainer talk than usually finds its way into editorial or official print. This letter is in relation to a scheme for an active Protective propaganda which the Tribune has undertaken. It begins by telling why this is needed, saying:

The Republicans were defeated in the Congressional elections in many States by the persistent lying of the Free Trade press concerning the Tariff. The campaign of confusing the public mind was conducted with ingenuity and ability. Phrases such as "The Tariff is War on the Farmer," "The Farmer Must Go," "The Tariff is a Tax," "The Whole of the Duty is Added to the Price," etc., were repeated persistently and backed up by amazing falsehoods; and by that work and by the raising of prices of goods not affected by the Tariff, and some on which the duty had been lowered or abolished, the people were deceived and betrayed. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the foremost of aggressive Free Trade newspapers were given away, free of charge to the recipients, during the year. In hundreds, if not thousands, of villages all over the country, every resident, whatever his politics, received a free copy of the paper for months, and apparently in many cases for a full year. This work was conducted quietly; it was not properly met; there was an avalanche of incorrect information and an utter lack of correct information; and it confused the public mind and discouraged Republican voters, both in town and country. You know already something about the manner in which prices of tinware, clothing and numberless other commodities were raised, improperly and unnecessarily, at the instance of the Free Trade managers, simply to influence votes.

The Tribune says it has no fund to draw on, but at its own expense it has engaged the Hon. Roswell G. Horr, of Michigan, who will write a carefully prepared article for each edition of the Weekly Tribune, which will appeal to "the common sense and sober second thought" of the American people and correct the abominable misrepresentations which have been set afloat concerning the McKinley Tariff. This is incredible. Mr. Horr at an agricultural fair or similar gathering is a good man to divert men's minds from a serious consideration of the tariff question, but it never would occur to any shrewd and intelligent editor to engage such a man to write serious appeals to the reason and common sense of the people.

The Tribune's circular, however, is highly significant. It admits that the recent overwhelming defeat of the Republican party was due to its tariff legislation. It may call the Free Trade propaganda "lying," if it chooses, but it confirms its potency. No better argument could be offered in favor of the continuance of that agitation than is found in the Tribune's circular. When the leading Protectionist paper acknowledges that the Democrats won on the Free Trade issue there

should be an end to all talk of dividing the party by introducing new issues. The Tribune knows what hurt it. Its circular is a wail of distress. The old aggressive policy has been succeeded by a defensive policy. The Democrats are now the aggressive party, and the Protectionists are on the run. Stick to the winning issue and keep them on the run.

THE NEW ORLEANS LYNCHING. Mr. Lanza, in a letter printed elsewhere, questions our assertion that the recent massacre in New Orleans was not due to prejudice against Italians, as such. Of course this is a matter of opinion, but we think that the facts bear us out. We see no evidence that any such prejudice exists in this country as that which years ago animated the Know-Nothing crusade against the Irish, or more recently the persecution of the Chinese in California. The very fact that Italians have, on the whole, peaceably supplanted other workmen in the operations mentioned by our correspondent, demonstrates, we think, that there is no general prejudice against them. But while this is true as to Italians generally, there is a strong feeling that they are inclined to bring their native customs of revenge with them to this country. One of the judges in this city recently declared from the bench that it is impossible to convict an Italian of murder here if all the witnesses to the deed are of the same race. They prefer to settle such matters themselves with the stiletto.

Of course there is a prejudice against such a system in this country, and this prejudice probably had no little effect in arousing public excitement in New Orleans. This prejudice may have worked injustice and caused some innocent men to suffer. Nevertheless, the prejudice was against the Mafia and not against all Italians, and it is unfortunate that at all of the gathering of Italians to denounce the work of the mob, this fact has been lost sight of, and threats of race vengeance have been indulged in. This unquestionably does tend to arouse an unreasoning race hatred. It angers Americans to hear naturalized citizens appealing to a foreign government, to which they have formally renounced all allegiance, to send a fleet to our shores to bombard American cities. Furthermore, the readiness of Italians, generally, to make common cause with men charged with murder strengthens the prejudice to which we have alluded.

Of course, the massacre of unarmed prisoners was a horrible affair. It is absurd to pretend that it was a brave act. On the other hand, it was one of those outbreaks of popular fury that it is foolish to moralize about. The people of New Orleans are given to "difficulties," as street encounters are there called. There is no strong public sentiment against deeds of violence, but there is a healthy hatred of secret assassination. Let the belief become common in such a community that there exists in its midst a band of secret assassins, and lawless, but open, assaults on those believed to be guilty are sure to follow. This is to be deplored, but it is not fair to assume that it is an outburst of race hatred.

The Attorney General of Louisiana has resolved to use the legal machinery of the State to investigate the recent massacre. We doubt if such proceedings can result in any convictions, but if they shall demonstrate that the men killed were innocent, or that the jury was not bribed or intimidated, the men engaged in the massacre will be covered with infamy, that will cause all men to refrain from the perpetration of such deeds. If the reverse is true it will be impossible to arouse public sentiment against them. Perhaps this is to be regretted, but a whole community is now and then moved to the insane fury that is commonly held to justify a wronged husband in slaying the man who has destroyed his home.

DOWN GOES SUGAR.—Yesterday a housekeeper had to pay one dollar for fourteen pounds of white granulated sugar. To-day one dollar will buy twenty pounds of the same quality. This sudden change is due to the fact that the one respectable clause in the M'Kinley bill goes into effect to-day. The repeal of the duties on raw sugars, accompanied by a large reduction of the duties on refined sugars, has brought about a result that will bring a tangible benefit to every housekeeper in the land. It does not require an expert to explain how the beneficiary is benefited in a case like this. Off goes the tariff and down goes the price. So certain is the result that the manufacturers have anticipated it and the price is put down without waiting.

This is a splendid Free Trade lesson given to the people by the enemies of Free Trade. A tariff is a tax. A tariff on sugar made sugar costly to the consumer. The tariff is taken off, and sugar falls almost to the world's prices. If the tariff had similarly been taken off of other articles, the purchasing power of a dollar would have been similarly increased. Every man who had earned a dollar would find his wages practically advanced by the increase brought about in the purchasing power of that dollar. It is entirely true that under existing economic conditions the men who own the United States would eventually rob the producers of this advantage, but, for the time being, it would be a real advantage, perceptible to everybody, and requiring no argument to commend it to those who enjoy the benefit. The Republican party took the tariff off of sugar and put it up on everything else. Let the people demand of the Democratic party, now that it goes into power, to leave the tariff off of sugar, and take it off of everything else.

PARNELL A COWARD.—Parnell has shamelessly backed down now that his challenge to his colleague to resign has been promptly accepted. There are various pretexts for his sneaking conduct, but the only explanation is that he dare not go back to his constituents. He is leading a gang of ruffians now in the Parliamentary contest in Sligo, but his political days are numbered. Poor law guardians were chosen throughout Ireland last week. In four-fifths of the Island the Nationalists have for a long time been in a majority. In nearly every district where this was the case there was a fierce contest between a Parnellite and an anti-Parnellite candidate. The result was little short of amazing. In all Ireland but four Parnellites were chosen. Harold Frederic, in a despatch to the New York Times, says it is as if a party, boastfully claiming a majority in New York State, should at the Spring elections only be able to elect four supervisors in the whole State. This ends Parnell. Let his beggars in this country go home.

INCREASE CIRCULATION.—We have recently sent out to members of the National Committee, and to active workers throughout the country, recruit subscription books, to be used in introducing THE STANDARD to the attention of the people who will be likely to become subscribers. These books are sent out free, though some who received them have been under the impression that we expected pay for them. The only restriction put upon their use is that, since they are presented to people without cost, they shall be used in an effort to increase the circulation of THE STANDARD.

We receive many compliments concerning the value of the paper, but it has never yet been made all that we wish to make it. We are anxious to make a far better presentation of the current thought as expressed not merely in periodicals, but in books. We hope to tell the story of the week briefly but comprehensively, to

solicit contributions from well-known writers, and to make special researches bearing on the problem of taxation, such as are greatly needed and cannot be made unless some one is paid to make them.

The Single Tax men can, if they will, enable THE STANDARD to do all this, and there is nothing else that they can do comparable with this towards advancing the cause they have espoused. We shall next week give an idea of the responses received to the circulars sent out, and acknowledge from week to week thereafter the result of the labors of those who have shown their readiness to go to work. If our readers will increase the circulation of this paper by five thousand between the present time and July 1 we shall thereby be enabled to add new departments and to increase its size to twenty-eight pages. This can be done if the men who believe in the Single Tax will undertake to do it. Will they try?

MARYLAND OYSTER BEDS.—A discussion as to the proper management of the oyster beds of Maryland has given the Evening Post opportunity to again misrepresent Henry George's doctrines, and has caused a lively discussion in Single Tax circles in Baltimore. We have received many letters and reports relating to the matter, and Louis F. Post has agreed to write an article on the subject for the next issue of THE STANDARD. Many of our readers will remember that Mr. Post discussed the question in THE STANDARD two years ago, and he has made a study of the subject, moved thereto by some previous misrepresentations by the Evening Post.

POOR OKLAHOMA.—The House of Representatives put in the general appropriation bill an item appropriating \$50,000 for the relief of the people of Oklahoma territory, who have been rendered destitute by the drought of last season. Oklahoma was recently the land of promise, on whose borders there hovered a host of intending settlers awaiting the signal for pouring in to obtain "free land." Yet, people still recklessly declare that there is plenty of free land in this country to be had for the asking.

HOW IT WOULD WORK.—W. A. Macleod has issued a leaflet showing the changes that would be brought about by the establishment of the Single Tax in Dorchester, one of the districts of the city of Boston. At present Boston's taxation is about \$29.25 on the thousand dollars. Mr. Macleod takes this as a figure on which to base his calculations, though, of course, he points to the fact that if vacant land were properly assessed, the rate would be considerably less. He has ascertained the present taxes on given lots of land in the richer part of Dorchester, and finds that in many instances the single tax would be higher than the rate now paid, whereas he shows that almost invariably taxes would be lowered in a district occupied by a poorer class of people. In the business districts, however, taxes would be largely increased over those now paid, except in cases where the buildings are more valuable than the land. Of course, Mr. Macleod's figures only deal with local taxation, but even in this they demonstrate that the present system favors the rich and imposes undue burdens on the poor.

A ST. PAUL VIEW OF IT.—The St. Paul (Minn.) Globe says that all the arguments against taxes on personal property and incomes reduce themselves to this: "Men will not pay taxes on anything unless they have to, and will therefore lie and perjure themselves to be free from their burden." If it be admitted that the State's machinery is not adequate to overcome such an obstacle it declares that "we had better abolish the

tax on everything except real estate at once," because the present state of affairs in which "some people pay something on some of their property, and others nothing on any of it" is deplorable and not to be endured. The Globe reaches a sound conclusion through false reasoning. There are better reasons than it presents for "abolishing the tax on everything except real estate;" but they go further and warrant the abolition of all of those taxes on real estate that fall on buildings or other improvements. There are plenty of sound arguments against the taxation of personal property, but the argument most likely to commend itself to the favor of our Minnesota contemporary is that taxes on the products of labor tend to restrict production, and the same argument applies to taxes on buildings, whereas a tax on land values cannot diminish the area of land, and it does tend to bring a larger proportion of the existing area into use.

FREE COINAGE OR FREE TRADE.

III.

Which is of the greatest importance to the wage earner?

Wage earners may, for the present purpose, be roughly divided into three classes: the laborers on farms, on transportation and trade, and in manufacturing, mechanical and mining industries. For some purposes they may be considered together, but for others they must be separated.

As to all of them, it is clear that they will lose at first by any lowering of the coin standard or expansion of currency, if sufficient to accomplish any of the great things which the advocates of cheap money promise. For the chief thing expected from any of these currency schemes is a great increase of prices in food, clothing, house-building, furniture and everything which the wage-earner has to buy. Unless wages rise faster than the price of goods, the wage-earners will be not one penny better off; and, if wages do not rise as quickly or as much as the price of goods, wage-earners will be worse off.

What is the testimony of experience? Invariably, prices of goods always rise under an inflation of the currency months before wages rise at all, and the rise in wages always drags far behind the rise in prices. And as wage-earners have no goods to sell, they pay high prices for all which they buy; while they receive low prices for their labor, which is all that they have to sell.

Now, consider what they have to gain by Free Trade. The farm laborers, who are more numerous than either of the other classes, would, of course, be in much greater demand, because of the immense increase of European demand for farm products. The men engaged in transportation would be in like demand, because the railroads and steamboats would be crowded with farm products coming East and with manufactures going West. The case of these two classes, constituting a great majority of all the laborers, is very clear. Free Trade would raise their wages quickly and largely.

How about the others? They must be divided again into classes. Not more than 1,000,000 are engaged in any business which can possibly be benefited by any tariff. About 4,000,000 are at work in lines of business which would be vastly more prosperous if there were no tariff at all and the materials for their work were admitted free. All of these, therefore, would find work more abundant and wages higher, if the tariff were repealed altogether. As to the 1,000,000 remaining, it is well known and admitted by Protectionists that not more than one-fourth of what they make could be supplied from abroad. Therefore, out of about 22,000,000 people now earning their own living in this country, not as many as 250,000 could possibly be injured by a total repeal of the tariff, while 21,750,000 would be far better

off. Now, suppose that this vast majority gained only 10 per cent. by Free Trade, that would mean a demand for over 2,000,000 new laborers at higher wages; and thus the 250,000 would find instant employment at better wages than they get now. Considering that we absorb every year 500,000 new immigrants, we surely need not fear lack of employment for 250,000 Americans. But, in fact, fewer workmen would be thrown out of employment in the year following the repeal of the tariff than have been thrown out in any one year of the last ten, while immediate employment would be found for them in easier work, at higher wages.

All classes of wage-earners, therefore, have nothing to gain by free coinage, and everything to gain by Free Trade.

IV.

Still there remains the greatest benefit of all. The total repeal of the tariff means the abolition of all taxes upon the poor. It means that the savings of all careful laboring men would be instantly doubled. It means that their earnings would be increased, while their expenses would be diminished. It means an era of prosperity for farmers, mechanics and laborers, such as has never yet been imagined possible by most of themselves. For absolute Free Trade would make all indirect taxation impossible and absurd. And indirect taxation is the only possible means by which the rich can make the poor bear the burden of taxation, besides being the means by which a few of them are able to plunder the masses for their own immediate profit.

Make money as cheap and plentiful as you please, and still under tariff taxes those who have all the money now will have all the money then. Abolish the tariff, and those who now have less than one-third of the wealth of this country will soon have two-thirds of it. And it is wealth which commands money, not money which commands wealth.

Whether free coinage would help the mass of our people or not, it is at least certain that it never can confer upon them one-tenth of the blessings which they would derive from Free Trade.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

SILVER AND TARIFF BOTH.

I dislike very much to differ with, and much more to criticise, **THE STANDARD**, and should feel bound to defer to its better judgment on any matter relating directly to the Single Tax. But in a matter of general politics on which all political parties, as well as individual citizens, are divided in opinion like the "free coinage" question, I, as a Single Tax man, feel like entering my protest against the manner in which this question has been treated in your editorials of late date.

I disclaim at the start any right or wish to interfere in any way with your prerogative as editor of **THE STANDARD** to treat this, or any other subject, according to your own views, but I do object to your attempt to commit the fortunes of the Single Tax cause to the position of Mr. Cleveland, as expressed in his late letter on this subject, as detrimental thereto, and calculated, if persisted in, to disrupt instead of promoting harmony in its ranks, and tending to throw a damper upon the activities of men who hold the cause of the Single Tax above Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic party, or any man or any party now in existence, or to be organized.

Single Tax men are apt to think for themselves, are not easily led, and are likely to resent any attempt to infringe or forestall their right to judge independently on any and all public questions. You assume an irreconcilable antagonism between the Tariff issue as represented by Mr. Cleveland in 1888 and free coinage as now presented, that the advocacy of the latter will necessarily overshadow the former, and that as Mr. Cleveland has pronounced against free coinage—as good Single Tax men—we should ignore all other issues and follow his leadership, lest free coinage become the issue and the tariff question be relegated to the rear, to the detriment of our cause.

Let us examine this assumption. It does not necessarily follow that to make the silver question an issue, the tariff question need be, or will be, less prominent than it has been.

The whole history of political parties and party platforms contra-

dicts this. No political party ever went to the country on one issue, and none ever will. The tariff question was by no means the only issue presented or discussed by either the Republican or Democratic party in 1888, and cannot be in 1892. The elections of last year so overwhelmingly in favor of the Democratic party turned, in many localities, largely on other issues; so that if the tariff had been the only issue, in these localities, results would have been very different.

Your plea for harmony, as it seems to me, is specious illusion, and apparently dictated by a greater desire to serve Mr. Cleveland than either the Democratic party as a whole, or the constituency you are particularly supposed to represent.

Why should the Single Tax men of the whole country be tied to Mr. Cleveland? True, he was elected in 1884, when the Tariff issue was not especially prominent. But he was beaten in 1888, when it was, by his utterances, made the leading issue.

We Single Taxers are necessarily "Free Traders." Mr. Cleveland is not a "Free Trader," nor have we any—even the smallest—indication that he favors Free Trade. There are others of his party, almost as prominent as he, who are known to be absolute Free Traders, and who carry their Free Trade principles to their logical conclusions by advocating free coinage.

Mr. Cleveland's letter was notably, arrogantly offensive, but in one of its expressions exhibited a narrowness inconsistent with the breadth of the man according to former estimates of those who supported him heartily. He says: "I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on this subject." Are the interests of New York, on this subject, different from those of the Mississippi Valley? If so, and the line is to be drawn as indicated in Mr. Cleveland's letter, we beg to be excused.

Moreover, who does not know that so far as money matters are concerned the "business interests of New York" have controlled and dominated the legislation of Congress and the action of the Treasury Department for the last thirty years? We Single Taxers are not only Free Traders, but we are opposed, or profess to be, to monopoly in all its forms. More and more it is becoming apparent that this world-demand for a gold standard for money is only in another form a monster monopoly, more gigantic in its proportions, more pernicious in its influence, more destructive in its effects upon the rights and interests of the toiling millions than the Tariff itself, and equaled only by the monopoly of land, and intended by its wealth absorbing promoters to advance their own selfish interests at the expense of the toiling masses. From whence came the demand for the demonetization of silver in 1873, when it was at a par with gold? Was it brought about by a demand from the people? No. It was surreptitiously accomplished by a few designing schemers, acting in the interests of the parties alluded to above, without the knowledge of numbers of members of Congress, who ignorantly voted for it, and the President who signed the bill making it the law of the land.

Why? The Empire of Germany had just decided to change from a silver to a gold standard. Italy followed. The United States was considering a return to specie payments, after a suspension of twelve years. Here was the opportunity to amass great wealth by the holders of untold millions of the obligations of the United States, the States, municipalities, railroads, and other corporations; debts contracted in a largely depreciated currency, to be paid, if this scheme succeeded, interest and principal, by the hard toil of the producers of the country in a currency as much above normal as that in which they were contracted was below.

Here was an opportunity to get a dollar and a half for every dollar due. And to prove that this policy has been carried out to the letter, it is only necessary to state that notwithstanding the passage by Congress of a resolution declaring that all obligations of the United States were payable in silver dollars, not one debt of the United States has ever been paid by the Treasury in silver.

What influence dominates the Treasury and from whence does it come? Let the facts answer. What has been the effect of this policy? To make money scarce and dear. If it is not good to have the necessities of life scarce and dear, as we Free Traders argue is the effect of the tariff, how can it be good to have that which is indispensable to procure those necessities scarce and dear. I cannot see how a far-sighted, sagacious man, as is the editor of **THE STANDARD**, can consistently denounce the one and uphold the other. Does the economic law of supply and demand cease to operate when it comes to gold and silver? Did, then, this extraordinary demand for gold, estimated by the London Times in May, 1883, at £200,000,000 or \$1,000,000,000 (almost one third of the gold of the world), advance its price in relation to silver, or in relation to other commodities? Read the testimony of the great financiers and publicists of the world, such financiers as Mr. Goschen, president of the Institute of Bankers of London; Robert Griffin, Secretary British Board of Trade, and such papers as the London Times and the London Economist. Mr. Goschen said in an address to the bankers in April, 1883, in relation to the increase in the purchasing power of gold, or in other words, the fall in the gold price of commodities in ten years, it was owing to "the increased

demand for gold arising from the demonetizing of silver by several countries." The London Times, in reviewing Mr. Goschen's address, said: "The result has been that, as the stock of gold has diminished, the price of gold has gone up, or in other words, the price of commodities has fallen."

Mr. Robert Griffin, Secretary of the British Board of Trade, in a paper read before the London Statistical Society in March, 1882, said, in respect to the fall in prices in Great Britain in six years, ending with 1880: "The range of difference in the aggregate values of the exports of the United Kingdom owing to difference in price alone amounted to 30 per cent. from 1873 to 1879."

The London Economist of April 21st, 1883, closes its comments on Mr. Goschen's address with these significant words: "There is some consolation to us in the fact to which he directs special attention, that any increase in the purchasing power of gold is a benefit to creditors. Nearly every nation on the face of the earth is indebted to us, and the result of the appreciation of gold is, that we obtain a larger quantity of their commodities in settlement of our claims." Under this state of facts and with a constantly increasing demand for gold for coinage, and a stationary or diminishing production of gold, what must be its effect upon the industrial interests of the masses? Can it be different from any other trade restriction, any other monopoly? Can it be other than disastrous?

Silver coinage from 1792 to 1873 free, with the silver dollar as the unit and standard, served a royal purpose. In 1873, disgraced and subordinated, since 1878 partly vindicated, but yet fettered, manacled in chains, has suffered as would any other thing of value, and hence its power for good, its influence in holding in check and restraining the evil tendencies growing out of the advance in gold has been, and so long as these conditions are permitted to continue, will be, but feeble. Restore to it its old place, give it freedom and a fair field, and this giant gold monopoly will be humbled, the natural equilibrium will be speedily restored, the interests of the wealth producers will be served and the cause of the Single Tax greatly advanced.

Do not deceive yourself. This question will not down. This monster must and will be throttled. So long as this nation adheres to a metallic basis for its currency, the people will demand that both metals shall be used, and on equal terms; that not all the old standards shall be removed at the bidding of the monopolists. Why should advocates of the Single Tax, aimed directly at the utter destruction of the greatest monopoly on earth, commit themselves at the bidding of Mr. Cleveland to the support of one only second to it? It cannot be. This gold monopoly will be crushed long before our ideal Free Trade makes its advent. Both it and Protection are doomed. By fighting both we can accomplish vastly more than by trying to fight the one while we uphold and defend the other. Mr. Cleveland was supported (wisely, I think) in '84 and '88 by Single Tax men generally, although he but partially represented them on the tariff question, in the hope that he would get his eyes fully opened to the iniquity of the whole vicious system; but since 1888 no public utterance of his warrants the conclusion that he has made any advance, while, as I believe, his position on free coinage antagonizes not only a large majority of the Single Tax men, but a large majority of the Democratic party of the country. I do not believe his nomination possible by fair means, and if made, in my opinion, his defeat would be certain.

Burlington, Iowa, March 17, 1891.

RICHARD SPENCER.

FREE TRADE OR FREE COINAGE.

Pretty much all the talking by your correspondents on the above alternative has thus far been on one side, and it may not be amiss to say a word on the other. THE STANDARD'S own position has very properly been a neutral one thus far, and its arguments have, therefore, been those of political expediency only; but there are some of us who think that we have a right to our own ideas of principle on currency questions as much as anybody else, even if we do consider these questions as of very minor importance. Not all Single Tax men by any means are "old Greenbackers," and certainly the great majority of mere Free Traders hold diametrically opposite opinions to those of Greenbackism. The men who have been writing indignantly to you on this silver business seem to assume that the Democratic party as a whole will be doing something immoral if it fails to espouse free coinage; whereas it is perfectly apparent that the majority of its members do not believe in free coinage, and that it will, therefore, sink to political immorality if it does make this concession to attract third party support. Certainly, those of us who are opposed to Greenbackism, and that particularly silly phase of it which is playing catpaw to a few millionaire mine owners, do not propose to be bulldozed into any such dicker.

Our "old Greenback" friends never seem to have learned the essential immorality of their "balance of power" idea in politics, or that it simply amounts to selling their support to whichever party is sufficiently indifferent to any principles of its own to make the highest bid. That is not the stuff that reformers are made of, nor can these new-made converts to Single Taxism expect to become

its leaders when they insist upon acceptance of their currency views as a condition precedent to their support of rational taxation. We who disagree with those views are willing to work in the same harness with those who hold them, but we do not intend that they shall be rammed down our throats against our will.

Surely it is enough; indeed, it is meeting them more than half way, if we abstain from opposing them on an issue where we are sure that they are wrong, but which, after all, isn't worth fighting over when more pressing business is in hand, and it is utterly unreasonable to demand that we shall give up our own convictions at their bidding, and commit ourselves to what we consider a mistaken policy. We are willing to let them alone, but to insist that we must meekly submit in this matter, and advocate or vote for what we do not believe in, has a flavor of assurance about it that is strongly akin to such colossal impertinence as came so near defeating the expressed choice of the people for Senator from Illinois, in favor of a candidate of whom the voters never thought and whose only chance of election lay in the willingness of the Republicans to humiliate their own party to satisfy a mere handful of legislators, representing an insignificant minority of the State's population. Success purchased by such bargains is not worth having, and if Free Trade and the Single Tax are ever to really succeed it will be by the support of men who believe in them, and not of those who value something else, like the silver foolishness, more highly.

If that is their sincere conviction, let them go and flock by themselves. The men who have been educating the Democratic party up from a party of negations, having for its platform a collection of indefinite uncertainties, to be a living political force with a coherent political creed, are quite as earnest in keeping it straight, and think they have full as much right to demand that the line of battle shall be maintained unbroken—nay, even to treat as deserters those who threaten mutiny unless their particular fads are gratified—as anyone else to set up a new plan of campaign.

New York City.

E. J. SHRIVER.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION IN ARKANSAS.

We here are not pleased with the last expression of THE STANDARD upon the silver question and Cleveland's late letter.

We think the letter was unfortunate and a firebrand in the Democratic party. It could not have been written by any one with the view to party success. In view of the condition of the question at the time his letter was certainly wholly uncalled for. It is not conceivable that a man of so much sagacity as Cleveland could have imagined that he increased his chances for the Presidential nomination by it. The people everywhere in the West and South regard this letter as designedly written in the interest of the plutocracy which has its head in the money bags of Wall street. It is useless to say that because the great monopolists—the millionaires from the West and South—flock to New York and there combine and concoct their plans to rob the masses, that the people of New York should not be held responsible. To be sure not; and it is not exactly just, in my opinion, for THE STANDARD to say that opposition to Cleveland and his views on the silver question is sectional prejudice.

It does not matter where the power that oppresses the people is located. The Government is the people and not money or wealth. What the people want is Free Trade and free money, to be liberated from the class legislation which has bound them hand and foot to the money power.

There is nothing in your seeming anxiety concerning the danger that the issue of silver coinage will supplant the tariff issue in the next campaign. The Democratic party is as capable of carrying both issues as one. That Cleveland has destroyed his chances for the nomination in 1892 is beyond question, in my opinion. He is a dead cock in the pit. As said by our Senator, J. K. Jones, "he has sawed off the limb between himself and the tree." But no matter, let him go. No man is above the popular rights and interests. The danger is that he has wrecked the Democratic party as well.

Certainly every Democratic State west of the Mississippi, if not west of the Alleghanies, will insist upon free coinage of silver as a plank in the next national platform, and nothing less will save the Democratic party from defeat. The people of the whole West and South are getting their eyes open to that monstrous moneyed despotism that is centred in New York and the Eastern cities, and while the poverty, suffering and want among the masses is many times more due to the tariff system (that parasite that has been growing at the heart of our tree of liberty ever since it was planted until it is withering and well nigh dead) than to the currency steal, yet the robbery of the latter is much more easy to comprehend.

The monopolists with their money, through the Careys, Thompsons and McKinleys, and their ilk, and subsidizing the press, can confuse and mystify the people upon the issues of tariff reform, but they can scarcely do so with the currency question. The people can see no reason why they should not have free coinage of silver as well as of gold, and there is none. It is not a question of cheaper or dearer money nor its scarcity or plentifulness, for these will regulate themselves when put upon an independent basis, but whether the

money speculators and gamblers in currency in the great money centres shall continue to have the power to rob the masses by the process of bulling and bearing the currency. If the Government issues currency at all, it should issue and control the whole of it. What the country wants is not to purchase gold or silver either, but to coin all of both that is presented to it by any one and put an end to all currency except gold and silver and gold and silver certificates. This would put the money of the country on an independent basis and measurably put a stop to money gambling under the forms of law.

The Democratic party cannot follow Cleveland nor ignore this issue in the next campaign. The result would be a new party made up mostly of seceding Democrats. I believe strongly in the Single Tax doctrines and have always supported Cleveland with enthusiasm. It has been the policy of our movement to accomplish its ends by purifying the Democratic party and opposing a third party, and while free coinage of silver is not a declared measure within Single Tax purposes, it is close of kin and in direct line with them. You say in a later issue that the whole South will be opposed to a new party. This may be so. Democrats in the South believe that all needful reforms can be accomplished and the Government brought back to true Democratic principles through the Democratic party. But men's minds are changing in a most wonderful manner; inasmuch that the estimates of THE STANDARD as to the electoral votes of the Several States in 1892, put forth in a late number, upon the assumption that the Silver question is made the principal issue, and on the other hand in case the Tariff question is kept to the front, can be of little significance. I am much mistaken if in these changes the minds of the people are not rushing towards the policy of absolute Free Trade as rapidly as they are toward that of Free Coinage. Yet, I predict that whatever delegations in the next national convention array themselves in opposition to the latter as a plank in the platform, will have to meet a solid South on that question. It seems to me, therefore, that THE STANDARD is doing an injury to our movement in opposing free coinage of silver as a Democratic measure. It is, moreover, wrong in its fears that the adoption of that issue will postpone or work injury to the Tariff issue.

One year ago not more than one Democrat in ten in all this part of the country was in favor of Free Trade. All believed in a tariff for revenue, but for revenue only. At this time there is not one in ten who is not exactly the other way in sentiment. They say that the custom houses should be wiped out, while they follow the party under its cry of tariff reform.

Little Rock, Ark.

SOL. F. CLARK.

AN HONEST DOLLAR.

I think we shall all agree that the Tariff is the great question now before the American people, and that it must not be side-tracked for anything else. It will continue to be the main question till it is settled and settled right. It will be settled right when every vestige of it is wiped out, not before.

But there are minor questions that demand some attention. They must be considered honestly and fairly or they will be sure to rise to undue prominence and eclipse to a greater or less extent the main issue. Just now the most important of these is the silver question. Many of us fondly hoped that the Fifty-first Congress would dispose of the matter and leave the field clear; and this would have occurred had it not been for a few Eastern Democrats who refused to act with the great majority of their party. On their shoulders the blame must rest if the silver question is a disturbing element in the next campaign.

But the silver question has its merits, however the Eastern press may attempt to obscure them. Most of the discussion so far has entirely lost sight of the vital point at issue. Mr. Cleveland's letter is remarkable for this, as are also Mr. Shearman's article and Mr. Bailey's.

Permit me to recall STANDARD readers to a few fundamental principles.

1. Gold and silver both are mere commodities, valuable only as such, and when coined freely pass for their commodity value and no more. What folly then to talk of free coinage of silver greatly and permanently increasing the value of that metal! What nonsense to say that the American mine owners would be the sole beneficiaries of free coinage! How absurd for Free Trade Single Taxers especially to talk about the entire silver of the world being "dumped on our shores!" Hadn't we better refresh our minds a little on the laws of trade?

2. Under the system of issuing certificates the one only vital and absolutely necessary quality in any commodity to fit it for a standard of value is that its value remains permanent—that the ratio between its labor cost and the labor cost of other things remain constant. With paper certificates in use all other qualities in the commodity need sink into insignificance when compared with this one. If gold is to be the standard and measure of value, 25.8 grains of that metal must have the same purchasing power to-day that it had ten years ago—the same it will have ten years hence. Otherwise it is

no better than a yard-stick that lengthens or shortens itself from year to year. The same may be said of silver.

3. I do not say that a commodity money is the best as a standard and measure of value. I do not believe it is. Neither am I a Greenbacker, and never was. The question is, "having a commodity money, what is the more honest dollar, the silver one of 412½ grains or the gold one of 25.8 grains?" Evidently the one which is maintaining its purchasing power most evenly and constantly. Mr. Wells shows that the purchasing power of gold has increased nearly 40 per cent. in the past twenty years—2 per cent. a year! Gold is therefore a dishonest dollar. It increases all debts 2 per cent. a year. On the other hand the silver dollar has neither increased nor diminished in purchasing power to any considerable extent during that period. It is, therefore, the dollar. This is the real reason for the strength of the free coinage sentiment in the West. We want a dollar which will not increase our debts 2 per cent. a year for the benefit of our creditors and, by the *Eternal*, we are going to have it, no matter who stands in the way. We are for "Cleveland and Free Trade in '92," but he mustn't set up his dictum and tell us what we must think regarding minor questions. Let him show us our error or admit his own.

4. The history of the evolution of commodity money shows that gold and silver had worked their way to the front of the column by their own merits long before governments ever began putting their stamp on the metal to testify to its weight and fineness. Gold and silver are commodities still. Exchanging goods for gold or gold for goods is nothing but barter. Equivalent commodity values are parted with and received. Each transaction is complete in itself. It is not the business of government to command or refuse one metal or the other. Its duty begins and ends with stamping the metals that the people bring to the mint, simply as a guarantee of weight and fineness, that is all.

That clause in the Constitution empowering Congress to regulate and fix the value of coined money is of about as much consequence as if Congress had been given power to fix and regulate the path of the earth around the sun. Their attempts would be about as effective in one case as the other.

5. Whether any other than commodity money is possible is not now the question. The whole matter hinges upon whether the gold or the silver dollar is the more honest. We have shown the silver dollar to be the "honest dollar," and demand that the Government stamp it for us.

Minneapolis, Minn.

C. J. BUELL.

DEMONETIZE BOTH GOLD AND SILVER.

THE STANDARD devotes a great deal of time to the discussion of free coinage, yet from all I have read, I fail to see that the question is thoroughly understood by those participating in such discussions.

It seems to me that the question is not of how much shall be added to the circulation, but whether the precious metals shall be placed upon the same footing in the coinage.

From the adoption of the Constitution until the year 1873, gold and silver were admitted to coinage upon the same terms, and they circulated at almost a uniform ratio. Producers of silver bullion care nothing about the amount that goes into circulation, if they, instead of the speculators, can reap the benefit of the difference between the price of bullion and the standard silver dollar.

At present that difference is about 20 per cent., and all goes into the pockets of the speculators.

Under a free and unlimited coinage law the producers of silver bullion would have the same right to have it coined into standard dollars, putting the same into direct circulation, as has the producer of gold.

It must be known to everybody at all conversant with financial affairs, that under our present system of restricted silver coinage the whole product of our silver mines becomes the property of the general Government, and only enters into circulation by way of silver certificates. Whereas, under a free coinage system, such product would remain the property of the producers, and enter into circulation directly.

I would like to have Mr. T. G. Shearman explain his views as to the effect the demonetization of gold and silver, and the use of an absolute paper money, would have on the commercial world. When I speak of paper money I do not mean unlimited issues.

Although I am interested in the production of the precious metals, I favor the demonetization of both gold and silver, and the use of an absolute paper money, limited to the per capita of population, and I know of many other such producers who are likewise in favor of demonetization or the free coinage of silver.

In other words, what the mine owners demand is that gold and silver be placed on the same footing before the law.

I am willing to admit that the Free Trade question is of far greater importance than that of free coinage, and I can also see how the speculators may be benefited by the increase in the circulating medium, before tariff taxes are abolished. Yet I cannot see why the two reforms should not be agitated at the same time.

I strenuously object to the use of "unlimited issues of greenback money," when speaking of the old Greenback party. I have been a Greenbacker since the days of Peter Cooper and know whereof I speak when I say that the Greenback party, as a party, was always in favor of limiting any issue of paper money.

I also know that unless the Democratic party includes free coinage in its platform in the next Presidential campaign, thousands who voted and worked for it in 1888 will refuse to go with it in 1892.

Evansville, Ind., March, 1891.

C. H. WESSELER.

A FARMERS' CLASS MOVEMENT.

The predominant characteristic of the Single Tax movement, which impressed me when I first "enlisted," and which must, I think, impress all who are attracted to the cause, is the unselfish devotion of adherents to clearly defined principles. This entire disinterestedness is so unusual as to be more or less incredible at first sight; but a perusal of THE STANDARD from week to week dispels all doubts and assures the reader that here is a movement inspired and sustained by the purest philanthropy.

In contrast to this spectacle of energy, time and money freely expended, this effort to establish just laws, to repeal bad laws, in short to establish a regime guaranteeing "equal rights to all, and special privileges to none," in sharp contrast to this is the character which the Farmers' Alliance has. It seems to me, been steadily assuming.

The farmers combined for defence and protection against *class legislation*. By the message of President Cleveland, by the educational campaign conducted by the Reform Club, by the Single Tax clubs, and by the agency of an enlightened, unfettered press, the farmers have been inspired to unite in a mighty protest against the tariff.

But now, conscious of unwonted power, feeling the new importance conceded to the farmer vote, the Alliance is making a fatal mistake; for the very instrument which cursed them, *class legislation*, is invoked to favor them with Government pawn-shops for their produce and land-titles, abundance of script at 2 per cent. interest, and free coinage of silver.

The man who turned their faces to the rising sun, *Free Trade*, is denounced and cast aside for not favoring that intermittent disease—a relic of our civil war—the craze for cheap money.

With their Senator Pepper at Washington, and the record of the legislative session just closed at Topeka, I think I am safe in predicting that within a year the brainy men of the Alliance will be absorbed by the Democratic party, at least so far as Kansas and Missouri are concerned.

Kansas City, Mo.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

FREE SILVER A TEMPORARY ISSUE.

I conceive it to be the duty of every one who approves of THE STANDARD'S present attitude on the silver question to say so. It seems plain to me that the Democratic party must make the tariff the main issue and Mr. Cleveland their candidate in 1892, or go to the wall. The free coinage sentiment has only an apparent strength. The intelligence of the American people can be relied on to decide rightly, so soon as their attention is arrested, and the silver craze will disappear as quickly as did the unlimited greenback proposition. It will soon be clearly understood that the cause of the present troubles is not want of money; that the currency now in existence is supplemented by a volume of checks, drafts, etc., which form a currency capable of unlimited expansion. It will be seen that the hinderances to production and free exchange are the causes of present distress.

But suppose that a third party under the leadership of Mr. Simpson and others declares for free silver, Free Trade and the Single Tax while the Democratic party advocates only a revenue tariff, then which wagon shall we Single Taxers get into? Perhaps we had better not do or say anything just now which may embarrass us in making a decision when the time comes.

Atchison, Kan.

J. W. BAILEY.

IN A NUTSHELL.

CAPE MAY CITY, N. J.—Your position on "Silver and The Tariff" is the correct one.

The philosophy of the subject is wrapt up in the answer to the question. Suppose all the silver in the United States were coined and in circulation, how much would it benefit me if I could get none of it?

Abolish the Tariff first and then there will be some chance to use silver.

WM. PORTER.

"GOD SAVE IRELAND!"

Parnell's friends in Ireland are making a most lively Irish campaign in his interests. In Cork, the other day, one of the "uncrowned king's" partisans entered into a discussion with Timothy Healy. It was short, but still long enough to cost Mr. Healy five teeth and a seriously damaged eye. God save Ireland!

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Detroit Free Press tells—for the benefit of what it calls "the Henry George men"—of over fifteen thousand islands, great and small, between the coasts of Madagascar and India, uninhabited, to which it recommends the "American Henry Georges" to emigrate, because "they can find homes there simply for the taking, and never have to pay a cent of taxes." What's the matter with staying right here in our own country? The Free Press says there will be room on those islands for 100,000 of us. Well, there is room enough in this country for 1,000,000,000 of "us," and that beats the Madagascar islands clear out of sight. We will stay right here, and we will agitate and fight until the day comes when it will be as easy to get a home in these United States as it is in the islands which the Free Press recommends "us" to emigrate to.

* * * *

The San Francisco Examiner has caught a rascally California Assemblyman named Bruner at one of his tricks. He was selling his "influence" at \$400 a package to candidates for positions on the San Francisco police force. And he was, it seems, able to deliver the goods, for his recommendations were favorably considered in each case. An Examiner man paid Bruner his fee in a check and got a letter to the San Francisco Police Commissioners strongly urging his appointment. There must have been collusion between the Assemblyman and the Commissioners. The Examiner intends to follow the matter to the end. By the way, it is darkly hinted that even here, in our own New York City, the road to appointment on the "finest police force in the world" is made more smooth than it would otherwise be if certain "influences" are secured; and it has been said by evil minded persons that such "influence" could be secured by the use of ducats. It may not be true, but many people believe it is true all the same.

* * * *

In Southern Oregon there is a forest 16,000 square miles in extent, and if the timber were cut and put on the market at \$10 per 1,000 feet, the proceeds would pay our national debt twice over. The estimated amount of merchantable timber on the tract is 400,000,000,000 feet.

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The jockeys on the adjacent race tracks have formed a labor union for mutual protection in regard to wages. That is a labor organization that can win every time, for they have only to strike "at the post" to win every time.

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The German Reichstag has thrown out a petition that has been under debate for years, which asked that women be allowed to practice the so-called liberal professions—law and medicine. Only a few members supported it, most of them Socialists. Evidently the powers that be are fearful of any innovations in established customs, and they are right. One step towards freedom always leads to others.

* * * *

A. Timmann is publishing in Adelaide, for the Single Tax League of South Australia, a semi-monthly pamphlet called The Pioneer. It is of a size with our Single Tax library, twelve pages, and is filled with good Single Tax doctrine. The annual subscription is, two copies 6s.; six copies, 7s. 6d.; twelve copies, 12s. The publisher gives notice that the publication of The Pioneer is undertaken solely with a view to stimulate thought and promote discussion. The labor involved is given voluntarily, and any profits made will go entirely toward extending the range of the pamphlet's operations.

* * * *

The potatoes sold in this market now are of the poorest quality the oldest inhabitant remembers. They are dear, too. We are told that there are plenty of good potatoes over the Canada line, but there stands McKinley with his tariff club and will not let them in.

* * * *

A Chicago subscriber to the Fair fund, who is being sued because he refuses to pay up his subscription, has come out in a letter, in which he says that he is ready to pay his subscription to help along the enterprise, but he doesn't intend that his money shall be used "to buy champagne and pay for blow-outs to a man who gets more free dinners than any man in America"—meaning Chauncey Depew. The writer likens Chauncey to a free luncher.

* * * *

The literary editor of a prominent Chicago paper was one of the fortunate individuals selected for the operations of the Letter Writing corps a few weeks ago. He had never heard of this formidable body and knew but little of the Single Tax, and his astonishment at finding on his desk one morning about 100 or 150 letters from all parts of the country explaining the objects, principles and progress of the Single Tax movement, and urging him to investigate the subject, can well be imagined; and when the letters continued to come in for a week or more his temporary astonishment became fixed amazement. He read the letters, he says, with the greatest interest, and a Single Tax man is authority for the statement that they have converted him to the Single Tax. Meantime someone sent him a marked copy

of the THE STANDARD, and he learned why it was that so many people whom he had never heard of should have simultaneously taken such an interest in him and his opinions. But he realized from the force and substance of the letters that the interest was genuine and the writers in earnest, and they showed him that the Single Tax idea, whatever it was, had a power to evoke an enthusiasm which could hardly be developed in a bad cause.

* * *

C. Reeves, of Buffalo, sends a sample of a blank which, he thinks, ought to be distributed among farmers, one side of which the honest yeoman can fill out from his own accounts, while on the other he can do the wildest kind of estimating. Then he can figure. Mr. Reeves thinks that such a blank will do much to convince farmers of the justice of the Single Tax. Here is the blank:

PRESENT SYSTEM.	SINGLE TAX SYSTEM.
Value of bare land.....	Value of bare land.....
Value of other taxable property.....	Tax equal to 90 per cent. of yearly rent of bare land.....
Total.....	Total tax.....
Tax thereon.....	
Protected goods bought yearly.....	
Tax by tariff of 45 per cent.....	
Total tax.....	
Difference yearly.....	

* * *

The Boston Herald has been canvassing the New England farmers to find how they stand on the question of organizing Farmers Alliances in that section. Leading farmers and officers of State and local granges, so the Herald claims, are against such organization.

* * *

"The present revolt in Chili is a protest against landlordism." So says Dr. W. A. Edwards, of Denver, Col., who was for ten years a resident of Valparaiso. "Chili is nominally a republic," says the doctor, "but practically it has long been an oligarchy controlled by thirty or forty rich and influential landlord families. While the rising is nominally one against the President it is in reality directed against the system of which he is the representative, and while the personal causes for complaint brought matters to a focus they had little to do with the origin of the troubles." For years all legislation has been in the interest of the landlord class, and the people have been as completely ignored as if they had no existence.

* * *

The National Association of Democratic Clubs have issued a circular urging the several clubs to celebrate Jefferson's birthday on April 2. Better late than never; meantime, the Democratic clubs of this city—in view of the short time they have for preparation this year—are hereby invited to join with the Manhattan Single Tax Club in its celebration to-morrow evening at Cooper Union. It will be a straight-out Jeffersonian Democratic meeting, so our friends of the Democratic clubs need not fear to attend.

* * *

Late Congressman McKinley told the Home Market Club of Providence, R. I., last week that the defeat of the Republican party last November was caused by "Democratic lies." Perhaps so. And is that the reason why Mr. McKinley's President doesn't want the agitation of the tariff renewed—because he doesn't want the Democrats to tell any more lies?

* * *

Writing from Bruchsal, Germany, William Wolff says that there has lately appeared a ten cent German edition of "Looking Backward," that is being largely advertised over there. The cheapest edition of "Progress and Poverty" in Germany still sell at seventy-five cents. He also mentions an article that appeared in the Frankfurter Zeitung, describing a little town called Fremdenstadt in Wurttemberg, which is one of those towns where the remains of the old communal system of land ownership of the German Mark are still to be found. The citizens still own a considerable amount of forest and other lands in common, and from the rents and sales of products they realize enough money to pay all municipal expenses. In addition, this year, every citizen received a dividend of \$6.25 from the common fund.

* * *

The Rev. A. P. McDiarmid, pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church in Brooklyn, addressed a meeting of Baptist ministers the other day on the subject of church taxes. He argued that the Baptist Church should not countenance the exemption of State taxes which is now in vogue. "The church, in accepting an exemption from taxes," said he, "receives that which is wrested from the taxpayers. It is a gift from the State and a tendency toward the State's maintenance of the church. A public grant each year from the State would be less objectionable, for then everything would be done openly, and the tax-payers would know just how much the different churches were receiving. A religion that cannot pay its just taxes should be booted out of the world."

CURRENT THOUGHT.

CROOKED TAXATION.

In the April issue of the Arena, Thomas G. Shearman has an article on "Crooked Taxation," which is the name he has applied to that system of raising Government revenues, euphoniously denominated indirect taxation. Crooked taxation, says Mr. Shearman, has an unpleasant sound, but it is a far more accurate definition of the thing meant than the current name. The maintenance of this system of taxation for so many years, he says, has been largely due to the judicious selection of the name, indirect taxation; for this name made people look on the thing simply as a method "by which taxes are collected in small amounts at the convenience of the taxpayer," while direct taxation required them to be paid in large amounts at the convenience of the State. In reality, however, it means a great deal more. Indirect or crooked taxation, says Mr. Shearman, is a system under which

The taxes are always paid to the Government by persons who are authorized and expected to recover the amount from some one else, with interest and a profit, upon which the law places no limit. * * *

The whole burden of such taxes rests upon consumption and not at all upon wealth. The system absolutely exempts property from the support of Government, and draws taxes only from those who have to spend, and in proportion to their expenses.

And, of course, as the necessary expenses of the poor are much heavier proportionately than those of the rich, these taxes bear much heavier on the poor than on the rich.

In addition to this, the system generally, though not invariably, adds to the cost of supporting the Government a private profit, so large as to far exceed the whole amount of taxes paid by the rich as a class.

The whole of this private profit goes to a portion of the richer class; thus exempting them as a class from all taxation, and giving them a large net profit from the very fact of taxation.

This, system, therefore, perpetually increases the natural savings of the rich, while it almost swallows up the natural savings of the poor.

The tendency of this method of taxation is, therefore:

1. To make the rich richer and the poor poorer.
2. To shift the burden of taxation from those best able to bear it to those least able.
3. To remove all checks upon the extravagance of government, by making the only persons who know that they pay taxes indifferent as to the amount of taxes, if not actually interested in maintaining needless taxes, for the sake of a profit upon their collection.
4. To force into existence a class of wealthy men, whose income depends upon legalized robbery.
5. To complicate the business of the country with taxation, so that enormous burdens are kept upon the people, for fear that "vested interests" will suffer, if these burdens are lightened.
6. To promote bribery and corruption, by making business profits directly dependent upon political action.

Such a system is well called Crooked Taxation. It is crooked in operation, form, motives, aims and effects. It is not merely indirect; it is irregular. It never proceeds in any fixed line, curved or straight. Its line of working, says Mr. Shearman, is pulled up and down by selfish interest at a thousand points, until it becomes so hopelessly crooked that nothing short of omniscience can foresee its effects.

But while the specific effects of the individual taxes cannot be ferreted out, the general effects of the system can be very plainly seen in both retrospect and prospect. The main effect is that such taxes tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer; they tend to increase the disparity between the rich and the poor. To prove this is the main object of Mr. Shearman's paper. In the first place he makes the following estimate of the burden of taxation in this country in 1880:

Import duties.....	\$186,500,000	
Internal revenue, etc.....	147,000,000	
Increased prices, domestic protected goods.....	559,500,000	
Total.....	\$893,000,000	
Dealers' profits, 15 per cent.....	134,000,000	\$1,027,000,000
Local taxes.....	312,000,000	
Landlords' and dealers' profits, 5 per cent.....	15,600,000	327,600,000
Grand total.....		\$1,354,600,000

A dealer's profits are based on the cost of the article as it comes to him from the importer or manufacturer; and this cost includes the tax. Fifteen per cent. is, of course, a low estimate for wholesale and retail dealers' profits before an article reaches the consumer, and 5 per cent. profit on the extra cost which local taxes on buildings and goods occasion is still lower, but Mr. Shearman prefers to be on the safe side.

Now, the actual production of the nation in 1880 was, according to Mr. Shearman, \$8,568,000,000, and the total expenditures of all classes was \$7,212,000,000, including the \$1,354,000,000 taxes, which were thus 18 7-10 per cent. of the expenditures; and the total savings of all classes were \$1,356,000,000. If there had been no taxes, therefore, the savings would have been just double; that is, taxes were 50 per cent. of the possible savings, had expenditures and production been the same as they were. But while taxes took 50 per cent. of possible savings, on the average, it took far more than 50 per cent. of the possible savings of the poor, and far less than 50

per cent. of the possible savings of the rich; for the taxes fell on people just in proportion to the amount of their income that they spent.

To show how this affected the distribution of savings, Mr. Shearman divides the population into ten classes. We need to take but the richest and the poorest. The richest class, comprising 50 persons, had a total income of \$75,000,000. Their expenses were \$12,500,000, including taxes of 18 7-10 per cent., amounting to \$2,337,500. Their actual savings were \$62,500,000; if they had paid no taxes their savings would have been, therefore, \$64,837,500. The difference between their possible and actual savings was thus very slight, say 3 1/3 per cent. The poorest class, comprising 13,000,000 wage workers, had an income of \$4,101,600,000; they spent \$3,896,520,000, and including taxes of 18 7-10 per cent., amounting to \$728,649,000. Their actual savings were \$205,000,000; if they had paid no taxes, therefore, their savings would have been \$933,729,000. Thus the difference between their possible and actual savings was about 77 per cent. So that taxes cut down the possible savings of the richest class only 3 1/3 per cent., while it cut down the savings of the poorest class 77 per cent.

Separating the whole income-drawing population into three classes, Mr. Shearman estimates that the total annual savings are at present divided as follows:

Class.	Persons.	Accumulations.
Rich	120,000	\$873,750,000
Middle	1,100,000	227,500,000
Laboring	16,172,000	255,000,000
Total	17,392,000	\$1,356,250,000

That is, the laboring class is saving 19 per cent. of the wealth, or the laboring and middle classes together, 36 per cent.; while the rich are saving 64 per cent.

Now, if there had been no taxes at all, the possible savings of the whole people would have been as follows:

Class.	Persons.	Untaxed Savings.
Rich	120,000	\$1,073,466,000
Middle	1,100,000	470,132,500
Laboring	16,172,000	1,161,379,240
Total	17,392,000	\$2,704,977,740

That is, the laboring class could have saved 43 per cent., or the laboring and middle classes together 60 per cent.; while the rich could have saved only 40 per cent. of the total amount. This is supposing there were no taxes. But, says Mr. Shearman, "if taxation were direct and exactly equal, the annual savings of each class should bear the same proportion to each other after taxation that they did before."

The substitution of direct taxes for our crooked taxes would, therefore, bring about an entire change in the distribution of savings; the expenses of government would be 50 per cent. less; production, being no longer burdened by taxation, would enormously increase, and the laboring masses could accumulate threefold as fast as at present, while spending much more than they do now. "Many reforms," says Mr. Shearman, "are needed in this favored republic, but none can compare in importance or far-reaching effects with this. *Let crooked taxation be utterly destroyed.*"

THE ADVANTAGES OF POVERTY.

In the March issue of the Nineteenth Century, Mr. Andrew Carnegie has an article on "The Advantages of Poverty," which was called forth by a paper of Mr. Gladstone in the same periodical, criticising Mr. Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth," under which title two articles of his were recently reprinted in the Pall Mall Gazette. The fundamental idea of the Gospel of Wealth as Mr. Carnegie states it is:

That surplus wealth should be considered a sacred trust to be administered by those into whose hands it falls, during their lives, for the good of the community. It predicts that the day is at hand when he who dies possessed of enormous sums which were his and free to administer during his life, will die disgraced, and holds that the aim of the millionaire should be to die poor.

Mr. Carnegie is of course a believer in the accumulation and growth of wealth, for "we know" he says, "that rapid as is its growth, its distribution among the people in streams more and more numerous is still more rapid." The few enormous fortunes amassed in America in the present generation, he says, were made under conditions that no longer exist; and as for such statements as that of Henry George, that growing progress is accompanied by growing poverty, he says:

I do not know a writer of authority upon social and economic questions who has not only disputed Mr. George's statement, but who has not pronounced their opposites to be the truth. In speaking to Mr. Herbert Spencer, of Mr. George's book, Mr. Spencer told me he had read a few pages and then thrown it down as "trash."

Trash it must be, for as Mr. Carnegie says: "My progress has inevitably carried with it not the growing poverty but inevitably the growing riches of my countrymen, as the progress of every employer must necessarily carry with it the enrichment of the country and the laborer;" and he proves very satisfactorily to himself, by savings banks statistics, the decline in the size of farms,

statistics of pauperism etc., that the people of America at any rate are progressing without any increase of poverty. In fact, he says, "The condition of the masses is satisfactory just in proportion as a country is blessed with millionaires."

But, he nevertheless holds that the "hereditary transmission of position and wealth," which Mr. Gladstone defends, is an evil, and that "the hereditary transmission of poverty and health" is the greatest spur to development of individual and national greatness, for "the greatest and best of our race have necessarily been nurtured in the bracing school of poverty," rank and wealth being almost fatal to greatness and goodness. It was to express these views he says, that he once wrote in a lady's album, "I should as soon leave to my son a curse as 'the almighty dollar.'"

To rear a son in ease and luxury and then turn over to his care the management of a great business or industry is, in Mr. Carnegie's opinion a crime; it leads to great failures and the ruin of thousands of people. Such businesses should pass into the hands of men who have worked their way up, and the beauty of it is, Mr. Carnegie says they do and always will.

This is undoubtedly true as regards ordinary competitive businesses. Look at the names of the leading merchants or manufacturers of fifty or one hundred years ago, and how few of them were in the hands of the ancestors of our present merchant princes. The collapse of a well established and mammoth business like A. T. Stewart's, after his death, shows the working of a general rule—that great fortunes invested in competitive businesses do not tend to perpetuate themselves. But our rich men have found out that there are other things than competitive businesses—there are monopolies; and great fortunes invested in monopolies not only do not tend to disappear, but tend to increase, for all that is required of the inheritor to increase his fortune is to simply not spend more than his income—for the rest the monopoly takes care of itself. Such a monopoly is the ownership of land; and the growth of great landed estates in the cities of the eastern part of this country, which have already passed from father to son for three or more generations, is a proof of the difference between a monopoly and a competitive business. But it is true that very few of the inheritors of such estates and monopolies take any prominence as men. Their training and education that would disqualify them from managing an inherited business, also prevent them from occupying their leisure to any great advantage; it is the men who have had to work their way up that do the great things. "Ergo," says Mr. Carnegie, "poverty is a blessing."

When we come to read between the lines, however, we see that what Mr. Carnegie really means is not that poverty is a blessing, for he rejoices in the fact that poverty is decreasing; he rejoices in the fact that in this country, as he believes, fewer and fewer of the people are doomed to a wretched struggle for a bare existence in conditions and surroundings that crush all aspirations after anything higher in life than a bare animal existence. In fact, his Gospel of Wealth is a plea to the rich to help eradicate this poverty. He knows, as every man knows, that for one who has struggled and buffeted with the waves of the sea of poverty and come out strengthened and invigorated on the shore of success, a thousand have sunk beneath the waves "unwept, unhonored and unknown." What he really means to say is that it is a benefit for a man to feel that not on his inherited wealth, but on what he does and acquires by his own exertions will depend the respect of his fellow men; that every man should feel the necessity for work in order to maintain his position. This is true. And to bring about such a state of things, what is necessary? That all should be poor? No; but that none should be poor. In society as it now is, where the position, surroundings, associations and influence of ninety-nine out of every hundred men depend on their income, and where wealth can purchase from the poverty about it adulation, flattery, subservience and duties of almost any description, no matter how degrading or difficult, a man who inherits wealth naturally feels that he needs do little else than amuse himself. But in a society where no man who worked was poor, where wealth had lost its power to elevate or degrade, each man's position would depend upon his character and his exertions, and neither the spur of poverty nor the gospel of wealth would be needed to make every man struggle to do all he could for those about him, for only in so doing could he raise his own position.

THE INDEPENDENT VOTER.

A recent address of Charles Nagel, of St. Louis, delivered before the Round Table of that city has been published in pamphlet form. It is entitled "The Independent Voter," and deals with independent movements in local and municipal elections. Mr. Nagel seeks to inquire why such movements have failed to purify politics and how they should be conducted in order to accomplish some lasting results. He strikes the root of the trouble when he says of the ordinary independent "committee of 100" movements, "They do not sufficiently assist in the formation of opinions; they do not help to build the foundation but only come to trim the superstructure. Their political activity rests on no political principle."

In the last sentence "Their political activity rests on no political principle," is the gist of the whole matter. Now, as Mr. Nagel points out, municipal parties, as parties, and even state parties, are nearly disappearing. Local officials of every grade, sheriffs, poor-house superintendents, and state legislators, are elected on national platforms. A man's views on the McKinley tariff, and the Force bill, or the views of the national party to which he belongs, really decide his election to places which have nothing to do with such issues. This is, of course, absurd, and Mr. Nagel claims it offers a chance for the independents to get to get up a movement founded on a definite principle, namely, the taking "of State and municipal elections out of the control of national parties." This, he says, may render it necessary to change the times of holding elections so as to render independence possible; but that can be done. When this is done, it will be possible for respectable men to take an active, genuine interest in local politics, and the building up of local organizations, and there will be a chance to remedy what Professor Bryce called "the one conspicuous failure" of the American political system. Mr. Nagel's pamphlet is a very timely one, and the issue he presents is the one which must be taken up by those who would reform municipal politics.

A USEFUL HANDBOOK.

One of the most useful little handbooks ever compiled for the use of those interested in any branch of economics or social science is the "Reader's Guide,"* just issued by the Society for Political Education. It is a classified catalogue, thoroughly and comprehensively indexed, of all the important publications in English, French and German, bearing on politico-economic or social questions. Its classification includes over thirty different general topics, such as Land, Trade and Commerce, Pauperism, the Liquor Question, Charities, Parties, Church and State. Under each head are the titles of books, with a brief resumé of their contents, date of publication and names of publishers, form, size and in many cases the price; and a list of government reports and publications, pamphlets and magazine articles. For each subject the Editors recommend the special works they consider as best adapted to study, and they have planned reading courses for those who care to cover the whole ground. A 30 page index, admirably prepared enables one to refer to any special subject, book or author without the slightest trouble. The Editors, R. R. Bowker and George Hes, deserve great praise for the able and discriminating manner in which they have performed an important piece of work. Such a book is very much needed and will undoubtedly find a large number of readers. It contains 170 pages. Price in cloth, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

*The Readers' Guide in Economic, Social and Political Science. Edited by R. R. Bowker and George Hes. New York: Society for Political Education, G. P. Putnam's Sons, agents.

A PAMPHLET BY MR. GORSUCH.

The Hartford, Conn., Central Labor Union has published an address of W. J. Gorsuch, entitled "The Tramp as a Social Factor," in pamphlet form for distribution. In considering that consummate flower of nineteenth century civilization, the tramp, Mr. Gorsuch is led to some reflections as to the causes of such an appearance, and his address is an argument for the Single Tax. Copies of the pamphlet can be secured by addressing George Jones, Secretary C. L. U., Box 728, Hartford.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

LYNCH LAW IN NEW ORLEANS.

Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Notwithstanding the assertion that the eleven massacred men in New Orleans were shot not because they were Italians, but because they were murderers, there is no doubt of the bitter prejudice in this country against the sons of sunny Italy. This prejudice is, of course, founded on ignorance, for the Italians are a frugal, honest and law-abiding people. Americans are glad to avail themselves of their industry and skill in all lines of work.

I do not know what justice and diplomacy will do in this case, but I do know that a sure punishment waits on Mr. Parkerson and his followers. Mr. Parkerson is described as the president of an athletic club and a well-known lawyer. As an athlete, in his manhood and strength, did he not perceive the cowardice of inciting a mob of armed men against a few poor, disarmed prisoners? As a lawyer, did he not see that his vocation was that of conciliation and peace, instead of blood and extermination? If he has a conscience I fear he will have troubled dreams, and often rise to exclaim, like Lady Macbeth, that not all the waters of the ocean can wash from his hands those spots of blood.

Italy has long ago abolished the death penalty, and it is a sad reflection to see it sanctioned in America, when inflicted in such a form. The massacre is over, but will remain a blot upon civilization and Christianity. When we have to chronicle such horrors

must we not agree with the greatest philosopher of our century in the book of books, "Progress and Poverty," that the tide of civilization is already receding from this country? God forbid it should continue to recede, and help us to turn it back.

New York.

JOHN LANZA.

PRESERVE LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: The protest in your issue of March 11th, against a "mandatory" law from Albany, on the City of New York, requiring the municipal government to comply with a provision of 1886, for erecting free lodging houses, suggests a subject which is just now shamefully slighted.

Our people seem to have forgotten their birthright and are ready to ignore the grand work of freedom that was wrought in 1789.

If there is a single principle that stands out sharp and distinct in our Constitution and forms a thoroughly new departure from any old world usage, that principle is local rights.

Moreover, in practice the system has produced the best results. The principle of self-government can trace its origin farther back than any other principle of constitutional law; to the creation of man, a free, self-governing agent.

The correctness of this theory is established by the fact that in all history the nearer man has conformed to it in his political institutions the more civilized he has become. That there is danger of our wandering away from this just principle our history since the war shows too well. The theory of the Government supporting the people embodied in our tariff laws and pension bills, to say nothing of bounties, subsidies and the proposed educational and Federal elections measures, has had a very large support in the United States.

If such a theory were carried out it would only be a question of time for us to grow into a centralized republic, like France.

To watch the weary struggle of local rights against paternalism which is going on in Ireland and Scotland, should make Americans very thankful for the great advantages they possess.

It will not do to fritter away these great privileges; they are entirely too dear; they are too hard to get. Once lost, they would never be regained. We should relapse into the petrification of China. The decadence of our State and municipal governments is too painful for words. This only goes to show how much we have already lost of our liberties, and now, when New York City is being governed from Albany, and Philadelphia is being governed from Harrisburg (witness our City Hall commission), it seems appropriate to sound an alarm.

Will you not, as the most advanced radical journal in America, ventilate this question of local rights, until we shall come to appreciate its great importance.

Philadelphia, March 14.

T. WISTAR BROWN, JR.

A MUDDLED PROFESSOR.

To the Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Permit me to call to the attention of your readers the following gem of "professional" criticism from Professor Simon N. Patten's recent essay on "The Educational Value of Political Economy" (page 31).

"A moral or political principle should be thoroughly discussed as a part of ethics or politics before it is introduced into economic discussion, and any principle that will not stand this test is not deserving of consideration in economics. Take, as an example, the doctrine of Henry George. By his method we have confused together arguments that are economic with those that are political and moral. We find the Ricardian law of rent put in the foreground. This is clearly an economic doctrine. But from the law of rent alone we could not draw any such conclusions as Mr. George desires. Coupled with the law of rent we find the negative politics of Herbert Spencer and the morality of taking land without compensation. The politics of Mr. Spencer, should of course, receive due attention in the proper place, but it does not lead to clear thinking to have his ideas inserted in an economic discussion, as though they were really based upon economic principles. The morality of public seizure without compensation, likewise, is clearly not an economic problem. It belongs to the field of morals and should be discussed as an ethical question along with other propositions of a like character. No correct judgment of the rights and obligations of land owners is possible without a complete history of land tenure. When, therefore, these three separate points of view are thrown together and the whole presented as if it were purely an economic argument, we have a condition of thinking, which produces undesirable results. It deceives the unwary and creates intolerance and dogmatism." Can nothing be done for the Professor? He lives in Philadelphia. Yours,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS.

CORPORATE LAND OWNERS.

The railroad corporations of the United States own land enough, given to them by the Government, to make six States as large as Iowa. They own 211,000,000 acres. A man by the name of Diss-ton, of Pennsylvania, is the possessor of 4,000,000 acres, and the Vanderbilts own over 2,000,000 acres.

THE FREE TRADE MEETING.

A GREAT GATHERING EXPECTED AT COOPER UNION TO-MORROW EVENING—THE SPEAKERS WILL BE HON. JERRY SIMPSON, HON. TOM L. JOHNSON AND THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

Jefferson's birthday will be fitly celebrated in New York to-morrow night. There is every indication that the Free Trade mass meeting at Cooper Union, under the auspices of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, will be a success. The call for the meeting appeared in last week's STANDARD and it is as follows:

MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB,
73 Lexington Avenue,
NEW YORK, March 21, 1891.

To the Free Traders of New York:

Believing that the time has passed for parleying with the trusts and rings who are robbing the people through the tariff, and who, adding insult to injury, pretend that the blackmail they are levying on the farmer and the workman, the widow and the orphan, is for the protection of American labor.

And believing, moreover, that the repudiation of so-called "Protection" by the people in the recent Congressional elections not merely warrants but demands the raising of the standard of Free Trade as the leading national issue, the Manhattan Single Tax Club propose to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson by a

FREE TRADE MASS MEETING

IN
COOPER UNION,
ON

THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 2ND, 1891,

and invite to join them in it, without regard to differences on other matters, all citizens who hold to Jefferson's principle of Free Commerce with all nations, and who stand ready to substitute for timid, illogical attempts to tinker with tariff reduction a manly effort to abolish the whole corrupting, degrading and impoverishing system, and to secure to every citizen of the United States the same right to trade with all the world that he now has to trade with his fellow citizens.

The meeting will be addressed by

JEREMIAH SIMPSON, Congressman from Kansas;

TOM L. JOHNSON, Congressman from Ohio;

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN, of New York.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club calls this meeting not as a demonstration in behalf of the Single Tax, but as a demonstration in behalf of Free Trade. They therefore cordially invite to it not only Single Tax men but all other Free Traders.

By order of the Manhattan Single Tax Club,

A. J. STEERS, Secretary.

LOUIS F. POST, President.

The invitation of the Manhattan club to Free Traders generally to join them in this Free Trade demonstration has met with a notable response, as will be seen from the signatures to the following supplementary call:

FREE TRADE MASS MEETING.

To the Free Traders of New York:

Believing that the result of the late Congressional elections demonstrates that the American voters have repudiated the theory of "Protection," we unite with the Manhattan Single Tax Club in calling a FREE TRADE MASS MEETING at Cooper Union, April 2, 1891, at 8 o'clock p. m., at once to assert the right of every citizen to buy and sell where he pleases, to demand for this city freedom to utilize her natural advantages, and appropriately to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson, who in the Declaration of Independence indicted George III. for "Cutting off our Trade with All Parts of The World," and put "Free Commerce with All Nations" in the platform of the great national party he founded.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club has called this meeting exclusively in favor of FREE TRADE and without reference to the Single Tax.

Hon. Jeremiah Simpson, of Kansas; Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, and others, will address the meeting.

JOHN DE WITT WARNER,
R. G. MONROE,
JASON HINMAN,
R. R. BOWKER,
R. W. G. WELLING,
LINDLEY VINTON,
CHAS. M. BALDWIN,
THOS. NAST,
HENRY GEORGE,
WHEELER H. PECKHAM,
IRVING PUTNAM,
READ GORDON,
GEORGE A. MILLER,
AUGUST LEWIS,
F. T. DILWORTH,
WM. G. ROSS,
WM. F. HULL,
J. BLEECKER MILLER,
E. J. SHRIVER,
WILLIAM S. KAHNWEILER,
GEO. T. KNIGHT,
WALTER MENDELSON, M. D.,
WM. H. MCCORD,
HENRY T. TERRY,
JOHN H. MASON,
W. B. SCOTT,

WALTER S. LOGAN,
E. B. WHITNEY,
H. H. TYNDAL,
THOMAS G. SHEARMAN,
HENRY DE FOREST BALDWIN,
JAMES W. PRYOR,
WM. S. GOTTHEIL, M. D.,
RICHARD H. LAWRENCE,
JAMES GAUNT,
ROBERT S. MINTURN,
HENRY W. SACKETT,
JAS. A. B. DILWORTH,
W. T. CROASDALE,
NELSON S. SPENCER,
P. J. MOSENTHAL,
P. F. KEANY,
HERBERT B. TURNER,
H. C. DILWORTH,
JOHN MCG. GOODALE,
WM. C. DREHER,
J. D. CRARY,
ALFRED JARETZKI,
ANTONIO BASTIDA,
CHALMERS WOOD,
WM. MCCABE,
GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS,

G. F. C. SMILLIE,
MANUEL KNAUTH,
JNO. J. HOPPER,
RAPHAEL J. MOSES, Jr.,
ABBOTT BROWN,
CHARLES H. MARSHALL,
JOHN C. LLOYD,
WALDO G. MORSE,
PHILIP G. BARTLETT,
WM. G. MCGUCKIN,
THOS. G. GILLIGAN,
T. F. POWER,
CLARENCE S. GRAVES,
JOHN BROWN,
DONALD BETHUNE,
GEO. BRUNSWICK,
J. ANDERSON,
W. H. MATHEWS,
JAMES MCGREGOR,
F. J. KUSTENMACHER,
JOHN PENDER,
LAWRENCE DUNHAM,
JAMES A. SEAMAN,
WILLIAM H. SCOTT,

WM. S. DILWORTH,
AUSTIN HUNTINGTON,
JOSEPH B. SARGENT,
A. F. D'OENCH,
ROGER FOSTER,
OSGOOD SMITH,
DAVID J. DEAN,
M. M. FRIEND,
J. M. HEARD,
L. E. OPDYCKE,
JEROME O'NEILL,
A. J. STEERS,
ANDREW J. SMITH,
BENJ. DOBLIN,
G. W. EVERITT,
WM. BRITIGAN,
A. ANDERSON,
JOHN FLOYD,
WM. SHERLOCK,
W. D. WILLIAMS,
A. ENGELSMAN,
JOHN CODMAN,
BURTON D. BAGLEY,
BOLTON HALL.

No effort to actively solicit signatures was made. Proof slips of the call were mailed to men known to be interested in the movement against Protection, and the list above is the response. It could have been made ten times as long by anything like a canvass for signatures, but it will suffice as it is. It is a roll of honor of the Free Traders who are ready now to say that they are for Free Trade. Many names are omitted from it through mere carelessness or neglect, and some for good and sufficient reasons. Some that ought to be there are absent because of cowardice. STANDARD readers who do not file their papers should cut this out for reference. We have had a Free Trade club in this city for a long time. The names of a number of its members will be found in the list above. The names of others of its best known members are conspicuous by their absence. A year hence they will regret that they did not sign.

Those who have received tickets of admission to the Fourth avenue entrance to the hall will please present themselves before half-past seven o'clock, if they wish to secure seats; for at that time the main doors will be thrown open to the general public.

SINGLE TAXERS HEARD ON THE STEIN BILL.

Delegations from the New York and Brooklyn Single Tax clubs went up to Albany last Thursday to urge the Committee on Taxation and Retrenchment to favorably report the Stein bill. When the delegations arrived they discovered that there was little general interest on the subject, but that the committee was quite ready to hear argument on the subject. Nine out of eleven members were present and the proceedings opened with the reading of a brief argument by Mr. Stein in favor of the bill.

Mr. Louis F. Post, president of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, then made the opening argument in behalf of the bill. He began by alluding to the fact that some of the newspapers had characterized the pending measure as a Single Tax bill. He said that such was not the case, though he freely admitted that Single Tax men, as such, desired the passage of the bill, because in that event the people of any county could raise all needed revenues by a single tax on land values, if they so desired. So far as State taxation is concerned, Mr. Post pointed out that the bill proposes no change. It proposes that hereafter all persons charged with the assessment of property for the purposes of taxation, shall assess bare land values in one column, improvement values in another, and personal property values in a third. The property assessed in all three columns is to be made the basis for the apportionment of State taxes among the several counties, but the supervisors of each county shall have the power to make all or any two or one of the three classes the basis for the tax levy. Mr. Post argued that such an arrangement would be entirely fair and would leave each county to regulate taxation according to its own interests or opinions. He declared that under such a law he had no doubt that New York county would exempt personal property from taxation. A member from Oneida interrupted the speaker to ask if New York exempted personal property and Westchester taxed it, such property would not rapidly flow from Westchester to New York. Mr. Post replied that that would doubtless be the case, but that New York could stand it, since the movement would increase the value of real estate. Westchester could, on the other hand, put a stop to the tendency by ceasing to tax personal property. Mr. Post concluded by saying that Mr. W. T. Croasdale, editor of THE STANDARD, would argue in behalf of the local self-government feature of the bill.

Mr. Croasdale said that though a Single Tax man he did not intend to touch on that subject further than to say that when the farmers once understood the proposal they would be eager for it. He said

that the curse of our existing system was that as the years went on the burden on farmers steadily becomes greater in proportion. He alluded to a transaction many years ago (testified to by Mr. Ludlow before the Blair commission) by which a considerable tract of land on Fifth avenue was traded for one thousand acres of agricultural land, while to-day a single city lot in the tract would sell for more than the whole of the thousand acres once traded for two or three blocks. When farmers come to understand, he said, that they are the owners of cheap land only, and that all the high priced lands are in cities and towns, they will get over the notion that making land values the sole basis of taxation would work any hardship to them. But, Mr. Croasdale continued, it was not the purpose of this bill to force even this beneficent system on anyone. If the men who want to tax everything have a majority in any county they could try their pet system, while any county desiring to exempt personal property could do so, and neither experiment would involve any loss of revenue to the State. He insisted that this was not only a wise compromise but that it would give a positive test of the working of the opposing system that would enable future legislators to come to Albany, not as advocates of a theory, but as witnesses prepared to testify as to the actual workings of the various systems.

Mr. James P. Archibald followed. He handed to the chairman his credentials, authorizing him in the name of the Central Labor Union of New York to ask for the passage of the pending bill. He said he agreed with the views expressed by the preceding speakers, and that they were the views held by the workmen ever since they began to consider questions of taxation, some five years ago.

Mr. Bolton Hall was the next speaker. He did not appear, he said, as the representative of a Single Tax club, but as an individual controlling for himself and others a large amount of city real estate. He said that as a real estate owner he favored the abolition of all taxes on real estate, knowing full well that the more wealth there is on Manhattan Island the greater will be the value of the land.

Mr. Horatio Camps, of Brooklyn, told the committee that he could bring them, if need be, a petition from eight hundred to a thousand owners of small homes in Brooklyn, praying for the passage of this bill, though he added that every person for whom he spoke would be eager to use the opportunity thus offered to establish the Single Tax in Kings County.

Mr. G. W. Thompson, secretary of the Brooklyn Single Tax club, argued in favor of the bill and made the important point that since personal property would under its provision only be necessarily used in ascertaining the county's indebtedness to the State, in those counties where taxes were levied on real estate only, as would be the case in New York and Kings, there would no longer be any incentive to conceal the possession of personal property.

Mr. Sterling, of Troy, followed and produced a copy of the bill that he had printed and circulated. He declared that ninety out of each hundred to whom he had presented these copies expressed themselves in favor of the passage of the bill.

Then followed the most remarkable thing about the hearing. The committee unanimously asked that Mr. Post or Mr. Croasdale should give them a clear statement of the Single Tax. They knew that it was not involved in this bill, but they said they would like to understand precisely what was meant by the phrase. Mr. Post took the floor again and made a brief and lucid explanation of the Single Tax and the theory on which it is based, and the committee-men plied him with questions for nearly half an hour longer. The delegation then withdrew. The committee went into secret session for about an hour, at the end of which time, by a vote of five to four, they ordered the bill to be favorably reported to the House.

FOR BALLOT REFORM.

Despite its defeat in the Maine lower House on March 11th, the Ballot Reform bill is now awaiting the signature of the Governor. After its defeat in the Assembly the bill was introduced in the Senate, and was carried by a vote of twenty-one to ten. Then it went to the House and was carried by seventy-six to sixty. The new election bill is closely modeled on the Massachusetts law, which is the Australian system pure and simple. The only difference in the Maine law is, that instead of putting the names of all candidates in alphabetical order under the title of the office for which they are running, with their politics indicated, they are arranged in party groups, so that the voter can, if he chooses, vote for an entire group by placing a cross opposite the party name. This is the method provided for in the Indiana and Maryland laws.

Certain amendments to the New York new election law offered by Senator Saxton in the Albany Legislature have been approved by the Senate. The amendments in brief are: The certificates of municipal nominations are to be filed with the city clerks, not the county clerks; the number of signers for independent nominations was increased from 1,000 to 3,000 for State officers; 100 to 250 in the Assembly districts, and from 250 to 500 in the county or Senate districts; that the blank ballot be abolished; that the number of ballots for each fifty voters be reduced from 200 to 100; that election districts shall contain not over 400, instead of 300 voters, and shall

be divided before August 1; that the ballot clerks shall not write initials on ballots; that voters need not stay three minutes in the booths; that when ballots seem to have been marked for identification they shall be preserved, so that their validity may be examined; that no mark shall be put on paper ballots; that independent nominations shall not be placed on party ballots. There will be added to the bill a general provision for voting on constitutional amendments.

One day last week the legislative committee room of the Pennsylvania Legislature was turned into such a polling place as will be seen if the Baker reform bill should become a law. The members of the executive and legislative departments of the State government were registered as the voters of one election precinct, and 205 of them voted during the specified time, from 3½ until 8 o'clock P. M. The election officers were the members of the Ballot Reform Association of Pennsylvania. The counting of the vote was done in two hours and ten minutes, though there were eleven offices to be filled and thirty-four candidates standing for them. One Senator took the mock oath that he could neither read nor write, and the process through which he must pass was exemplified. The Speaker of the House stated that he was "blind and paralyzed," and the method was shown by which that class of voters must proceed. A member who tried to vote on another member's name was challenged, and the legal steps taken to prevent his voting. It was shown how a ballot could be made defective, and how it could be exchanged for a good one. The test was pronounced a success.

The New Hampshire Legislature is again considering the Australian ballot law, with the probability, so the Boston Globe says, that it will be adopted.

Illinois is likely to be the next State to adopt a ballot reform law. A measure on the lines of the Massachusetts law has been introduced in the lower house of the Legislature. The leaders of all the parties are said to fear it, and an emergency clause will be added in order that the bill may go into effect immediately, and thus apply to the judicial elections which occur in June.

MAINE FARMERS FOR GENUINE TAX REFORM.

Within the past year there has come to the front in Maine a political organization and issue which bids fair to do much for the Single Tax movement in that State. The active spirit of the so-called "tax reform movement" there is Mr. L. D. Bennett, a lawyer and farmer, now living at Deering, one of the founders of the State Grange, the farmers' organization, and the Farmers' Protective Union; the latter organization, in fact, was formed as a direct result of his efforts to arouse the farmers on the subject of taxation. The following extract from the publications of the Union will show its object:

Believing that agriculture is the foundation of the State and Nation's wealth, and that the prosperity and happiness of the people, not only those who are directly engaged in tilling the soil, but every citizen of our country, are affected thereby; and

Whereas, We the farmers of Maine here as-embled, believe that the present depression in agriculture, the abandonment of so many New England farms, and so many of our young men leaving the paternal acres, the home of their boyhood, to seek other and more lucrative employment, is in large measure due to the unequal and unjust taxation to which the farmers are compelled to submit, by our present laws, which excess will amount to more than half a million dollars annually; therefore

Resolved, That we will give our influence, and earnestly support any legislative measure for the equalization of taxation, until such a measure shall become a statute law.

Mr. Dennett claims that there are \$70,000,000 of property in Maine timber lands and railroads which now pay less than \$150,000 into the treasury of the State, which ought to pay, and would pay, if fairly taxed at the rate of even 1½ per cent. (which, he says, is less than the average,) \$1,000,000 per annum. The timber lands in the unorganized townships of Maine comprise an area larger than the whole of Massachusetts and Connecticut combined. They pay less than \$30,000 a year into the State treasury, being assessed at a valuation of only \$1 an acre, and, of course, being in unorganized townships, they have no local taxes to pay. They should be assessed at fully \$6 an acre, say the tax reformers, and in lieu of the heavy local taxes which all property in organized townships pay, the State tax on these "wild lands" should be raised from ¼ of 1 per cent. to 1½ per cent. The movement, then, rests on the distinct purpose to assess speculative holdings so as to relieve industry, both agricultural and urban, from the burdens now resting on it.

As for the railroads, Mr. Dennett thinks they should pay in a fair assessment of the actual value of their tangible property, their real estate, rolling stock, etc., but he and the tax reformers oppose any attempt to tax shares of stock or mortgage bonds; and they oppose the taxing of mortgages on real estate, which they say only increases the interest the farmer has to pay, advocating instead the taxation of mortgagee and owner as joint tenants.

The formation of a farmers' organization for the distinct purpose of tax reform is of itself an important movement; but that it should be devoting itself to securing a fair assessment of wild speculative holdings, and instead of directing wild and useless efforts to reach and tax personal property, should begin to exempt bonds, stocks

and mortgages, thus going far towards narrowing the basis of taxation down to real estate, is most significant and must lead to a wide discussion of the Single Tax.

ABOUT PERSONAL PROPERTY TAXATION.

A bill passed the Albany Legislature last Wednesday to tax all inheritances above \$5,000. In the debate on the bill the whole question of personal property taxation came up; and, among other statements made, was one by Senator Fassett, that Commissioner Coleman had testified that it was impossible to find more than 10 per cent. of the personal property in New York City when the time came to value it for taxation. The estimated value of the personal property in New York city was \$16,000,000,000; yet last year the Commissioner had only been able to find \$1,680,000,000 of it, and only \$280,000,000 paid taxes; all the other was sworn off. Of this amount the banks, which are so much despised by our farmers, and estates paid 90 per cent. Senator Fassett had come to the conclusion that not 5 per cent. of the personal property in this State was reached by taxation, and it could not be reached.

The first personal property tax bill to come before the Legislature—presented by O. F. Lane, of Otsego—was ruthlessly slaughtered last Thursday by striking out the enacting clause. The discussion brought out the fact that our public men are all of a sudden much interested in the farmer; but they do not seem to be agreed as to what it is he wants. Mr. Lane claimed that the farmers of his section wanted this bill, while Mr. Woodbury, of Chautauqua said that the farmers of his section were unanimous in their denunciation of it. The other representatives of farmer districts were divided, also, in their ideas of what their constituents wanted.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club has printed, in a twenty-page pamphlet, the address delivered before it by Julien T. Davies on January 22d. Copies of the pamphlet will be sent to all the members of the Union League Club, of which Mr. Davies is a prominent member, and a copy has been mailed to each of the members of the Legislature.

The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette, Republican, and the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Democratic, are talking on the same side on the question of the taxation of personal property. They both want the tax abolished—the Gazette on the ground that it will continue to drive capital from Cincinnati; and the Plain Dealer because it is "defective, unequal in its operation, and injurious to the most important interests." Both papers want a commission appointed to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject; and as they are among the leaders in their parties, their wishes will probably be respectfully considered.

THE EXPENSES OF LAND TRANSFER.

The entailment of estates in England ceased a good many years ago, and presumably people have had the privilege of buying and selling all unentailed land there just as they would buy and sell other property. As a matter of fact, however, the land might almost all be entailed, for the expenses of transfer are so great as to make it almost impossible for a poor man to acquire possession of a piece of land. In Northamptonshire, for instance, a small piece of land recently changed hands at a purchase price of \$50. The expense of the transfer included stamp on conveyance, putting plan on deed, plan, valuing, law costs, negotiating purchase and expenses of conveyance, and amounted in all to \$190, almost four times the value of the land. Of course, these expenses are added to the full value of the land, for a landlord will not part with his land unless he nets the full value; the purchaser pays all expenses.

In this country the expenses of land transfer are by no means so heavy as in England, but they form one of the chief sources of revenue for a vast army of lawyers, and several great estate guarantee companies, for each purchaser finds it necessary, in order to be sure of his title, to have the whole claim examined from the original Dutch, English or Indian grants down.

In Sweden the expenses of transfer are light; a contract of purchase is generally drawn up, and a letter of purchase which corresponds to our deed. The purchaser then exhibits what documents he receives from the seller, and after examination, if found correct, he receives a "certificate of legalization."

A stamp tax is levied, amounting to six-tenths of 1 per cent. on the price paid for the property, and for the extract of the minutes a charge is made varying from \$5 to \$10. These costs are paid by buyer and seller alike, each paying one-half, unless otherwise provided in the contract of purchase.

What is needed both in Europe and this country is what is known as the Torrens listing system, whereby land, once listed on the official books, can be transferred by simply registering the change in the name of the holder. This is the system already adopted in Australia. There is no searching of title necessary after the property is once registered, for no land is listed until the title of the holder is found to be perfect; and after it is once listed all that is necessary is to see that there are no registered liens or mortgages. By this means expenses of transfer are reduced to almost nothing.

ENGLISH LAND TAX.

Commenting on the debate on land taxation in the House of Commons, Michael Davitt's paper, the Labor World, after showing how the landlord parliament of England had reduced the land tax which formerly constituted the bulk of revenues of the English Government, to a merely nominal proportion of the total amount raised by taxation, says:

The total rent-revenue derived by landlordism from the land each year, including ground rents and royalties, is difficult if not impossible, to ascertain accurately. But it is generally computed at land-£200,000,000 to £250,000,000. This vast sum is not the result of from lord energy, intelligence, or outlay. It is the earning, the creation of the industrial community. If every landlord in Great Britain emigrated to the antipodes and remained there for ever, the economic value of the land would go on producing the wealth which the landed aristocracy is now appropriating as its property. The influence which they, as a class, exercise upon the production of this wealth is about equal to that which they exercise upon the growth of the bodies of the human units of our population. The labor of the masses, the social necessities of the community, the daily wants of the people and the general progress of the arts and sciences as applied to the organism of society, are alone responsible for the wealth which, in the name of rent, a small and a useless class are taking year by year from the nation.

Instead of five millions, the entire taxation, local and general, should be levied upon land values. These are the product of the combined energies of the whole population. They are, therefore, the one legitimate subject for national revenue. They grow from the inalienable patrimony of the State. Every citizen contributes to their development. No man's house, or food, or clothing, or earnings would suffer from the appropriation of land values for fiscal purposes. On the contrary, every tax now levied upon the necessities of life could be abolished if the land of the country was again made the source from whence the State should derive the means with which to carry on the duties of Government. It would be an act of restitution, and not of revolution. The people would be only taking that which they, and they alone, create, and the nation would only be enjoying again the right of which it was deprived by a privileged class in making the "economic earning" of the soil defray the cost of administering the affairs of the commonwealth. To the cry of "confiscation," which this demand would call forth from landlords, the people can answer "restoration." The "confiscation" has been the work of the landlords. To levy taxes for the needs of the State is legal and constitutional. Land reformers, who demand the land for the people, seek only a constitutional reform by legal means.

DOWN WITH THE TARIFF; UP WITH OUR FLAG.

Some time ago a resolution was introduced in the Missouri House of Representatives providing for the display of the American flag on every schoolhouse and public building in the State. This resolution was referred from one committee to another, and it was not until the closing session of the House that a report was made on it. The report returned the resolution to the House and recommended the adoption in its place of the following, which was agreed to:

Whereas, The people of Missouri recognize as most appropriate at the present time for the American flag to be displayed at the mast-head of a merchant marine, traversing the high seas and infesting every port of the world, instead of drooping drowsily over the schoolhouses, courthouses, jails, penitentiaries, and lunatic asylums of Missouri; and

Whereas, In the days when America had the supremacy of the carrying trade of the world, free trade and sailors' rights were an axiom in politics and the rallying cry of the Democracy; and

Whereas, This iniquitous robbery, thieving, damnable protective tariff system has destroyed our foreign trade, and as our flag is never seen in other lands except in dime museums, circuses or "wild West shows," therefore be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri as follows:

Section 1. That we favor a reduction of the tariff taxes, recognizing Free Trade as the standard of right and justice to all, and to admit of its infringement only to the extent of allowing a tariff for revenue only for governmental expenses honestly and economically administered, placing duties on the luxuries of life and putting the necessities on the free list.

HOW LAND SPECULATION PAYS.

On Friday of last week there was a transfer of a plot of land on the upper part of Manhattan Island known as Washington Heights. The land lies between Tenth avenue, which runs along the edge of the bluff on the east, and Kingsbridge Road on the west, and One Hundred and Eighty-second street and One Hundred and Seventy-seventh street on the north and south. It comprises about 18 full blocks or 400 city lots. The price paid for this plot was \$1,000,000. The purchasers are a syndicate of New Yorkers who propose to place the property on the market in small plots. The sellers were Vice-President Levi P. Morton and his partner, George Bliss.

This property was known as the General Butterfield farm and was purchased by Morton and Bliss in the latter part of 1885, just five and one-half years ago for \$450,000. Since that time the improvement of the cable road on Tenth avenue, the building of the Washington Bridge across the Harlem and the laying out of One Hundred and Eighty-second street has brought the land into the market. And the result has been an accretion in value in the five and one-half years of just \$550,000, or \$100,000 per year. This increase on an investment of \$450,000 represents a profit of over 22 per cent. per annum. If we estimate the average rate of profit, in business investments over and above all expenses, insurance and

wages of superintendence at as high as 7 per cent., we see that it has paid Messrs. Morton and Bliss just three times as well to speculate on the prime necessity of life and withhold from use the source of all production—land, as to invest their money in productive enterprise, employ labor and build up the community.

THE CURSE OF RESTRICTION.

Judge Seymour D. Thompson, in an address before the New York State Bar Association, delivered January 28, 1891, alluded to the policy that has destroyed the American commercial marine, as follows:

What causes have produced these marvelous changes? (in the condition of the American States). The natural energy of our race, their habit of combining and acting together, with mutual confidence and mutual forbearance, conjoined with great opportunities: but chiefly that buoyant activity which springs from freedom. Our industries have grown wherever they have been unfettered; they have grown in some cases—such have been our energy and resources—where they have been more or less hampered; in others, where they have been fettered they have perished. Of the last a striking example is our merchant marine. It reached the height of its power and splendor in the year 1836. At that time our flag was seen in every port, our sails whitened every sea: our Baltimore clippers surpassed all other sailing vessels in beauty and speed. The supposed necessity for developing, by artificial means, our manufacturing industries on land, made it impossible to build ships in our dock yards as cheaply as they could be built abroad, and our navigation laws prohibited our ship owners from flying our flag or having an American register upon foreign built bottoms. Their system, as I must take leave to say, has been the devil-fish that has dragged to the bottom of the ocean one by one our merchant ships, so that our flag is now not seen once a year, even in the great port of Amsterdam. The system which destroyed our shipping at sea has operated to crowd our cities with a population of such a character that the government of our municipalities remains to-day the unsolved problem of our civilization. What was, under the system of Henry Clay, an infant to be nursed, has grown to be a monster to destroy. In the midst of general prosperity we are confronted with the problem of defending the rights of scattered individuals against the power of aggregated money, either in the hands of corporations or of individuals; and those who put down chattel slavery amid the thunder of cannon see themselves and their children threatened with other forms of slavery, scarcely less cruel and unrelenting from the fact that they are disguised under the images of law, of freedom and of justice. Shall we, who struck down that form of slavery, yield to this?

"Shall we
Who struck the lion down—shall we
Pay the wolf homage?"

HOW TO TAX MINES.

The Detroit Tribune had, in a recent issue, a remark to the effect that "The Democratic scheme to tax the northern Michigan mines out of existence won't win." Commenting on this the Detroit News says:

The Democratic nor any other party could "tax the northern Michigan mines out of existence," if it had the most intense desire to do so. The mines were in northern Michigan before there were any Democrats, and they will be there when all the Democrats are dead and forgotten.

But while the Democrats could, by bad legislation, shut up our mines, they could also, by good legislation, compel their working to their utmost capacity, giving labor employment, reducing the price of the raw material, through increased production, and entailing every manufacturing concern using iron and copper to increase the sales. The Democrats could do all this by changing our present tax law from a specific tax on the product of the mine to a direct tax on the value of the mine, independent of all improvements. Our present tax law dealing with mining property makes it advantageous to work as few mines as possible. Consequently there are many thousands of acres of mining lands in Michigan, containing millions of dollars' worth of ore, paying practically no tax at all.

A DETROIT PAPER SEES THE LIGHT.

A local assembly of the Knights of Labor in Boston has passed a set of resolutions which demand:

That a bill be drafted by the State Legislature providing that the State government seize, under the rights of eminent domain, all vacant lands held for speculative purposes, adjacent to all steam or electric surface and elevated railroads, at present erected or to be erected; that such lands be cut up into house lots and deeded to, at a sum not to exceed \$200 per lot, workingmen, under a mortgage by the State; that 2½ per cent be charged as interest; that the land be appraised by a State appraiser; that each holder of a deed be advanced enough money to build a house of reasonable dimensions thereon; that when the sum advanced by the State be refunded a clear conveyance of the title should be made to the holder of the title.

The Detroit Evening Journal thinks that people will laugh at this proposition, and that perhaps that is the best way to treat it. Nevertheless it goes on to say:

To the thoughtful mind there is something suggestive in this resolution by the Boston knights. Why is it that in this young country, with its natural resources hardly touched, wages are so low that men find it hard to get homes of their own? Is it because our land is taken up in advance of actual need? The speculator always goes ahead of enterprise, and the land takes on not only a fair rental value, but it takes on prospective value, and every increase in productive power simply gives the landowner a chance to shove up the price of his land. Wages, therefore, do not rise materially: for the value of the land tends to increase faster than the production of wealth, and the landowner gets what ought to go to labor as wages. Horace Greeley saw all this more or less clearly

forty or fifty years ago, and he advocated a law limiting the area of land which one man might own. It would have been well had his warning been heeded; for even now workingmen are looking greedily at the land which belongs to those who don't work. The Astors, drawing \$23,000 daily as ground rents, brush by the man who works for \$2 per day and who can't save enough to buy a foot of ground. The few owners of the land of New York City receive \$100,000,000 annually for its use, or, at least, that is about the rental value, while only 4 per cent of the inhabitants live in houses of their own. Such a state of affairs cannot but lead to propositions of confiscation.

THE CONFERENCE PHOTOGRAPH.

No. 210 is John Waterous, of Massachusetts.

PERSONAL.

At the annual election of officers of Boston Typographical Union last Wednesday, Arthur G. Davis of the Globe composing room was one of the four delegates chosen to attend the session of the International Typographical Union in Boston next June. He is a Single Taxer and will be chairman of the Boston delegation, he having received the highest number of votes cast for delegates. P. J. Mansfield, another of the delegates, claims that he is not opposed to Single Tax principles. Augustine C. McCraith, one of the best known and thorough going Single Taxers in typographical circles, was elected president of Boston union by a small majority. The contest for the presidency was a close fight, the supporters of Mr. McCraith's opponent claiming in the canvass that "Gus" was a radical, "but he got thre just the same."

THE AVERAGE WHITE MAN'S CHANCE IS NO BETTER.

Exchange.

"Why don't you feed that dog?" was asked of an old negro.

"Why doan I feed him?"

"Yes; why don't you feed him?"

"Why doan I feed mysef? I'se as hungry as 'e dog is, an' 'sides dat, he's got the vantage of me. He ken go out an' pick up a piece of meat an' go 'bout his business, an' de white folks doan say nothin', but if I picks up suthin' ter eat dey wants to slap me in jail, sah. A niggah aint got the chance of a dog, nohow."

WHAT ANSWER?

Mrs. Frances M. Milne in San Francisco Star.

Only, when I first realized the squalid misery of a great city, it appalled and tormented me, and would not let me rest, for thinking of what caused it and how it could be cured.—*Progress and Poverty.*

I dreamed of a city proud—

A great and splendid mart;

And, methought, from the shifting crowd,

I stood and mused apart.

Back and forth, as the flow

And ebb of the restless sea,

The tide of humanity ebb

Ebbd and flowed around me.

Then suddenly I was 'ware

Of an angel's presence near,

And I knew he had message to bear

To all who had ears to hear.

But some were swift to deride:

"What will this babbler say?"

And haughtily others cried,

"To-morrow shall be as to-day!"

The revel of wealth rolled by

Thro' a royal thoroughfare,

And drowned, as it swept the cry

That rose from a great despair.

For (marvel strange and dread!)

Keeping step with the dance and song,

Unheeded as are the dead,

Marched a mighty, terrible throng:

Manhood, with branded cheek

And sunken eye of despair;

Youth, with no hope to seek,

And woman, with bosom bare;

Lost souls of a nether world—

Forever of earth denied.

Misery's menace they hurled

At the heaven of joy and pride.

To the future they marched abreast:

Splendor of pomp and power—

Ranks of the dispossessed—

One is the judgment hour.

But pure was the angel's gaze,

Undazzled by the gleam of gold,

And deep thro' his spirit's maze,

The doom of the future told.

In his pain he cried aloud,

For swift came the day of fear;

Or ever the heavens were bowed.

Might they but turn to hear?

And still in my dream I wait,

While the dreadful throng goes by,

And tremble to question Fate:

What of the angel's cry?

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, March 31, 1891.

Our "workers" attention is called to the letter from Mr. Wingardner in last week's STANDARD setting forth the plan of retaining a certain number of signed petitions to show to those from whom he solicits signatures. The plan is most excellent, for Brown will be much more likely to sign if he sees that Smith has done so. Suppose you try it!

The National 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 solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

It has also taken up the newspaper work of the Memphis committee, and is now engaged in circularizing newspapers in every State, calling their attention to the wide-spread interest now shown in the subject of the Single Tax, and urging that they call on the press companies supplying their ready prints and plates for Single Tax matter.

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work remain as reported last week, viz.: \$1,581.20.

Contribution list is increased by cash from Fred Heinkel, Tampa, Fla. \$ 50

Cash contributions previously acknowledged \$1,477 58

Total \$1,478 08

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week 102,221
Signatures received since last report 420

Total 102,641

For news budget, see roll of States.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

THE DEPOSITION OF LEE MERIWETHER.

St. Louis, Mo., March 30.—Lee Meriwether, the recently deposed Labor Commissioner of this State, is an ardent Single Taxer. He was removed from the office he had labored so industriously to build up by that arrant demagogue, Governor David R. Francis, for his own purposes and at the instigation of powerful corporations. Meriwether did his duty. Instead of merely drawing his salary with one hand and holding out the other for a tribute from those he could have shielded if he had been built that way, he ferreted out manifold abuses of monopolistic power and exposed them to the public, and when the Legislature convened had bills drawn to extirpate or mitigate the giant wrongs perpetrated on a helpless and benighted laboring people.

In the mining and lumber regions of the State the corporations paid their employees in checks and redeemed them at their own stores at their own prices. In other words, the pay-check system and "pluck-me-store" business was carried on in the most outrageous and obnoxious form. Meriwether disturbed the even flow of events in these slave camps by appearing in their midst at varying periods disguised as a workman, and taking notes and evidence in secret and laying them before a sympathetic public. This naturally brought down upon him the wrath of those who owned and controlled the mines and lumber forests. Many other corporations of different character were exposed for exceptional abuse of power over their employees, and, altogether, his activity and resource was destined to create a lively public opinion that would have, sooner or later, led to measures of relief that would very materially weaken the power of the oppressors.

It is one thing to get laws and another to have them enforced. We find labor organizations all over the land clamoring for laws, laws, nothing but laws; and when the laws are passed the offices created to carry them out are filled with hack politicians and wireworkers, and the laboring man still grinds his nose on the corporation grind-stone, because there is no one to see that the laws are enforced. Meriwether took the laws of Missouri, that lay mouldy with age, and accomplished more in six months than all the laws that have been put on the statute books of Indiana ever accomplished for the laboring people, and he was reaching out all the time for specific statutes touching special phases of corporate abuse. His bill to abolish the pay-check and "pluck-me-store" system and enforce the "weekly payment of wages in lawful money of the United States," had passed the lower House by a vote of 107 to 19, the farmers, who are very numerous in the popular branch of the Assembly, generally voting for it, and was pending in the Senate at the time of his removal by the Governor. It was after this bill passed the House that the corporation magnates became alarmed, and, acting in concert, sent a strong lobby to Jefferson City to defeat such legislation. These lobbyists appeared before the committee of the Senate, to argue the bills to death, with absolutely no one to interpose an objection, except Lee Meriwether. He was, however, a match for them, and would no doubt have secured the enactment of the laws he wanted, or compelled the Governor to veto them. The Governor was in a predicament. He had two or three irons heating at once and Meriwether wasn't the kind of a "helper" that he wanted, when the time for pounding should arrive. Report says that the Governor was very willing to placate the corporations by removing Meriwether. But corporations don't cast the vote of the State, as they used to, since the Australian election law went into effect, and David could not afford to offend the working men thus openly, because one of his irons is labeled U. S. Senator. On the other hand, it is stated that he and U. S. Hall, President of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of Missouri, had negotiated a sort of a reciprocal treaty, whereby they were to assist each other in man-

ipulating parties for mutual gain, the one to succeed Senator Francis Cockrell and the other to become Governor of Missouri. It was desirable that a man close to Hall should have control of the Labor Bureau. The Governor, therefore, desirous of placating the corporations of the State and at the same time securing the assistance of the President of the F. and L. U., concluded to appoint Hall's brother to succeed Meriwether. But some other pretext, beside political motives must be hit upon, and so all at once slanderous stories began to appear in the daily papers, together with the information that the Governor had sent for Meriwether and after a conference had determined to remove him and appoint Hall in his place. Hall was a deputy under Meriwether. The basis of the slanderous stories was simply that Meriwether had separated from his wife. This was the fact that was taken advantage of to depose and confound him, without danger (politically) to the huckstering politicians.

As soon as Meriwether was deposed, the bill before mentioned, after being amended to harmlessness, was defeated, and another bill substituted that actually legalizes the check system and "pluck-me-stores." The lobby had everything its own way. The St. Louis Republic protested and whimpered and stewed, but at no time said very much, and at all times defended the principleless schemer and demagogue politician, Francis. Two Senators stood on the floor and attacked the Republic vigorously, both of them notorious corporation agents and attorneys. The Republic did not return the fire, but meekly subsided, after a splutter and a splash. If the laboring men of Missouri let this bold and unscrupulous affront go by without administering a sound political chastisement to those responsible for it, they are undeserving of a loyal and honest representative, and what is worse, they will have much difficulty to find one, too, because such ungrateful forgetfulness only adds incentive to one's looking after No. 1, and letting the devil take the hindmost.

L. P. CUSTER.

THE PEOPLE SUPPORT MERIWETHER.

St. Louis, Mo., March 30.—The removal of Lee Meriwether, Commissioner of Labor, from office, has provoked general indignation throughout the State. The facts in the case, without going into details, are these: Mr. Meriwether (who, by the way, was a delegate to the National Single Tax Conference, and is one of our ablest men), relinquished a large salary to take the smaller one of Commissioner of Labor, feeling that here was a grand opportunity to champion the rights of the down-trodden. Not as an enthusiast but as an impartial, conscientious officer of the law, he investigated the condition of labor throughout the State, finding it especially deplorable in the mining and lumber regions, where not only the moral law but the State law was openly defied by certain corporations. These facts were reported in the daily papers and appeared in detail in the Commissioner's annual report. Mr. Meriwether also, in order to make the result of his investigation of practical benefit to the people, drew up and had introduced into the Legislature several bills which, if passed, would have effectually prevented continuation of the abuses complained of. For this Mr. Meriwether has been removed. Single-handed, as the people's representative, he was smothered, but not extinguished, by the corporations' representative, the all powerful lobby.

But protests have poured in from all parts of the State from labor unions, from the Farmers' Alliance and from meetings of citizens, such as was held here Sunday afternoon, March 15. Upon this occasion Mr. Meriwether was present in person, and after an eloquent address by him, Mr. W. W. Rose offered resolutions endorsing the weekly payment bill as originally drafted by Mr. Meriwether, and denouncing the action of the men who changed the bill so as to destroy all its good effects. The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Five short addresses followed, all made by active members of our Single Tax Club, among them Representative Julian. We are all Democrats, and as such we protest against the growing power of monopoly in State as well as Nation.

HENRY WARE ALLEN.

A REVOLUTION BACKWARDS.

St. Louis, Mo., March 24.—The Missouri Legislature yesterday passed a bill exempting from city taxation all lots of land containing forty acres or more within city limits. Here in St. Louis are many such.

The four Single Tax men in the Missouri Legislature will please explain.

HENRY S. CHASE, M. D.

FARMERS' JOURNALS AND SINGLE TAX.

R. G. Brown, Memphis, Tenn.—The newspaper articles in the Alliance press on the Single Tax have not yet lost their disturbing power. S. I. Davis, in the Journal of Agriculture of March 19th, turns loose his yawp as follows:

To extirpate poverty, to make wages what justice commands they should be, the full earnings of the laborer, we must, therefore, substitute for the individual ownership of land a common ownership. Nothing else will go to the cause of the evil—in nothing else is there the slightest hope. This, then, is the remedy for the unjust and unequal distribution of wealth apparent in civilization, and for all the evils which flow from it; we must make land common property. An equal divide is the remedy. Farmers, are you willing to take your city brothers in and make an equal divide? You have put your surplus earnings in land, they in whiskey; you have a home, they a red nose. Are you ready to divide? If not, why not? Yield up your homes and let all start even. Have we not proven positively by Henry George himself, that his Single Tax plan is to destroy individual property in land, and place the title in the Government? This done, he and his followers want an equal divide. Proof: "Progress and Poverty," pages 280 and 291.

* * * * *
How are you, Single Tax idea, and how do you do, Henry George? Won't you be a happy set when your Single Tax on land gives you an equal divide, in lots to suit? Then you honest, industrious fellows will get a home for a short time at any rate. Let us give the golden chain of fraternity another rub.

Perry County, Ill.

S. I. DAVIS.

Now, really, Brother Davis should not be so hard on us! One of the war cries of the farmer is, that the city men own all the wealth, and the tax assessments show all over the country that the value of city property is greater than country property; so that the farmers would gain by "an

equal divide." As to the "red nose," not knowing the complexion of Brother Davis' nose, I cannot say whether he would be improved by a dash of carmine or not. I judge, however, that he must be "red headed" enough to light up all his "deastrick." All his brethren are not so blind, I am happy to say, as the following letter shows:

INVALE, Neb., March 18, 1891.

R. G. BROWN, Memphis, Tenn.—DEAR SIR: Happening to see a communication in an agricultural journal on the Single Tax theory, and reading it to my Alliance, they requested me to write to you for pamphlets that would more fully explain the matter. Yours truly, O. R. PITNEY.

Another "farmer's journal," the Southern Merchant and Farmer, with a "circulation, March 14, of 25,763, and an actual number of readers of 100,000," as stated upon its letter head of that date, has undertaken to present to its readers the doctrine of Henry George. About March 1 the editor, E. H. Stout, one of the brightest of our young newspaper men, and one who has made his mark as a dramatic writer as well, requested me to prepare an article on the Single Tax for his paper, as it has a large circulation throughout the "Delta," where the Louisville, New Orleans and Texas Railroad Company has acquired title at tax sales to some 600,000 acres of the richest farming lands in Mississippi, which cost the company fifty cents an acre, and which it is now selling for an average price of \$8.21 an acre. I took advantage of this fine "object lesson" to direct the Delta farmers' attention to the relations existing between taxation and vacant lands. The preparation of the article was delayed by press of private business until the forms of the Merchant and Farmer were made up for the issue of March 14, but the attitude of the editor towards the Single Tax was shown by a note I received that day.

DEAR SIR: This is in grateful recognition of the receipt of your paper "Taxation and Land Values." I regret that it was not received earlier, as its tardiness necessitates having it unpublished until our next issue. The Merchant and Farmer contains an announcement this issue of the coming appearance of the article. *Being heartily in sympathy with the movement,* you may command our columns at any time.

The rural press is the point of attack for Single Tax men at the present time, in my opinion. The farmers are deeply in earnest in their study of social questions; they meet together every month and the articles in their weekly papers are discussed, not in a perfunctory way, but eagerly and anxiously, as by men seeking a way out of a most unpleasant and undesirable condition. If an article succeeds in awakening the interest of only one man in every dozen counties, the effort and time given to its preparation are not thrown away; that one man may become a Colonel Humphreys, and lead his whole Alliance to endorse the Single Tax, or he may be one of those pestilent fellows, the like of whom we have so many of in our ranks, who never can be convinced that he must keep his mouth shut and refrain from discussing social sins, simply because they are hoary with age and sanctioned by custom, "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." From conversations I have had with many influential men among the farmers, I know that our doctrine are spreading in the country, and that now is the time to press on with the work in the rural districts. The cities will take care of themselves—we can always depend upon our landlords to make themselves sufficiently obnoxious to keep before city men's eyes the iniquity of private ownership of land. Just now Memphis is suffering from an extra nauseous dose, and the Astors of this neck of the woods are catching it hot and heavy. The streets of this city are villainous, and a strong effort was made this Winter to get the Legislature to pass a bill authorizing Memphis to borrow \$1,000,000 for paving purposes. This was opposed by the Overton family, the various branches of which own a large amount of Memphis dirt. The Overtons came from Nashville, and the Nashville branch backed up the Memphis branch in their opposition to the bill which, to all appearance is dead, very dead, at the present writing. This has stirred up the wrath of some of our citizens, and indignant letters about "barons" and "the family," and "home rule," appear every day in the papers. I intend to take a hand in the shindig, and champion the right of "the family" to make all the profit out of Memphis dirt that our sapient law-givers and enlightened tax-assessors permit. Perhaps, during the discussion, some people may hear something drop.

R. G. BROWN.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Gov. D. R. Francis, Jefferson City, Mo., recently wrote, congratulating the Merchants' Bridge Co., of St. Louis, on the opening of their new bridge across the Mississippi, saying that it "will enhance the value of every foot of realty within the limits of St. Louis." We should ask the Governor if it would not tend to increase the prosperity of St. Louis if the personal property and improvements within her limits were exempted from taxation and taxes transferred to the values which attach to land by reason of the growth of population and public improvements.

We should at once write to the following Assemblymen of New York State, urging them to support the Stien bill for local option in taxation. Address them all at Albany, N. Y. The farther from Albany we are the more effective our letters are likely to be, as an Assemblyman is flattered to feel that the people of many States are interested in his actions. The following are all Democrats and hence should favor Home Rule. Names of remaining Democrats will be given next week: Hon. Edward Hawkins, John C. Jacobs, Patrick H. McCarren, Wm. L. Brown, J. F. Ahearn, G. F. Roach, Charles A. Stadler, J. A. Cantor, E. S. Ives, J. J. Luison, M. F. Collins, Norton Chase, Donald McNaughton, M. J. Nolan, G. R. Hitt, J. T. Gorman, R. P. Bash, Henry Davie, E. B. Osborne, W. F. Sheehan, M. Endres, H. H. Guentler, F. D. Smith, O. V. Sage, J. J. Cahill, B. J. McBride, John Cooney, J. J. O'Connor, John Kelly, W. E. Shields and Adam Schaaf. This bill will pass the present Legislature if we work for it as we should. With our cities once free to tax or exempt what property they please, we will have an easy task to insure the full adoption of our programme in some city.

42 University Place, New York.

W. J. ATKINSON.

NEW YORK.

The Board of Managers of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, at its meeting

held last Friday evening, appointed Messrs. Doblin and Post a committee to prepare a circular letter in anticipation of the adoption of the new amendments to the constitution at the coming meeting, to be sent to sympathizers with Free Trade, inviting them to become "associate members" of this club. The agitation committee reported what had been done by the committee sent to Albany to argue before the Taxation Committee of the Assembly in favor of the Stein bill [see full report elsewhere]; also, that 2,500 copies of Julien T. Davies' lecture on "The Abolition of the Taxation of Personal Property" had been printed and would be circulated where they would do the most good. The regular monthly meeting of the club will be held this (Wednesday) evening, it having been called a day ahead on account of the Free Trade men meeting, which is to be held at Cooper Union to-morrow evening. The arrangements are completed, except that a considerable number of volunteers are wanted to act as ushers and collectors.

The club business meeting will be more than usually important, for the final vote on the adoption of the amendments to the constitution will be taken. These amendments are to admit women to membership in the club, and to create a new class of members—"associates"—who are tending our way, but who are not yet prepared to accept the Single Tax. Both amendments are expected to pass, practically, unanimously.

In the absence of any announced lecturer last Sunday evening, Jerome O'Neill read "The Missing Link," a pamphlet on the social problem, written by F. P. Williams some ten years ago. An interesting discussion followed. On next Sunday evening Father Huntington will deliver the lecture.

Fred C. Keller—At the next meeting of the Metropolitan Single Tax Association, Saturday, April 4, 8 P. M., Mr. F. C. Keller will speak on "Taxation."

BROOKLYN.

G. W. Thompson.—An important feature of last Wednesday night's meeting of the Brooklyn Single Tax Club, was the reading by Miss Eva J. Turner, president of the Woman's Single Tax Club, of a paper showing the work done by the Club over which she presides.

On Wednesday evening next Mr. E. A. St. John, the famous all-round heavy-weight protectionist will favor us with a defense of "The McKinley Bill." When the lecture is over an opportunity will be given to visitors to try the muscles of their brain in overthrowing his arguments.

The Advance Labor Club, L. A. 1562, K. of L., will have a public meeting next Saturday night at their hall, corner of Court and State street, at which the Tariff question will be discussed. Mr. James Macgregor of New Jersey has been invited to advocate Free Trade and Single Tax, and Mr. E. A. Harsthor, of the American Protective Tariff League, for Protection to American Industries and Labor. All Single Tax men are invited to attend, a lively meeting is looked for and another Protectionist will be scalped in great style.

NEW YORK STATE.

A. B. Stoddard, West New Brighton, S. I.—We are few, but we will be on hand when the Presidential campaign opens. What but the Single Tax can avert the bloody revolution that is sure to sweep over this country. I hope great things for the "Primer of Political Economy," which I believe our great leader is now at work on. If it could only be illustrated by Bengough or Beard, or perhaps both, I believe it would educate the masses more rapidly than all our speakers and papers have done or can do it.

W. W. Wiles, New Brighton, S. I.—Fifteen petitions. It has been some time since you have heard from me, but I have been doing all I can to get signers to the petition. Some of this lot are of those who refused to sign two months ago.

H. G. Seaver, Flatbush.—I have recently lit upon a case of a whole town full of active business men, who are actually refusing to accept the fee simple of the lands they are now occupying, in place of the ground rents they are now paying and holding titles under, and they are claiming "compensation" if they are compelled to make the change! saying their regular taxes will be more than the ground rents. Did you ever hear of such a case! Some people would jump at such a chance in this country.

As it is, there are opponents of our land reform here who would claim "compensation" if the full rental value of their lands was taken for public purposes, I suppose, on the ground that "it is a poor rule that don't work both ways!"

CONNECTICUT.

Martin M. Coleman, New Haven.—Eight petitions. My circumstances are not just right to enable me to get very many of them. My health is not very good, and I have to keep at work every day in a great factory here, at piece work, and I hardly earn enough to give me a bare living. When I get done work in the evening I feel tired and unable to go around the city soliciting signatures to the petition. The shop I work in will shut down in a few days, and then I will have all my time on my hands for a short time.

PENNSYLVANIA.

"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr.—Sixteen petitions. The bill entitled: "An act to provide for the separate assessment of land values and exemption of improvements and personal property from taxation," received a black eye in the Legislature. It was negatively reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, which had charge of it. Of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means who had been asked to support the bill, the Hon. Ward R. Bliss answered, among other things saying: "I must frankly say that I cannot support the Single Tax bill. I have given considerable attention to the subject, and, while I have the greatest respect for the eminent men who have given their indorsement to that plan of taxation, I cannot see the matter as they do." It may be true that "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise," but to me it seems that before very long even our "protected" statesmen (?) will, for the sake of being allowed to march in and with the procession, cheerfully acknowledge: "*Humanum est errare!*"

DELAWARE.

Harold Sudell, New Castle.—Twelve petitions. I wish every single taxpayer would push this work—we ought to be able to flood Congress with them.

OHIO.

Buckthorn, Cincinnati.—Sixteen petitions. Some of the old signers are now at work circulating our literature. Perhaps these petitions will work their way yet into the hands of men who can give more time to them than I can.

P. J. Quay, Gallon.—Five petitions, secured while selling the ten cent edition of "Protection or Free Trade?"

IOWA.

H. L. Walton, Manchester.—While the protection delusion is melting into thin air the State over, this county, Delaware, is solid for the G. O. P. and will be among the last to understand what an enormous fooltax we are contributing towards the creation of millionaires and paupers. With the present forces in operations, flings at the Canaille and Lazaroni will soon be in horrid bad taste. The farmers here mainly still take their politics from the local press and politicians. A few of us, however, have seen the Cat in all its beauty and our members are slowly augmenting—but oh how slow when measured by the impatience of an enthusiastic Single Taxer. God speed the good work of the various organizations who are in a blind way trying to find a solution to the riddle of the Sphinx.

O. C. Rasch, Burlington.—Twenty-six petitions which I have obtained on my travels. One seldom finds a Protectionist nowadays who has the courage of his convictions. They are very unwilling to defend their notions in debate, and seem to have an intuitive feeling that they have been duped by the bold, bad men of their political party.

WISCONSIN.

A. P. Forsyth, Martell.—Six petitions. The Single Tax is gaining ground slowly but surely in this stronghold of Protection.

MISSOURI.

Percy Popoon, St. Louis.—The last meeting of the Single Tax League was addressed by Rev. Dr. Matthews, of St. John's M. E. Church and was largely attended. Dr. Matthews' talk was radical and aroused much enthusiasm. The next meeting at Bowman's Hall will be addressed by Judge E. F. Fellows. Judge Fellows has volunteered to organize and direct a house to house canvass of the city for the purpose of selling and distributing the Hand to Hand Club edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" W. J. Atkinson was here last week pushing this work. H. Martin Williams expects to start shortly on a lecture tour through Missouri. The Discussion Club, an organization composed of young men of all professions and occupations, which meets at the Bar Association's hall, discussed the Single Tax at the last meeting and, to the surprise of all, every member present declared himself in favor of raising all State and city revenues by taxing land values only, and in assigning members to handle the Tariff question, which is the next subject of discussion, it was discovered that but one Protectionist belonged to the club. All of which is decidedly significant, as many of these Free Traders have heretofore acted with the Republicans, and all are of good standing in business and society.

NEBRASKA.

Charles Stevenson, Omaha.—Thirty-six petitions, which will help a little towards making the second hundred thousand. The Single Tax movement is not dead in Omaha, but it seems impossible to keep up an organization.

OREGON.

F. M. Marquis, Grass Valley.—Nine petitions. Although isolated, it encourages me to see the marked gain the cause is making from month to month.

THE HAND-TO-HAND CLUB EDITION OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

Subscriptions are beginning to come in freely from those who have received their first copies. Whoever wants to win one of the twenty-five prize autograph copies will have to work for it. Arrangements have been made to fill all orders now as rapidly as they are received. Lists of parties who need books to distribute and of those to whom books can be profitably given are coming into us faster than subscriptions to supply them. We need about 200,000 books to cover the farmers and other lists that we now have. If you know of any Democrat who has any amount from ten cents to a thousand dollars, that he is willing to use to make Free Traders of Protectionists, don't fail to get it and send to us at once. The Chicago and St. Louis men have agreed to start a house-to-house canvass.

Mr. Fellows, who will start the work in St. Louis, proposes placing a small advertisement in the local papers for women canvassers, selling the books to them at ten cents per copy, supplying them with Tract Extra No. 39, to leave with all who don't subscribe at the first request, and instructing them as to where they shall go. He believes women will be better than men for this work, as they can sell at least ten copies per day at twenty-five cents each, netting them nine dollars a week, which will satisfy most women, but is hardly enough for a man. The St. Louis men will also try to see that every newsdealer in the city buys some copies and keeps them on sale. The margin is so much greater than is usual on a twenty five cent book that it is easy to get any newsdealer to buy at least ten copies. Tract No. 39 Extra is now ready and states the price of single copies at twenty-five cents, ten for one dollar, etc. These tracts will be supplied free, singly or by the thousand, and will also be mailed on request to any list of names sent us.

42 University Place, N. Y.

W. J. ATKINSON, Secretary.

THE HAND TO HAND CLUB OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

Miss Ida Hibbard, Roselle, N. J.—Enclosed find one dollar for ten copies "Protection or Free Trade?"

H. T. Wright, Lebanon, Mo.—Ten dollars and thirty cents for one hundred and three copies.

C. D. Blackhall, Buffalo, N. Y.—Enclosed find ten dollars for one hundred copies. I wish these to be placed to the order of W. E. Brokaw.

F. W. Carroll, Gravelly Springs, Ala.—Enclosed cash for seven more books. I am going in for my hundred names.

John J. Ford, Sioux City, Ia.—Cash for forty-one books.

Timothy Keefe, Roslindale, Boston, Mass.—Enclosed one dollar and seventy cents. These are a few dimes picked up among members of a trade union I belong to. I will place the books where they will do some good.

T. E. Grasby, Sec. Farmers' Alliance, McLemoresville, Tenn.—Find sixty cents for six copies. Hope to work up order for several hundred at the next County Meeting, May 21st.

Wm. H. Foley, Random Lake, Wis.—Send ten copies. One dollar enclosed. Will probably send you some more orders.

G. F. Stevens, Single Tax Society of Phila.—Enclosed thirty dollars for three hundred books.

J. C. Nace, Lithia, Va.—One dollar for ten books.

Chas. R. Swayze, New York.—Seven dollars for seventy books.

Benjamin Homer, Bartonville, Ill.—Two fifty for twenty-five copies.

Robert Tyson, Toronto, Can.—Please send fifty copies. Cash inclosed.

John Nicholson, Winchester, Cal.—I send ten dollars for one hundred books.

E. H. Jenkins, Rockland, Mass.—Enclosed find six dollars for sixty copies.

John W. Callaway, Leadville, Col.—Two dollars for twenty copies. Send me half dozen. Use the others to best advantage.

Reuben T. Landis, Robeson, Pa.—I herewith enclose one dollar for ten copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" This is only a starter; later I will send in many more.

John L. Murphy, So. Norwalk, Conn.—Send fifty copies. Enclosed check for five dollars.

C. S. Barlow, Barlow City, Ky.—One dollar for ten books. I hereby endorse the plan to educate the masses.

Walter S. Logan, New York.—Twenty-five dollars for two hundred and fifty copies.

J. F. Begert, Minneapolis.—Two dollars for twenty copies.

James Earnshaw, Dover, Ky.—One dollar and fifteen cents for fifty copies. I will distribute them as sample copies.

F. W. Irwin, Secretary Chicago Single Tax Club.—Please send one hundred additional copies. Enclose ten dollars.

John H. Hatfield, St. Louis, Mo.—Cash for seven books.

Sloughson Cooley, Chicago.—Cash for thirty copies. Cannot give much time as I should like, but hope to enlist the services of several who will.

John Black, South Chicago.—People here are clamoring for them. I sold my twelve copies in as many minutes. Book is in such compact form all read it through.

Please accompany all orders with the cash. Unless this is done, in handling tens of thousands of subscriptions there is eminent danger of errors, especially as our clerical force is very small. Arrangements have now been made so that all cash orders will be shipped immediately on receipt. We prefer checks or money orders, but can use one and two cent stamps for small amounts. After April 1st single copies will be twenty-five cents, but orders for ten or more copies will be filled at ten cents each. This we are compelled to do to protect the men who are making their living by selling the books at twenty-five cents each, while they are most effectively preaching effectively the gospel of Free Trade. As ten books will be sent, if desired, to ten different addresses for one dollar, you have only to get nine neighbors to join you, if you want the book for ten cents. Tract Extra No. 39, with price of single copies stated at twenty-five cents, subscription blanks, sample pages and press notices will be delivered free to any address, in any quantity. Don't forget that the twenty-five copies first printed will go as prizes to those sending in the largest lists of subscriptions to the 500,000.

42 University Place, New York.

W. J. ATKINSON, Secretary.

THE CHILDREN'S HERITAGE.

Christopher, in a South Australian Leaflet.

The Land! It is the watchword of those who hail afar
The rising of a juster world from things of wrong that are;
Yet still its coming lingers, and still we watch and wait—
And to many an heir his heritage will only come too late.

Too late to lighten the aged eyes that soon in the grave must close—
Too late for many a steadfast heart that has battled a life of woes—
Too late for the starving mother and the haggard, careworn wife—
But oh! not too late for the children that stand on the threshold of life.

The children of to-day—the men and women that are to be!
To swell the hosts of honest folks, or the hosts of infamy;
To rise on the waves of thrift and toil, or to drift on the darker tide;
To live in their lives a hell on earth, or to know the Christ who died.

It is not too late to give to them the share of the bounteous earth
That should come to the rich and poor alike with the hour that sees their birth;

It is not too late to bid them live the life that their Maker planned,
When he scattered his blessings broadcast o'er a wide and smiling land.

Now we know full well that to him who waits the right will come at last,
And the perfect day will waken when the darkest night is passed;
The dawn is long in breaking, but the hope of our hearts is strong—
God in his mercy grant us that we need not wait too long.

HIS WAY.

Puck.

McKinley—I know a sure way of settling the quarrel over the sealing privileges.

Blaine—Well?

McKinley—Raise the duty on silk plushes about 5,000 per cent.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Levens, Secretary of the National Committee, at No. 42 University place, New York.)

ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., S. Byron Welcome, 523 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1056 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Hodgkins.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society, room 9, 841 Market street. Pres., L. M. Manzer; cor. sec., Thomas Watson, 841 Market street.

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 303 16th st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., H. C. Kiles, 303 16th st.

CONNECTICUT.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Meets first and third Mondays of each month at 8 p. m. Pres., Geo. W. Kree; sec., Frank L. Beardon.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 150 A st., n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newburgh, 64 Deftrees st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Goddes, 1719 G st., n. w.

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, GA.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Deeth; sec., J. Henley Smith, 12 W. Alabama st.

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific Hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 388 Hudson av.; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 235.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. John Black, sec., box 512, S. Chicago.

SPRINGFIELD.—Springfield single tax committee. Pres., John Malinwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

PEORIA.—Peoria single tax club. Meetings Monday evenings. Pres., Jas. W. Hill, 304 Madison avenue; sec., Jas. W. Avery.

QUINCY.—Quincy single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 8th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec. Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Thos. J. Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Krane. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., Mason Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts., room 12.

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 195 South 3d st.; sec., H. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 305 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur Benson, 920 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolf; sec., W. W. Daniel, 803 Franklin st.

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 336 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunlap; sec., W. G. Andrews, P. O. Box 703.

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m., in hall 308 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; sec. sec., J. W. Bond, 38 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 522 Columbia st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m., at G. A. R. Hall, 416 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec., Emily T. Turner, 6 Cambridge st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

HAVENHILL.—Haverhill single tax league. Meets every Thursday evening, at 73 Merrimac st. Pres., Geo. W. Pettengill; cor. sec., Edward E. Collum, 4 Green st.

HAZEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 199 Tremont st.

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st court, Neponset.

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac single tax assembly. Pres., Andrew R. Curtis; sec., Wm. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac street.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 30 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 269 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., Oliver T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

ST. PAUL.—Single tax club. Pres., H. C. McCarty; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 739 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman; sec., Percy Pepon, 3507 Easton av., St. L.

HERMANS.—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Charles E. Reid; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307 1/2 Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Public meetings first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's Hall, 11th and Locust sts. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble st.

Benton School of Social Science. Meets every Saturday evening at 6839 Waldemar avenue. Pres., Henry S. Chase; sec., W. C. Little.

NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hamm; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Felton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Federal sts. Pres., Aaron Hand; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 530 Line st.

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

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 642 Newark av. Pres., Jas. McGregor; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 323 Grand st.

PLAINFIELD.—Single tax club. Pres., John L. Anderson; sec., J. H. McCullough, 7 Pond place.

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

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

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

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

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, 73 Lexington av.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Stearns.

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings; club house, 198 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., Robert Baker; cor. sec. G. W. Thompson, 9 St. Marks av.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays, 198 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres., Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Mrs. Robert Baker, 634 Greene av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 408 Evergreen av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Meetings first and third Mondays, 224 Broadway. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 123 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 253 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pettenkofer, 253 Evergreen av.

ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday, 7:30 p. m., Beaver Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres., F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

BUFFALO.—Tax Reform Club. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., T. M. Crowe, 777 Elk st.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minchaw, 50 West Main st.

LOKO ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwabenberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

TAOS.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martin, 576 River st.

WEST NEW BRUNSWICK.—Richmond County single tax club. Sec., A. B. Doddard.

NORTH DAKOTA.

HATTON.—Hatton single tax reform club. Pres., A. S. Foralld; sec., T. E. Nelson; treas., M. F. Hegge.

OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Court, 227 Main st. (near P. O.). Pres., Jos. L. Schraer; sec., Dr. David De Beck, 139 W. 9th st.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 303 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Slemon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

GALLON.—Gallon single tax club. Every Monday evening, residence of P. J. Snay, 103 South Union st. Pres., P. J. Snay; sec., Maud E. Snay.

HEMLOCK.—Single tax club. Pres., D. P. Sweeney; sec., James G. Hayden.

MIAMISBURG.—Miamisburg single tax club. Pres., H. M. Scott; sec., J. T. Beals.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 13 Public sq.

ZANESVILLE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. H. Longheed; sec., Wm. Quigley.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club. Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3:30 p. m.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec. E. D. Burleigh, 13 Willow av.

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia, every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 210 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7:30, 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec. Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

POTTSTOWN.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weitzenkorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring road and Clymer st.

RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.—Pawtucket single tax association. Pres., John McCaffery; sec., Matthew Curran, 61 Main st.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten, Watertown.

BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres. T. T. Vrenne; sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres. Jno. B. Hanten; sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S. Menken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

TEXAS.

EL PASO.—Single tax club. Meetings every Saturday evening, 200 1/2 El Paso st. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec. and treas. M. W. Stanton; cor. sec., G. H. Higgins.

HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7:30, Franklin st. Pres., E. P. Alsbury; sec., E. W. Brown.

WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURG.—Parkersburg single tax league. Meetings every Saturday evening, at 500 Market st.; Pres., W. H. Curry; sec., W. F. Thayer.

WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—Milwaukee single tax league. Pres., L. B. Benton; sec. treas., Martin Johnson.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one

source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share, through free exchanges, in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on anyone who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave everyone free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or on a 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 over production 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.

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

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all Throat and Lung Affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints. Having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, and desiring to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge to all who wish it this recipe in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail, by addressing, with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. NOYES, 300 Powers' Block, Rochester, N. Y.

HANDY BINDERS.

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WE HAVE established an agency that aims primarily to give to any person, who desires it, all the advantage of a friendly or business correspondent in New York City.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

IN THIS, the largest American city, can be found excellent libraries, numerous art galleries, and a vast mass of information easily accessible to any one knowing where to look for it. It is our purpose to open up this information to all who have occasion to use it from time to time. We will simply send to the proper place, and obtain information about any subject of general interest that our correspondent seeks.

MERCHANDISE, PRICES, ETC.

ANYTHING that money will buy can be bought in New York. The range is from beads for savages to the finest work of art; from a stuffed titmouse to a live Bengal tiger; from a cabbage garden to a royal domain. This is the great centre of traffic, not only in ordinary merchandise but in the curious odds and ends of commerce; and it is our purpose to answer promptly all inquiries as to prices, as to where things can be found, and as to whether there is any market for things that our correspondents want to sell. Where information furnished by us leads to an order for goods we will attend to filling the order if requested to do so.

ADDRESSES, TIME TABLES, ETC.

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