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PERSONAL.

EDITORIAL.

Those who read with the care that they deserved the series of articles by Sarah Millin Gay, recently printed in THE STANDARD, cannot have failed to note the many resemblances between the movement that William Lloyd Garrison led for the abolition of negro slavery and the present movement, initiated by Henry George, for the abolition of industrial slavery. Each movement owed its initial impetus to the clear vision, the religious enthusiasm and the unshakable determination of a single man. Both had seemingly insignificant beginnings; and the progress of each was marked by violent denunciation and bitter persecution. Both started simply as agitations, without the thought or hope of immediate practical results, and both sought success through peaceable means. Nor does the parallel end here. So far as the single tax movement has thus far gone, there is a curious similarity between its progress and that of the abolition movement, up to the time that the latter entered on the stage that led with such unexpected rapidity to the attainment of its object—the overthrow of negro slavery. If events shall prove that the progress of the new emancipation movement has been more swift, that can partly be accounted for by the improved means of communication, and also by the fact that the earlier struggle made ours one people, quick to feel any impulse communicated to any of its parts.

William Lloyd Garrison was a non-resistant in principle, and he did nothing to bring his plans within the range of political action. His refusal to do so was the cause of the differences that grew up in time between him and those who sought to accomplish their ends by the use of their voting power. The dispute between these two wings still furnishes a subject for controversy, but it is idle to prolong it. It cannot be doubted, however, that it was the preaching of Garrison and his school that awakened the conscience of those who desired to do something practical, and who blamed the Garrisonians for refusing to enter into their plans.

One thing is certain, and that is that when the policy of agitation had at last so far awakened the northern conscience as to call the republican party into existence, Mr. Garrison was quick to see and declare that that party "embodied the whole political anti-slavery sentiment of the country—the legitimate product of the moral agitation of the subject," and that its success would be a cheering sign of the times; and four years later, when Lincoln was a candidate, Garrison declared that his hope was in the republican party, not as it then stood, but in what it must inevitably become. It was a similar consideration of manifest tendencies that led Henry George to lend his earnest support to the first timid step the democratic party took toward free trade, when it committed itself to mere tariff reduction. Small as the step was, it has already forced in this country an economic discussion as wide spread, though not so fierce and frantic, as the political discussion that followed the nomination of Lincoln.

But numerous as are the resemblances, there is one broad and fundamental difference as to methods between the battle for the abolition of negro slavery and

that for the abolition of industrial slavery. Mr. Garrison indicated the cause of this difference when, speaking of the toiling masses, after the emancipation of the negroes, he asked:

What outside power is subjecting them to wrongs and deprivations which call in thunder tones for another emancipation crusade? What inside power is comparable to their own collective will and unquestionable strength? What new safeguards for their freedom, safety and happiness do they need, that they have not the means to establish?

The old abolition movement was a call by freemen to other freemen to join in emancipating a race of slaves. The appeal was not to the slaves to rise in insurrection, but to the conscience of the dominant race, which was asked to cease oppressing the negro. Until the conscience of man was thus aroused, any thought of effective political action was absurd. Mr. Garrison saw this, and he applied the hot and blistering truth to the torpid conscience of the northern people without mercy, and refused to countenance palliatives that enabled men to ease their tortured consciences by the mere appearance of action. Furthermore, he formulated no plan that promised the freeing of the slaves by direct action. He doubtless regarded that as impossible, and so he demanded that the northern people should cease to share the guilt of enslaving the negroes, and withdraw from all political partnership and association with the slave-holding states. As an effort to accomplish a practical result this plan was manifestly not one that sought the line of least resistance, but the boldness of the demand was admirably designed to startle the indifferent north into thought, by proving that the dough-face policy of compromise promised no permanent security to the threatened institution. When the march of events proved that in the preservation of the Union, rather than in its disruption, lay the hope of abolishing slavery, Mr. Garrison was, as we have seen, quick to note the change and to declare his hope for the success of the party that aimed immediately at scotching the snake rather than at killing it.

The boldness with which Henry George challenged the right of private ownership in land, and the frankness with which he declared his ultimate purpose of taking for the public use as nearly the whole rental value of land as could be obtained by any practical scheme of assessment and collection, startled those interested in the continuance of oppression as greatly as Garrison's demand for abolition, even at the cost of disunion, startled the slave holders and their allies. Such a course was necessary in order that men might be compelled to think on fundamental principles, and it did unquestionably awaken conscience and thought, while calling forth bitter denunciation and opposition. That discussion must go on until the common right of the people of every country to the land of that country shall be recognized by the enactment of a law that shall practically take the whole of economic rent for public use and then remit all the taxes on the products of labor that now check enterprise and clog industry.

But to Mr. George and his friends and associates the opportunity for direct action came sooner than it could have come to the early abolitionists. The men whom we seek to emancipate, already have the ballot. They help forge

the shackles that bind them, and they can break those shackles by their own votes when they see how to do it. From time to time they have in some blind fashion made the attempt. On one of these occasions they asked Mr. George to lead them, and he consented to do so, if the land question were made the issue. The result was a campaign that challenged the attention of the world and shook the very citadels of monopoly and plutocracy. Could the fight have been carried forward on these lines, no man can say what proportions it might by this time have assumed, or what successes it might have won. The "inside power" that Mr. Garrison, in his quoted remarks, fails to realize, began at once the work of disintegration. That power is ignorance and its weapons are envy, suspicion, selfish ambition and conceit. Many men who followed Mr. George in the splendid forward rush of 1886 did not take the trouble to understand the principles they had accepted as their own. Among them were the socialists who deliberately sought to divert the movement from its declared principles, and, to use their own phraseology, to capture and exploit it. Next came those labor leaders who shut their ears to all considerations of principle, and who merely urge workingmen to "get together" and unite in maintaining a class interest, instead of establishing justice for all. These men are the Bourbons of the labor movement, who understood nothing about the movement of 1886, beyond the fact that it threatened their own supremacy, and they joined the expelled socialists in defeating it next year. They succeeded; and they thus closed up that road to freedom. This was manifest at the close of the campaign of 1887, and honest and intelligent men who had entered the united labor party on principle left it on principle. The responsibility for its destruction is on the heads of those who have turned so many labor organizations into bear gardens that real workingmen have quitted in disgust.

It is as true to-day as it was in 1886, that the wage worker will profit most by the establishment of the single tax, and it is, unhappily, almost as true to-day as it was in 1887, that blind and incompetent leaders are luring many workingmen away from the path of their real interest. Happily, at the very time these professed friends of the workingmen were destroying the united labor party, there was in the White house a man clear sighted enough to see, and brave enough to declare, that the monstrous tariff taxes that have at once burdened and fooled the workingmen and all other producers must be cut down. Thus a new and broader way to freedom was opened. Tariff reduction leads to free trade, and free trade necessitates direct taxation. The single tax is the only form of direct taxation that any people will voluntarily submit to. Mr. George did not hesitate to seize the new opportunity, and the result is that, already, we are where the Garrisonians found themselves, after thirty years of struggle, at the beginning of the first Lincoln campaign, and indications are not wanting that the conditions may force as rapid and complete an overthrow of the protective system as came to the slave system through the election of Lincoln, on a platform that proposed merely to stop the further spread of slavery.

Had the abolitionists who demanded the dissolution of the Union, as the shortest and most effective road to the overthrow of slavery, gone to the help of the slave holders when the latter sought to dissolve the Union, as a means of perpetuating slavery, they would have betrayed their cause for the sake of maintaining an appearance of consistency. Had Henry George consented to shut his eyes to all that was involved in Grover Cleveland's tariff reform message he would have been guilty of similar narrowness and treachery. To him the opportunity to link his efforts to a mighty movement in the right direction came earlier than it came to Garrison, and it came earlier, not merely because we move more swiftly now than we did a half century ago, but because this emancipation movement appeals not only to the oppressor to cease his oppression, but to the oppressed to make of his vote a veritable hammer of Thor to break down the barriers that shut him out from his heritage.

Yet because to the single tax man of to-day has come earlier the opportunity to attend to that great practical work which corresponds to the putting regiments in the field from 1861 to 1864, some of the descendants of the old abolitionists declare that their fathers fought for a principle while we fight for a policy. Happily the William Lloyd Garrison of to-day has moved forward with his times and is no pensioner on his father's work for his reputation. He knows how densely ignorant of the scope and purpose of the single tax are those who make such a comparison.

What did the abolitionists seek? Was it not to break the power that some men held by law to compel others to render them unrequited toil? Was it not to take from some men the power that the law gave them to brutalize other men by blows and degrade women to the position of breeding animals? What do we propose? Is it not to take from men the power that has been given them by law to monopolize nature's gifts to this people—a power that enables them to gradually force all workers, white or black, male or female, to surrender to the owners of natural resources every product of their toil, beyond that which is necessary to enable them to exist and reproduce? Is this slavery, which uses hunger for its bloodhound and cold for its lash, which enslaves educated men and drives sensitive women to lives of shame, any less cruel than negro slavery? Is a system that encourages the employer to get all he can out of a laborer in the shortest possible time, and then throw him aside to starve or beg, any less cruel than that which made it usually to the master's interest to preserve the health of his slave? We might run the comparison on indefinitely, and show how much vaster is the number of the victims of industrial slavery, but we should merely waste our time and space, for the trouble with those we are answering is lack of sympathy or incapacity to comprehend the wrongs and sufferings of those near them—the commonplace and unpicturesque industrial slaves of to-day.

In chapter 2, book VI of "Progress and Poverty" Henry George says:

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 modern civilization, and for all the evils which flow from it. We must make land common property.

If the sons and daughters of the heroes of the abolition movement do not understand why this is so, the fault is theirs, and they owe it to their lineage to set

about finding out. When they have found out they will also agree with Mr. George when, in chapter 2, book VIII, he declares that:

We should satisfy the law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvements.

Understanding so much, they will see that he does not depart in the least from his purpose, or sacrifice one jot or tittle of principle when explaining the practical method of attaining the object he seeks, he says:

But such a plan, though perfectly feasible, does not seem to be the best. Or rather I propose to accomplish the same thing in a simpler, easier, and quieter way, than that of formally confiscating all the land and formally letting it out to the highest bidders. To do that would involve a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought—which is to be avoided. To do that would involve a needless extension of governmental machinery—which is to be avoided.

It is an axiom of statesmanship, which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon—that great changes can best be brought about under old forms. We, who would free men, should heed the same truth. It is the natural method. When nature would make a higher type, she takes a lower one and develops it. This also is the law of social growth. Let us work by it. With the current we may glide fast and far. Against it, it is hard pulling and slow progress.

Let the individuals who now hold it, still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call their land. Let them continue to call it their land. Let them buy and sell and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.

We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all. What I, therefore, propose, as the simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence, purify government and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is to appropriate rent by taxation.

Now, inasmuch as the taxation of rent, or land values, must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes, we may put the proposition into practical form by proposing—to abolish all taxation save that upon land values.

Here is the clear declaration of object and the succinct statement of the plan by which that object is to be achieved. Why the taking of ground rent for public use will "raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty" and "give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it," it is not necessary to state in an article like this. Those who essay to criticize our principles must first familiarize themselves with them.

These extracts show that there has been no abandonment of object and no change of methods. We insist to-day on our whole demand as strenuously as we did when we sought to enforce it by direct political action. That effort proved futile and threatened to become worse than futile. Then came from one of the great parties a measure proposing a reduction of an onerous tax on consumption. Remembering that the "taxation of rent, or land values, must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes," we proposed to help the democratic party abolish the tariff taxes. This may be policy, but it is sound policy—the kind by which reforms are achieved and principles established. The only men who effectively assist in putting great principles into practice are those who follow just such a policy, and miss no opportunities. There is a stage in every great reform when the enunciation of principles and the assailing of evils is the principal work to be done. Unhappily, there is a class of people who like this part of the work so well, and who are so little adapted to anything else, that when the real busi-

ness begins they find their avocation gone. These are the people who scorn policy. William Lloyd Garrison was not of their number, for when the time for action came, peace man and non-resistent though he was, he stood aside and awaited the destruction that the upholders of slavery had invoked, taking up the work of enlarging the battle-bought freedom of the negro as soon as the war was at an end.

Mr. George foresaw the method when he proclaimed the remedy. He has never known the shadow of turning. He proclaimed the truth when that was all that could be done. He sought success through direct action when there was the appearance of hope in that direction. He sought success by other means when the effort at direct political action was necessarily abandoned. We are fighting the one battle all the time, no matter who may be our allies or our opponents, and the men and women who understand our objects and embrace our principles should rejoice that a high purpose has brought the quick intelligence that causes the single tax men to adopt and apply the only policy that promises the speedy and inevitable success of our principles.

The Cincinnati Commercial Gazette is hardly the paper to which one would look for enlightened views on the subject of taxation, but it seems that its bias in favor of the robber tariff does not entirely cloud its vision in looking at questions of state taxation. In a recent issue, after commenting on a decision which subjected to taxation certain bonds that had been legally exempted, the Commercial Gazette says:

Finally, the lesson of this whole bad, wretched business, this business of losses, annoyances and surprises—the lesson is that taxes should be imposed on things tangible, and not on things intangible. Levy taxes on real estate and not on bonds or stocks.

We congratulate our friends in Ohio on this forward step by one of its leading papers, and we hope that they will do all in their power to bring about the abolition of all local taxes save those on land and buildings. When this is accomplished it will be an easy matter to take the next step and have buildings exempted.

Mr. C. B. Hemingway of Washington has hit upon an admirable plan for securing a discussion of the single tax doctrine. It will be seen from an article printed in our single tax news that Mr. Hemingway offers a prize of \$100 to the newspaper that publishes the best editorial or contributed article, showing how and why farmers' interests are adversely affected by the existing system of taxation and how they will be benefited by abolishing such system and raising all money needed for public purposes by a single tax on the value of land, exclusive of improvements. Such an offer ought to stimulate single tax men all over the country to renewed activity, and assist in opening a way for them to the columns of numerous newspapers. We look for good results from Mr. Hemingway's liberality.

Under the heading "The Free Trade Fight" will be found an article entitled "Who Robs the Farmer?" which demonstrates the widespread dissatisfaction and distress existing in agricultural communities in all parts of the country. The official statement by the New York state assessors showing that the price of land has fallen enormously in all agricultural districts while it has risen in the cities and towns, goes to show the result of the existing system of taxation. The burden of indirect taxation is crushing the farmer. Though it must necessarily fall on all classes of producers, it does encourage some manufactures, by enabling those conducting them to obtain undue profits,

and it tends to increase land values in cities by attracting labor toward certain stimulated industries, while it offers no compensating advantage whatever to the farmer. The condition of affairs in the west is no better, but the fact that throughout the state of New York the farming industry is becoming from year to year less profitable is an absolutely conclusive answer to the protectionist talk about the advantage of a home market. Some startling illustrations of the direct injury wrought by the tariff on the wool growing industry in this state are given by Mr. Post in a letter printed in the same department of THE STANDARD.

In their annual report to the legislature the state assessors declared that the personal property in this state liable to taxation is fully equal in value to the real estate assessment, but that notwithstanding real estate pays more than ninety per cent of the taxes. This is as complete a confession of absolute failure as could be put into language, and yet these assessors, and the officials of this state generally, persist in attempting the impossible, and think that thereby they are showing some sort of wisdom. It is here, in the city of New York, and in the other large cities, that the failure to obtain any adequate assessment of personal property is most complete. Out in the country districts the task is a comparatively easy one. You cannot hide hay and cattle and vehicles, and so they do not escape the eye of the assessor. Nevertheless, it is these countrymen that the politicians seek to conciliate by keeping up their clamor for taxing personal property, while they declaim against the escape of the rich from bearing their fair share of the public burdens. If such people by any possibility could be compelled to stop talking about taxation long enough to think about it for five consecutive minutes, they would understand that the more wealth you pour into New York city the greater will become the annual value of its lands, and that if all taxes of this state were assessed on land values, the cities would bear their fair proportion of such taxation, while the burden on the poverty stricken farmers would be proportionately lightened.

The McKinley tariff bill has finally been presented to the full ways and means committee. Almost from beginning to end it is an appeal to the farmer, based upon the impudent assumption that he is too ignorant to know when he is being robbed. Hides, long on the free list, and of tremendous importance to thousands of manufacturers, are placed under a duty of 15 per cent. Aluminum, the metal from which so much is expected in the arts, is made dutiable at 35 per cent. The eggs of domestic fowls are placed under a duty of 5 cents a dozen, a step evidently intended to persuade the farmer that he is the object of the tariff's benevolent consideration. Pocket cutlery is raised from 50 per cent to from 12 cents to \$2 per dozen and 50 per cent besides. There is a reduction of 50 per cent on timber. Wool is scheduled at from 3¢ to 12 cents per pound, a considerable increase in some varieties. The duties on carpets are increased and there is a bounty on silk. The sugar schedule shows reductions varying from 40 to 46 per cent. Barley is placed at 30 cents a bushel; buckwheat, 15 cents; oatmeal, 1 cent a pound; rice, 2 cents; butter, 5 cents per pound; cheese, 6 cents per pound; hay, \$1 per ton, double the present duty; cabbages, 3 cents a head. The steel rail duty is reduced from \$17.50 to \$13.40 per ton, and the tin plate duty is made 1 cent per pound until July 1, 1891; after that at from 17-20 to 23-20. The duty on apples, oranges, lemons and limes is sharply in-

creased. The whole measure is in line with the republican idea of conciliating those who must be conciliated, neglecting those who may be safely neglected, and taxing everybody for the benefit of a few manufacturers. Incidentally it reduces the revenue about \$45,000,000 a year.

THE STANDARD is not in the habit of wearying its readers with the compliments paid it by correspondents and by other newspapers, but for the encouragement of those who have been sending out recruit subscriptions, we make the following extract from a letter from West Somerville, Mass.:

I never saw a copy of THE STANDARD until this week, when a friend sent me the last issue. I was never more pleasantly surprised in my life. I had believed that the paper was devoted altogether to what is called "Henry George's pet hobby—the single tax." Not knowing anything about the single tax I felt little or no interest in the paper, but having received a copy I began skimming over its contents. I discovered, to my surprise, that it was a repository of news, literature and philosophy. I read with delight the castigation given to Professor Huxley, and devoured with relish "Partophobia and Partisanship," while "Farm, Stock and Home Once More" gave me an inkling of the modus operandi of the single tax. I am going to study the question. Mr. E. J. Shriver's article is very instructive; and, in short, the paper is a treasury.

Our correspondent is somewhat enthusiastic, but his letter goes to show the wisdom of sending the paper to those who are apparently utterly indifferent to the single tax. The range of topics covered by THE STANDARD is likely to attract the attention of such people, and, having been thus attracted, they take in the single tax without much hesitation. The recruit subscriptions afford the most convenient means for bringing THE STANDARD to the attention of outsiders.

"Justice the Object—Taxation the Means," is the title of the tract containing a full report of Henry George's recent speech at Metropolitan hall, San Francisco. It is No. 35 of the Single tax library, and contains eight pages. It will be found advertised in the regular list under the title given above.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Governor Hill has vetoed the Saxton ballot reform bill. He bases his action on his pretended belief in the unconstitutionality of the measure. He attempts to use the trick by which he sought to drag the court of appeals into politics, as a means for putting on the majority of the legislature the responsibility for the failure of a reform which he admits the people almost unanimously demand. If Governor Hill could not have found one pretext for his action he would have invented another, and no one is required to take his pettifogging message seriously. He is opposed to true ballot reform, which necessarily includes the exclusively official ballot, because, politically, he himself is the product of machine politics, and is unwilling to strike a blow at the system that created him.

Immediately after the reception of the veto a bill was introduced in the senate that proposes to submit the question of ballot reform to the direct vote by the people of this state at the next election. Mr. Cantor, a Tammany democrat, promptly interposed objections to the speedy passage of such a bill. There is, however, no doubt that it will pass both houses and become the leading issue in the next state election, provided Governor Hill does not also veto it. We doubt if he dare do so.

The question for the people of this state, and particularly for the people of this city, is the old historic one, "What are you going to do about it?" Here there seems to be but one possible answer. The only organized political agency that has supported Governor Hill in

his determined opposition to the will of the people has been Tammany hall. Governor Hill does not come before the people of this state for judgment on his acts this year. Tammany hall does come before the people of this city. The governor and Tammany hall are inextricably bound together as the representatives of machine government and opponents of ballot reform. The people of New York city can, if they will, strike at Tammany a crushing blow that will pass beyond it and discredit the governor before the people of the whole state. We believe they are ready to do so. How shall we go about it? That is the question of the hour.

GOVERNOR HILL'S SCANDALOUS PROPOSAL.

The attempt by Governor Hill to cajole the legislature into lending color to his pretended doubts as to the constitutionality of the Saxton bill has failed to deceive the public, and his trick will not relieve him from the consequences of his third refusal to sign the bill, now that its provisions have been altered to meet all of his objections except that to the exclusive official ballot.

Now that all who have given any attention to the matter understand that an unofficial opinion given by the judges as individuals would have no binding force, and would not even prevent these same judges from rendering a different opinion, officially, after a real case had been duly argued, the foolishness of the governor's proposition becomes apparent to those who were for a moment disposed to look upon it as a fair one.

The worst feature about the whole thing was Governor Hill's attempt to involve the court of appeals in a partisan conflict. It is due to Governor Hill, and to the folly of his obedient followers in the legislature, that the question of ballot reform has taken on a partisan character, but the governor openly intimates that it is a partisan question and that it will be so regarded by the court of appeals. He says, in proposing that the question shall be submitted to the judges of both divisions, that "the two divisions of the court of appeals represent opposite political sentiments." The very mention of this fact indicates that the governor expected, or at least hoped for, a division of the judges on party lines. Such a division would be a scandal and would seriously weaken popular respect for the court of last resort. The suggestion comes with special ill grace from Governor Hill, since he appointed the judges of one division, and evidently bases his hope of a partisan division on the belief that his own appointees will back up his own opinion on the question at issue. Unhappily, there is nothing in Governor Hill's own character to give assurance that he had not assured himself of some such result before he ever made his proposal to the legislature.

Whether he did so or not, his open allusion to the opposing political sentiments of the two divisions of the court of appeals shows what was in his mind, and this makes his proposal one of the most scandalous acts of his disgraceful political career.

TEMPERANCE NO REMEDY.

Mr. George W. Myer of Chicago, whose letter we print elsewhere, is the secretary of a temperance organization there and an earnest advocate of total abstinence. He seems, like some others, to have utterly misapprehended the meaning of Father Huntington's statement commented on in THE STANDARD. No single tax man, much less Father Huntington, could possibly desire the increase of drunkenness, any more than he could desire the increase of disease or the inauguration of deadly wars. On the other hand, looking at the subject on

economic grounds alone, and considering the steady tendency of wages to a minimum in all countries where land monopoly is permitted, it is a fact beyond all question that a large increase in the number of workers, whether brought about by immigration, by birth or by the reform of the drunken and vicious, would force down wages and throw many men now active out of work. It is not any question as to whether we want this to be true; it is simply an economic fact.

Mr. Myer says in his letter that total abstinence advocates may, like other propagandists, claim too much as the result of the adoption of their cherished principles. We have no disposition to question the good results to be achieved by temperance, and certainly a priest like Father Huntington would not dream of questioning such results. On the other hand, however, Father Huntington sees plainly that making men temperate will not increase wages, but will, on the contrary, diminish them, and when he is discussing political economy he is bound to state that fact. What our correspondent says about turning the capital now engaged in the saloon business into other channels gives no promise of relief. He, himself, admits that speculating in city lots gives even larger returns than the liquor trade, and if the whole people were suddenly to become prosperous through the destruction of the liquor trade and the making of all men temperate, the men who now sell liquor would only have to put their money in city lots to reap the lion's share of that increased prosperity, while failing to render any service whatever in return for it.

Is it not possible that so intelligent a correspondent as Mr. Myer can see that when the single tax men say that temperance, however good in itself, is not a remedy for the evils that are dragging the American people down into poverty, that they do not thereby intend to discredit the virtue of temperance, but to show that even that virtue can afford no relief for the wrongs wrought by existing economic conditions.

A PROPOSAL TO ABOLISH TAXES.

The Real Estate Record and Guide declares that there should be and there would be no taxes if the city were in receipt of payments from corporations commensurate with the great value of franchises and privileges granted them. It says if such payments were made there would be no necessity for maintaining a bureau for the collection of taxes on real and personal estate. In proof of its assertion, the Record and Guide says that at the end of last year the total mileage of gas pipes laid in the streets of this city was over 1,288. Of these, 112 miles were laid by the Equitable gaslight company and the remaining 1,116 miles by six other companies. The Equitable began laying its mains in 1883 and is required by the terms of its franchise to pay into the city treasury twenty cents for each lineal foot of mains laid. This payment now amounts to \$118,940. The other companies do not pay a penny to the city for the valuable privilege that they enjoy. Despite the wise provision made in the case of the Equitable, the Standard gas company was permitted to begin laying mains in 1886, and now has over 110 miles of pipes, paying the city nothing whatever for the privilege. The Record and Guide insists that if the gas, heating, horse car, electric light and other companies were made to pay into the city treasury proper taxes the revenue derived would be sufficient to meet municipal expenses and do away with the collection of all other taxes.

THE STANDARD cannot attempt to say how far the Record and Guide is right.

We hope that our contemporary will take the trouble to go carefully into the figures. The principle of the single tax demands that all individuals who enjoy a privilege granted to them through the use of public powers, and all enjoying a right to the use of property belonging to the whole people, shall pay into the public treasury annually an amount equivalent to the value of the privilege that such individuals or corporations enjoy. We claim that the privilege of the monopoly of land by an individual should thus be taxed, but we shall rejoice if the Record and Guide can bring the people who do not yet understand the land question into an assertion of the rights of the community to be compensated for the use of the public streets for personal profit.

We presume that the Record and Guide does not agree with THE STANDARD'S principles concerning a tax on land values. We hope, however, it will seriously consider these questions: If its own plan could be made practical, and all taxes on real estate be abolished, who would get the benefit of the exemption? Would it be the mass of the people in New York, or the owners of the land in the city limits? Would the exemption of the land owners from taxation tend to bring land now held vacant into use? Would it lower rents?

AN AGRICULTURAL ANARCHIST.

Farm and Fireside, printed at Philadelphia, is an agricultural paper, which thinks that the farmers will be particularly burdened by the establishment of the single tax. It declares that under such a system one of two things must result: "Either the users of land must pay all taxes, or the users of the products of land must pay taxes indirectly through the increased prices of those products." Farm and Fireside is right in its first proposition. The users of land must pay all taxes. What our contemporary does not understand is that they pay such taxes now, either in the form of an annual rental to the landlord or in the shape of purchase price, which usually involves the annual payment of interest. The single tax proposal is that the taxes thus paid to private individuals shall henceforth be directly paid to the state or community, and that all other taxes shall be abolished.

Farm and Fireside is mistaken, however, in assuming that the single tax would increase the prices that consumers pay for agricultural products. Since the farmers now pay ground rent, either annually or through a purchase price on land, they will pay no more under the new system, and would have no occasion to increase their price even if such an increase were practicable. Farm and Fireside surely knows that the latter is not the case, since the prices of farm products are in the main regulated by the prices received for such products in the free trade market of the world.

If our contemporary will take the trouble to really study and understand the single tax proposition, and will then bring its own knowledge to bear, it cannot fail to see that the levying of all taxes on land values will decrease the farmer's share of the total public burden. It certainly cannot fail to know that in whatever part of the United States it circulates, the mere land value of farms has stood still or decreased, while the land values in cities and in mining districts have enormously advanced. It must also know that enormous fortunes have been made by speculators through this increase in the value of city and mining lands, while the farmers of the country have been becoming relatively poorer from year to year. A basis of taxation that compels the owners of city and mining land to pay taxes in proportion to the

value of natural opportunities they hold, and only requires farmers to pay for the less valuable opportunities held by themselves, exempting their buildings, barns, ditches, drainage and other improvements from assessment, must obviously lessen the burden now borne by the agriculturist.

Farm and Fireside is fair enough to copy an article from THE STANDARD before making its comments, but in another issue of the paper it unfortunately loses its temper, denounces the single tax proposition as one to take the land away from private owners without compensation, and declares that "when the land owners understand that, single tax cannot be established in this country without a revolution." We suspect that the land owners of America, like all other citizens, will submit without a fight to the enforcement of any law that has been duly passed with the consent of a majority of the people. If any of them entertain such an idea as our contemporary attributes to them they had better begin organizing their rebellion at once, because they are so rapidly diminishing in numbers that their chances of success will decrease from year to year. We repeat, however, that we do not imagine that they contemplate rebellion, and we are surprised that an agricultural paper printed in the Quaker city should adopt the tone of the Chicago anarchists.

ALARM IN TENNESSEE'S CAPITAL.

Despite the intelligent understanding of the single tax doctrine in Memphis, it seems to be a terrible bugaboo in the Tennessee capital. Mr. J. W. Davis, in a letter to the Nashville American, is manifestly in a state of alarm, similar to that which frequently prevailed when the simpler form of industrial slavery existed in the south. Mr. Davis says:

If I understand Mr. George, he is no crank or visionary theorist any more than Mr. Lincoln, Seward, Wendell Phillips, Garrett Smith, Sumner & Co. were when they began to preach and teach their abolition doctrine to the north. And who will say that they were not an honest set? And they kept up their honest devilment until they drenched our fair southland with blood, murdered our best men, impoverished our women and children, sent many of them to the wash tub and our old men to untimely graves. No, you and friend Frost are mistaken about the following of Mr. George. Don't you know the plebeian antipathy to the landlord?

This is charming. The little thrust at the plebeian has the true flavor of the old time denunciation of the mudsills, and makes the parallel almost perfect. Let us hope for equal similitude in results—barring the blood and washtubs. Mr. George is as practical as Lincoln, as enthusiastic as Garrison, as eloquent as Phillips and as determined as Sumner in emancipating the white men of both north and south from the remaining form of industrial slavery. The men who still lament the overthrow of negro slavery are right in looking on the new movement for freedom with alarm—provided they are profiting by the existing condition. They ought to make sure of this fact so as to avoid the folly of the "poor whites" in Lee's army, who fought nearly four years and then discovered that the whole trouble was about "property and niggers," of which they owned neither, and that it was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

The scare is evidently having practical results. At a regular meeting the Una alliance, a branch of the "National farmers' alliance and industrial union," has passed a set of resolutions declaring that the Davidson county union proposes to support the national organization "in spite of its unnatural action in St. Louis," and therefore Una alliance withdraws from the county union and returns its charter. The resolutions are accompanied by a statement published in the

Nashville American, which begins as follows:

In November last the Knights of Labor held a convention in Atlanta and adopted a platform demanding the virtual confiscation of every man's land. The language of their demand is that the taxes on all land shall be equal to the whole unearned increment. The simple meaning of such a demand is that every man owning land shall be required to pay to the government as rent, under the name of taxes, all profit accruing to him from such ownership. Such a course on the part of the government would be confiscation, pure and simple. Shortly after the promulgation of this platform the National union met in St. Louis and Powderly, the leader of the knights, attended that meeting and asked for a conference. To our great surprise and mortification the National union received with a perfect ovation this man who had just aided in making this platform of confiscation. In the language of the Toiler, the official organ of our state union, when Powderly entered the hall, "Cheer after cheer went up from the body." "Our farmers," members of the National union, "fell in love with Powderly." The president of the National union held a secret conference with him, and as a result the National union formed a confederation with the Knights of Labor and agreed to co-operate with them in electing men to legislative and congressional offices and in securing legislation.

The paper goes on at great length, protesting that the eligibility clause of the constitution of the alliance has been so altered as to permit mechanics to become members, and suggesting that negro members of the Knights of Labor may be brought into contact with the farmers. The gist of the whole complaint, however, lies in the paragraph quoted, in which the purpose of the resolution adopted by the knights is clearly stated and bitterly animadverted upon.

The Una alliance appears to be something of a kid glove organization, and it will be well for working farmers in the south to take note of the fact that these protestors themselves admit that the course proposed by the knights will only take from the land owner the profits accruing to him from ownership. This is, of course, a serious matter to men who hold land that other men work, the owners drawing their income from it in the shape of rent or interest on mortgages. But if the working farmer will look closely into the question he will see that the alliance has in no way threatened his interests by coalition with the knights. Let him find what bare land, exclusive of improvements, is worth in his own neighborhood, and then ascertain its value in Nashville, Memphis and in the mining districts, and figure out for himself whether his taxes will be increased or diminished by making land values the sole basis of state and local taxation. Having worked out this problem, let him next think what the effect on the working farmer would be if national taxes were so distributed as to fall on land values alone, he paying his proportion on bare land worth probably from \$10 to \$40 an acre, and men in New York paying it on land that sold at auction in open market recently for nearly \$8,000,000 an acre. When the working farmer becomes also the thinking farmer he will see nothing to alarm him in a proposal to make the values of bare land the only basis of taxation.

THE BOYCOTT AN EVOLUTION FROM THE STRIKE.

In my introductory letter, I asserted that the working masses learned more regarding their natural rights during the time when our labor organizations were strongest, and when the workers met weekly to discuss questions of wages, than during the same time before or since, and I drew the conclusion that it was therefore to the interest of all political reformers—and especially single taxers—to inquire why the labor organizations failed to hold together, and if successful in locating the cause of failure, I said it would be our interest and our duty to assist in removing the difficulty and to encourage reorganization on a sounder basis.

Venturing upon that inquiry led to the conclusion that the methods in use by

labor organization were inadequate to even defend its present position against any well planned assault by organized capital, and that the workers having had proof after proof of that fact, had grown apathetic or discouraged.

The inquiry developed the conclusion that the only recognized methods of defense upon which the organizations could fall back in time of trouble were the strike and boycott, and that they were the only active means to be relied upon to secure any advance in the face of any determined opposition.

Noting that the daily press was in the habit of denouncing the strike and boycott as barbarous, but always failed to suggest better methods in their place, I mentioned the accompanying reproach that even we political reformers had never offered any more appropriate substitute than some political measure.

Emphasizing the statement that single taxers and labor reformers were engaged in two distinct fields of reform, and that the methods applicable in one field were out of place in the other, I suggested that as no single taxer would think of using an industrial method like the strike or boycott to advance our political reform, so no labor organization, however sound politically, could be expected to accept a political measure as a substitute for the industrial methods now in use in the industrial field.

That brought us to the consideration of a practical substitute for the strike and boycott, designed for the use of labor organizations in their peculiar line of reform. An improvement on the old methods, but like them intended especially to assist the organizations in securing less hours and advanced wages, as well as in clearing the way to higher aims. The main thing expected in the new method was not that it be more popular, but that it be more effective.

We have ascertained that the boycott was but an improved strike, a natural evolution from an older form. We have seen that it is a strike by the worker as a consumer at the place of consumption, instead of as a producer at the point of production. A strike in the markets instead of at the manufactory.

As the boycott easily found favor with the organizations as an improved and powerful substitute for or assistance to the old method, it seems reasonable that a like evolution from the boycott and a similar improvement upon it would be more liable to secure swift and general adoption by the same organizations than some entirely different method.

In "Progress and Poverty" Mr. George reminds us that "it is an axiom of statesmanship which the successful founders of tyranny have understood and acted upon that great changes can best be brought about under old forms."

He adds that "it is the natural method," and "when nature would make a higher type she takes a lower one and develops it." This is probably as wise a hint to industrial as to political reformers, and I follow that hint in submitting a method, which, I claim, is a natural evolution from the boycott. That, while retaining all that characterized the boycott as an improvement, it "discards the tail," or the characteristic of the strike, which still clings to that method.

While the boycott, in being aimed at unfair employers and unfair products, is still a strike it is an improvement in that it changes the place where the blow is delivered, and also because it is an attempt to organize and use the greatest industrial power that the workers have, viz., their power as consumers. This power this method proposes to organize and use in the same place—that is, in the markets. But it proposes powerful, positive and constructive use of that power, instead of using it negatively and destructively as in the boycott. Instead of a loose attempt to gather some of the tremendous energy latent in the consuming power of the workers for the purpose of hurling it at unfair concerns with destructive intent, it proposes a systematic organization of the whole of that energy for the purpose of using it positively and directly toward the sustenance of fair

concerns, thereby giving powerful encouragement to all employers who prefer to pay fair wages for fair service. It proposes to stimulate production instead of attempting to stop it. Instead of tearing down it proposes to build up.

This is the difference then between using this important power negatively, as in the boycott, or positively as in the method herein proposed, and it is quite a difference, as I may endeavor to show at a future time.

A word here as to the strength of the power which we thus propose to use. Every man is a consumer, whether he is working or not. Even the tramp must eat and be clothed. Then the man out of work to-day is the worker of to-morrow. There is a constant interchange of position between individuals in the army of workers and the army of the unemployed. The man out of work and dependent this week may have a job, and an option as a purchaser next week. If then we can show the worker that a discreet use of that option will help him to a job when idle, and keep him at work when he gets a job, he will have a powerful self-interest in using that discretion, especially if it costs him nothing. In the struggles, so often referred to as the contest of stomachs against dollars, the weakness of the stomach is always the chief guarantee of victory to the dollar. But the stomach has a power as well as a weakness. It employs the dollar, by consuming its product. Let that consuming power of the stomach be intelligently organized and at once the busiest, most productive and most profitable dollar will be that preferred by that organization.

The natural power of a thousand workmen to consume any necessary product, when compared with that of the shrewdest millionaire, is a thousand to one. A thousand workmen eat a thousand times as much as the ordinary millionaire. They wear a thousand hats, a thousand pairs of shoes and a thousand suits where he can comfortably wear but one.

In a word, the consuming power of the workers makes and regulates the demand for all production. It supports our commerce and the trade of our merchants, and is the market upon which the capitalist depends for his profits and the worker for his wages. Every producing capitalist, therefore, has a vital self-interest in sustaining and increasing that power, whether he realizes it or not. He is either directly or indirectly interested, because anything that impairs that power reduces his market. This method proposes first to organize that power, then to direct it, then to increase it.

But it is upon the self-interest of the workers themselves that this method relies for success, and that ought to be a reliable motive power. Instead of deferring the success of labor organization to that much talked of time when selfishness can be eliminated therefrom, it proposes to utilize existing self-interest by harnessing it to the work and making it turn the wheel.

This method also rests upon the common sense theory that the majority of employers, like the majority of wage workers, are at heart fair men who would rather pay fair wages, run fair hours and see their employes live as civilized beings than not; but they are compelled, by the competition of the unfair few, to do as they do or give up their markets and go out of business. It proposes a plan whereby the workers may be enabled to join hands with these fair employers, and daily vote in the markets for the survival and prosperity of all fair concerns. It recognizes the workers as the chief consumers, and the consumers as the ultimate employers of all labor, and it therefore renounces the inconsistency which enables organized workers to ask employing capitalists to give preference to organized labor when the actual members of labor organization exercise no such preference when they themselves employ labor in their capacity as consumers. It proposes that the organizations practice this preference themselves before asking outsiders to do it. It forsakes the foolishness which asks manufacturers and

merchants to produce or handle goods for which there is no demand, and realizing that it is the demand which governs the supply, it provides for first creating a reliable and general demand for the products of fair labor, and then asking fair capitalists to employ it.

Now, how shall we touch and awaken this self-interest which is to set this great industrial power at work?

JAMES BARTLEY.

Amsterdam, N. Y.

ALBERT TOUBEAU'S WORKS.

The death of Albert Toubreau will be felt as a calamity by every agrarian reformer. He was secretary of the "International congress for the agrarian and social reform," held at the Hotel Continental on the 10th and 11th of last June. He was then about fifty-two years old. French and foreign members readily agreed to call Toubreau to the bureau as secretary. A unanimous vote on his name was but natural; he was known by all as the author of many important works and essays on the agrarian question. These publications form a rather voluminous collection, which ought to be placed in the hands of English readers.

His first book was published in Paris in 1880, under the title, "Metrical Repartition of Taxes." This word "metrical"—that is, measure of the surface of the land—reveals the whole of his system. In fact, his object is to have a single tax imposed on the surface of the land, instead of these multifarious imposts—so-called indirect—that are directly levied on the wants of the taxpayer. He formulates thus his idea on the very first page of his work.

"By the means of the moderate quota of twenty-five francs for an hectare—about two and a half acres—France may abolish town dues (in French, *octroi*), duties on drinks and sugar, personal duties, tax on doors and windows, land tax.

"Large unproductive estates are free from taxes under the vain pretence that they have no value, while they remain unproductive only because they pay no taxes.

"Experience proves that all occupied grounds, even the worst ones, may be ameliorated, put in good condition, intensively cultivated and used for profitable ends.

"The more the metrical quota rises, the more productive will be the land.

"Experience proves that, properly speaking, there are neither good nor bad lands, but only good or bad land owners—so much the man is worth, so much the land.

"Therefore, the land must not be taxed according to the use that is made of it, but in proportion with the space that it occupies.

"This simple novation will bring forth effects diametrically opposed to those of the present system of taxation."

The idea of that "simple novation," as Toubreau modestly says, was not easy to arrive at. Our deceased friend had to study for long years, not only in public libraries, but in the world at large, in fields and workshops, before he could write that formula—"single tax on the surface of the land."

In him, heart and mind were in perfect harmony; thought had to follow the generous inspiration of natural kindness. Being born in Mous, Belgium, in a bourgeois family, he had studied law and spent his first years in the office of a notary. Mous is the center of that "Borain" country—Borinage—that is full with coal mines. In all countries miners are real martyrs of our so called civilization, but nowhere they could be more miserable than in the Borinage. In his notary office Toubreau's business was specially to deal with the capitalists. Witness of the cupidity, harshness, cruel iniquity and monstrous egotism of the masters and of the mental, moral and physical depression of the men, he revolted at what he saw and began ardently to look for the remedy for social evils.

The first system he studied was that of

*La Repartition metrique des impots, par Albert Toubreau. Paris Librairie Guillaumin, 14 Rue Richelieu.

Collins. Having soon after met his countrymen, Agathon de Potter and Dr. Cesar de Paepe, he became a collectivist. But his desire for justice and liberty did not find complete satisfaction in collectivism, and he continued seeking elsewhere for the solution of the problem.

As he was engaged in this eager research, he found an opportunity of selling his interest in the notary's office in which he had worked so long as clerk, and availed himself of the leisure that was insured to him by a moderate income to devote the whole of his time to study. He went to London, shut himself up in the British museum's immense library and gathered every information he could draw from books on social questions. Then he came to Paris, and, after long meditations, he began to write his first book. As you have seen by the conclusions that I have just translated, his main conception is a single tax. But in France another fiscal reform had preceded him on this ground of an "impot unique." Menier had already published many books and pamphlets to recommend the abolition of all indirect taxes and the raising of a single tax on capital.

The originality of Toubreau lies in his having placed his "unitax" on land. In consequence, the argument of his book bears, above all, on agriculture, and shows by well chosen quotations from many economists and agriculturists the present state of the French land as compared with what that land might produce under his system of single tax, when estates now unproductive in consequence of their quasi exemption from taxes will be cultivated.

His second book, published also in 1880, has the same general title, "Metrical Repartition of Taxes," but its special object is indicated by a sub-title—that is, "Raising of Population." As he had first shown that the effect of our bad taxation is the sterility of a great part of our land, he proves, in this second volume, that the exonerated of large, uncultivated estates is the cause of the diminution of our population—diminution that is the unavoidable result of the comparative scarcity of subsistence. The argument is decisive: If exemption from taxes is, for our great landowners, an inducement to unproduction, a tax levied on the whole surface of the land will force them to cultivate their ground, in order to be able to pay that tax. The result will be an immense increase of agricultural production and a considerable decrease of the prices of food—condition very favorable to an augmentation of population. This consideration leads Toubreau to oppugn the pernicious views of Malthus on population. He shows that the very basis of the Malthusian system is false. It is not true that population—according to natural laws—must grow more rapidly than subsistence. The error of Malthus was, in saying so, to argue from facts ill observed. He disposed of very incomplete statistics and knew nothing of agriculture. Thus he was led to disregard the most important law of nature, that of restitution.

Unfortunately this law, now familiar to agriculturists, is still unknown to the economists. They do not know that nature presents a circle, of which man and land are the essential and inseparable links. In our pseudo society that circle is broken; man fancies that he can continually draw his subsistence from mother earth without returning anything to her. However, it would be but just to return to the land, under the form of manure at least, an equivalent for what we have taken from it under the form of crop. We do exactly the reverse. We part man from land as completely as we can. We collect large multitudes of men on a few square miles of ground, and leave the rest of the land to comparative desert. As to the parts that we cultivate they are almost deprived of inhabitants; on them we replace men by cattle. So we draw from those fields large quantities of food that will never be returned to them, as they are sent to distant cities, where they will be consumed without the least chance that any particle of them be restored to the soil.

The sterility of the land is but the merited punishment of that violation of the most imperative of nature's laws. Malthus saw that sterility without discovering its cause, and gave us as a natural law the result of our so-called social order, based on the violation of that very law. Had Malthus been acquainted with China and its wonderful agriculture, he would have never written his blasphemous formula. He would have had before him the living refutation of his disheartening theory, a country which sees its subsistence increase in the same proportion as its population grows. But, as Toubreau has shown in all his works, our so-called western civilization knows yet nothing of the ties that attach man to land. He proves in an essay published in 1882 in the "Philosophie Positive" the existence of an "agricultural proletarian class." He states—with official returns in his hands—that "the nine-tenths of the French land are out of the hands of the peasant who cultivates and works; three-quarters of the French peasants are excluded from any ownership of the very land which they fertilize and bathe with the sweat of their brow."

He adds: "Thus is destroyed the opinion generally admitted that, since 1789, the French peasant constantly buys land and becomes proprietor of his instrument of production. In fact, a quarter only of our agricultural workmen own their field of production, and the total surface of small properties is but the tenth part of the whole surface of the arable land of France. * * * Out of fifty millions of hectares, the peasant who cultivates his own property possesses only four millions."

About fifty years ago Pierre Leroux, in his book on "Plutocracy, or Government of the Wealthy," had revealed in France the existence of no less than eighteen millions of "agricultural proletarians," viz., men deprived of any revenue sufficient for their subsistence and obliged, to live, to work for the land owners. These beings, unrooted from the soil, are in fact real proletarians. Pierre Leroux's book attacked too directly the kings of capital to be allowed to arrive at anything like publicity. After the *coup d'etat* of the 2d of December, 1851, the book and its author underwent a common exile. But fortunately Albert Toubreau, young and animated by the same love of justice that inspired the old philosopher, had undertaken the same task, and collected such a mass of evidence that he has been able to place out of all discussion the facts that the philosopher of Boussac could only consider from a general point of view. Out of the masterly sketch left by Leroux, Toubreau succeeded in making a grand and solid work that defies time and critique. He must be considered as the first writer who described fully and with the precision of a geometer the social disease—the divorce of man and land—and indicated the only remedy to it—single tax on the surface of the soil.

Toubreau's writings remind me of his conversations. It was Eugene Simon who introduced him to me toward the end of 1879. We were all three engaged studying fiscal reforms. Simon had spent ten years in China, and, having observed there the happy results of the raising of the single tax upon the soil, he recommended that fiscal system to French reformers. Toubreau, who had arrived at the same conception by his own meditations, was delighted to learn that an immense empire owed its prosperity to the application of his scheme. I was prepared to adopt a tax upon land by the depressing misery of which I had been at once witness and victim in Paris. As soon as I had been informed that Pierre Leroux had founded in Boussac—the smallest sub-prefecture of France—an agricultural and industrial colony (1845-1851), I had rejoined there several of my friends already members of that association. We were cultivators and printers. Our object was to create centers of production, offering to the starv-

*Le Proletariat Agricole, par Albert Toubreau, public par la Philosophie Positive, revue dirigee par MM. Ch. Robin et Wyruboff, Juillet-aout, 1882, Paris.

ing people of our large cities the means of living by their labor and their presence upon the soil. We taught a new agriculture, the secret of which was the return to the natural circle—what Pierre Leroux called *circulus*—or law of restitution, as Liebig named it a few years after. In fact our culture had some Chinese features, as you see; it would have succeeded without the assistance of the capitalists and politicians. It was but natural that I should feel inclined to adopt a Chinese taxation, having been for long years acquainted with a Chinese mode of agriculture. Simon, Toubreau and I agreed to propagate the idea of a single tax upon the surface of the land. With that view we had regular meetings. In the spring of 1881 we had the great pleasure to listen to a lecture delivered by one of our friends who had lived in London. He gave us a *resume* of "Progress and Poverty." I cannot say how happy we were to be told that Mr. George had conceived the same idea and given to it the immense force of logic, authorities and irresistible facts. Unfortunately we had then no French translation of a book so powerful for our propaganda. In France, on account of the ignorance of the people and of the mighty influence of capitalists and landlords, it is a very hard task to publish anything relating to agrarian reform. In spite of such difficulties Toubreau prepared different essays that were published afterwards in the "Philosophie Positive." In the same time Simon was preparing his book "La Cite Chinoise," that was published in 1885. This book met with success; it has been translated into Russian and English. Toubreau's works are not popular; learned men only appreciate them. He did not like noise or humbug; content to serve a just cause, he went on working and writing unceasingly.

On the 15th of January last, nineteen days before his death, he wrote to me an excellent letter in which he says: "May we, on our side, be able to take part in the great mental elaboration that alone will triumph over prejudices and iniquities." A few lines further he adds: "It is likely that in the first days of February I shall begin my lectures on social economy. If that plan comes to execution, I shall easily find one or two evenings to speak of the *Circulus*, of Pierre Leroux and his disciples. I would consider myself fortunate were I to meet only some attentive and faithful hearers. * * * Our friend Simon is also at work writing his new work, 'The French City.'"

This letter reveals the whole character of this eminent and good man. In this same month of January he received his certificate of naturalization as a Frenchman. Toubreau had married a daughter of Mr. Caubet, French publicist and staunch republican. He leaves a son, about eight years old.

You see what a great and cruel blow the death of Toubreau is for his friends and for the cause of agrarian reform. Simon writes to me that the widow has just communicated to him numerous manuscripts and notes left by her husband, and that he will endeavor to publish them.

The works of our departed friend must survive him. It is the duty of his friends and of all the agrarian reformers to collect them and to make them known to the public. AUGUSTE DESMOULINS. Paris, March 1.

THE WAR CLOUD IN EUROPE.

Some STANDARD readers may remember that about one and a half years ago it gave publicity to an invitation issued by the Peace society of Lombardy (Italy) for memoirs on the causes which have prevented and which still prevent a firm and lasting peace in Europe—the memoirs to be in French or Italian and sent in to the secretary of the society at Milan by the 31st of December, 1888. A large number of memoirs were contributed in answer to this invitation, many of them by some of the foremost scientists and men of letters of Europe and one by an American citizen whose name is well known among the advocates of the single

tax, and the judges have just issued their report.

Eight memoirs were selected as of special merit, including one by Dr. Montague R. Levenson, at present (in his sixty-first year) studying medicine in the university of Virginia.

Dr. Levenson claimed as the primary cause, or as he terms it, 'The Cause of causes,' the ignorance of the masses which enabled the few to dominate the many, to establish caste and class privileges and especially the privilege of monopolizing the forces of nature, and that therefore education was the only effectual remedy, which must not fail to include economic and legislative science to be effectual, the education which should teach to read and write being of little use except as supplying the tools by which those sciences might be acquired.

Striking as these positions must have done at life long prejudices of the judges, they were unable to ignore the superior merit of Dr. Levenson's memoir. Setting aside these theories as not germane to the subject, they adopted with enthusiasm Dr. Levenson's project for an international tribunal, which he put forward only as a temporary means of keeping the peace while the slow process of national education should be in progress among the peoples.

The judges did not restrain their approval of this project until their report was made, but permitted its main features to be embodied in the report of the peace congress held in Rome in May, 1889. In his memoir Dr. Levenson ascribes to his study of the science of legislation the power of formulating the project of this tribunal, the eminently practical character of which impressed so strongly the minds of the judges as to overcome all the prejudices excited by the other portions of his memoir.

To an American belongs the honor of formulating the first practical scheme for a permanent international tribunal of arbitration ever devised. It is within the power of congress and of the administration to secure to the United States the honor of proposing its adoption to the other nations of the world.

LINCOLN AND LABOR.

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER—THE GREAT PRESIDENT'S IDEAS CONCERNING LABOR AND CAPITAL—LAND ABUNDANT THIRTY YEARS AGO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31.—Just before he left for New England, a few weeks ago, I happened to stroll into the congressional library with Mr. James E. Mills, of California. We walked about the once spacious hall, now overcrowded with its six hundred and fifty thousand volumes, until Mr. Mills asked to see the Congressional Globe, and turning to President Lincoln's first annual message to the congress of the United States, dated December 3, 1861, pointed out to me the following remarkable passage, which, he said, had, at the time it was issued, impressed him so forcibly that the memory of it had stayed with him through the long years which have since intervened. The passage reads:

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the right of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgement of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers, except the legislative, boldly advocated, with labored arguments, to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position, I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital—that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall hire laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or buy them, and drive them to it without their consent. Having thus proceeded so far it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either hired laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed; nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had first not existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to another class—neither work for others nor have others work for them. In most of the southern states a majority of the whole people, of all colors, are neither slaves nor masters, while in the northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families—wives, sons and daughters—work for themselves, on their farms, in their houses and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers nor slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital—that is, they labor with their own hands, and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not, of necessity, any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition of life. Many independent men everywhere in these states, a few years back in their lives, were hired laborers. The prudent penniless beginner in the world, laboring for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system, which opens the way to all—gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress, and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught that they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.

Is it singular that the foregoing impressed itself on Mr. Mills's mind? Is it not rather to be questioned why it is not generally remembered? As the eye passes rapidly along the mind is busy with questions: How came it at such a time and in such a place that there should appear a didactical discourse, having apparently no relation to the mighty business of the war in hand; what was the process by which Abraham Lincoln arrived at these wonderfully clear and simple views of cardinal principles underlying social progress; why did this portion of the message elicit so little comment and discussion; how came it since to be so completely forgotten?

Mr. Lincoln had been not ten months in the presidency. He had at once to undertake the gigantic task of putting down the rebellion. While he could not but choose to use the force of arms against the seceded states, he had first to try other means to prevent the border states from withdrawing from the Union and joining in the insurrection. He must, besides, organize armies and build and man a navy. He must avoid foreign complications. He must press along, despite the suspicion cast upon the loyalty of many of those upon whom he had to impose much confidence and responsibility—despite the fact that the Union forces had not yet done ought to lift the cloud of doubt and apprehension that came with the news of the disaster at Bull Run. Yet, notwithstanding the pressure of all these great matters to harry him, President Lincoln, in this remarkable message, after briefly reviewing the events of the preceding few months, expressing expectations for the future, and recommending for consideration divers matters and measures, deliberately turned aside to deliver a homily upon the relations of labor and capital.

And they were not idle words falling upon dull ears, or thoughts of some reflective hours so far in advance of his time as not to be generally appreciated. It was a political maxim which Mr. Lincoln adopted early in his career to keep along even with the humor of the people, to as truly as possible give expression to their thoughts and act upon their wishes, but not to go in advance of them. He saw clearly that the war involved more than a question of secession—that natural rights were at stake. What roused him was the attitude of southern extremists who were trying to make themselves and others believe that the relations of capital and labor should be the relations of master and slave, there wanting not southern divines to declare in support of this that the white workingmen of the north were tending toward and must inevitably sink under an

industrial slavery far more grinding and heartless than was ever suffered by the black chattel slaves of the south.

Now when Lincoln wrote, the assumption that all laborers were either hired laborers or slaves was false, as it would be false if it were uttered to-day. As he answered, in most of the southern states a majority of the whole people of all colors were neither slaves nor masters, while in the northern a large majority were neither hirers nor hired. The mass of men worked, with their families, for themselves on their farms, in their houses or shops, without the aid of outside capital or labor. And though the independent majority is rapidly lessening, this relation continues to prevail to-day.

Lincoln was born in 1809, when the nation was still very young. It had but begun to push out over a great virgin continent, and, carried along by the restless disposition of his people, Lincoln moved westward with the pioneers. As late as 1862 he described the great natural advantages of this part of the country and the splendid opportunities it presented. In his second annual message to congress, while considering another matter, he said:

The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Minnesota and the territories of Dakota, Nebraska and part of Colorado, already has above ten millions of people, and will have fifty millions within fifty years, if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United States—certainly more than one million of square miles. Once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five millions of people.

In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from statistics the small proportion of the region which has, as yet, been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented.

Of land there was plenty for all and to spare, in Lincoln's time. Each might have a share, and yet the broad prairie lay beyond. Uncle Sam was "rich enough to give us all a farm." So that no man had aught to ask of another and felt no concern for the future. Be the settlement ever so rude, yet from the age of a stripling could he earn an independent living, without fear or favor. It was but following the natural order of things that he should at first work under an experienced and older man, until such a time, as through his application and thrift, he should be enabled to set up for himself. And a third stage came when he hired those who were beginning. This, to use Lincoln's words, was the "just and generous system, which opened the way to all—giving hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement to all." And under these conditions grew up, lived their allotted term, and dropped off into the eternal sleep, many frank, honest, manly, clear-minded, commonsensical Abraham Lincolns, having an abiding faith in the rule of the people, and trusting to the logic of events with the confidence that it was something synonymous with the will of God.

Mr. James E. Mills says: "I remember well when every blacksmith, tin-man, shoemaker, tailor, baker, hatter and farmer, expected to own and manage his own shop or farm before he had passed out of young manhood. We used to rake for the 'hired man' to mow; or wipe dishes which the 'hired girl' or 'help' washed; we ate and drank at the same table, we sat with them at the same fireside and talked with them as equals; and well we might, for they might become employers before we (boys and girls) would. How completely our writers ignore all this and affect the language of European conditions, as though the farm laborers and mechanics were really employees here universally as in Europe."

This describes the normal condition of things when Lincoln wrote. It was no fanciful picture he drew, but a very familiar one, and it, therefore, excited little comment, just as to-day it would arouse no criticism to say, what is generally accepted to be true, that considering her material advancement, and aside from the question of justice, the abolition of slavery has proved an expedient thing for the south. The principles Lincoln stated were currently recognized, though lacking definiteness in the general mind. Take as instances the three representative daily newspapers—the New York Tribune, the New York Herald and the New York Times. Only the Tribune made any editorial reference whatever to that portion of the message we are considering, and even that paper passed it over with the matter of course

remark, that "he (President Lincoln) very properly lays stress on the truth that the southern rebellion is a war upon the proper dignity of labor and upon the political franchise of the poor; he strongly deprecates such a retrograde as the leading rebels clearly contemplate toward the dark ages, wherein despotism and aristocracy ruled the masses with a rod of iron."

As time advanced the more abstract portion of the message was forgotten and the long struggle of the war and the line of events which closely followed it drew general attention from the great social changes which were occurring throughout the republic. Uncle Sam was no longer "rich enough to give us all a farm." All the available land was gone. It had been squandered in the most prodigal manner. The once well-nigh boundless public domain was all fenced in. So that the newcomer had to pay another a price before he could go upon a piece of land. It soon came to pass that it could no longer be said that there was "no such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer." The nation had entered a new but not an auspicious era, in which that manly, self-reliant, independent spirit in our people left them, and in its stead came want of self-confidence, lack of courage, weak submissiveness and even meaner and baser qualities. With the enormous increase of wealth came a startling increase of want. Employment, once a matter of choice, came now to be esteemed such a boon that hundreds of men applied for single situations advertised in a city newspaper. There were strikes and lockouts as damaging to the particular trades affected as fierce wars. The cities had all the appearance of overcrowding; the rural districts were overrun with tramps. With strong "lobbies" and special agents in our legislative halls; with newspapers and college professors and others in authority to support it, who could gainsay the power of capital? Surely Lincoln, were he living, could have scarcely believed the "plain people," whom he loved to say he represented, were still in undisputed ascendancy. Rather would he have to admit the menace, if not the actual presence, of plutocracy.

There can be no certainty that Lincoln, were he still among us, would see as we do, that the adoption of the single tax would usher in a "just and generous, and prosperous system"—a system that would open the way to all, bring hope and energy to all and raise up such a manhood as has never yet existed. It is more than probable that he had no suspicion of the evils attending the system of private property in land. He was a believer in a protective tariff, though like Henry Clay, of whom he was a great admirer, he entertained the old time notion of "encouraging infant industries," and would stand aghast at the practically prohibitory tariffs demanded by special interests in these days. His belief in a tariff was based on expediency, and it is not too much to assert that he would have relinquished it had it come into direct collision with that right of unrestricted freedom of the people which he held to be paramount. Whether he would have gone much further it is hard to say. The human mind seems to have a limit. John Bright, for instance, in his old age failed to see that the splendid fight of his early years against the corn laws was but the beginning of a much greater struggle, and before his death utterly repudiated and denounced those with whom he should naturally have been bound in close sympathy.

But though he may have been prevented by one thing or another from tracing out to its logical end the course of his own simple reasoning, this much is certain: Lincoln was a man of correct impulses and he had the honesty and courage to follow them. Who shall say what his mind was busy with during those silent reveries into which he never invited the world's confidence. May not his thoughts have been following the poet's words—that poet, Lowell, whose songs in those days stirred the hearts of the people:

We are not free: freedom does not consist
In musing with our faces toward the past,
While petty cares, and crawling interests,
twist

Their spider threads about us, which at last
Grow strong as iron chains to cramp and bind

In formal narrowness heart, soul and mind.
Freedom is recreated year by year,
In hearts wide open on the Godward side,
In souls calm-ecstasied as the whirling sphere.

In minds that sway the future like a tide.

Can from our height of freedom look along
A boundless future, ours if we be strong;
Or if we shrink, better remount our ships
And, fleeing God's express design, trace back

The hero-freighted Mayflower's prophet track
To Europe, entering her blood-red gulf.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

INDIFFERENCE TO DUTY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—MR. GLADSTONE AND IRELAND—TORY LOSSES EVERYWHERE.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, March 12.—It may be truly observed that this country has rarely been in a more parlous political condition than now. The house of commons is about as dead as it well can be without being actually dissolved. The other night, in the middle of a debate on Mr. Gladstone's amendment to the government motion thanking the special commission and adopting its report, the house was actually "counted out." It is said that such a thing has not happened in connection with a government motion of first-class importance for at least two hundred years and more. In the days of the Long parliament it appears that "one day's discourse was stopped because the earl of Strafford came in his barge to the upper house from the tower, and rivers ran to the east windows of the house, who with them that sat by, looked out of the said windows and opened them, and others quitted their seats with noise and tumult." Another sitting was broken up in a critical time, "because such members preferred the play houses and the bowling alleys to the committee of supply." "Discourse" was broken the other day because members were dining, and declined to believe that there was any danger of such a disaster as a "count out." The government was much annoyed, and its confederate, the London Times, declared next morning that the incident was not to the credit either of the government or of the opposition. And puts the question, "If the house is not sufficiently interested in the question raised by Mr. Gladstone's amendment to keep the members together at 9 o'clock on Friday, what reasonable excuse can be offered for carrying the controversy into another week?"

The answer to this question is that there is no reasonable excuse for discussing the report of the special commission at all. All the discussion in the world will not avail to save the government from the doom which awaits it as a result of that commission. The report has driven the last nail into the coffin of the government. It is true that on certain points the report is against the land league and the Irish party, but these points are not the points in which alone the country was interested and which were the sole occasion of the appointment of the commission. If there had been no other charges against the Irish party than those in regard to which the commissioners report against them, there never would have been a commission at all. The country is not slow to appreciate this fact. Nor is it any slower to appreciate the further important fact that, in the regard to those other and more serious charges, which were, as I say, the real occasion of the appointment of the commission, the report is entirely in favor of the Irish party. Indeed, there is no escape for the government from the awkward predicament that the conspiracy in which it has played such a conspicuous part has been exploded at every point. From the moment that Pigott fled the country and committed suicide to the issue of the report acquitting the Irish leader and his friends on all the points about which there was any real concern, it was felt not only by liberals but by tories that the game was up.

The government and the liberal unionists had built all their hopes on being able to prove that Parnell and his men were villains. They exhausted their ingenuity and spared not their money to secure their end. They packed the judgment seat! Yes, that terrible charge is true. Sir Charles Russell has declared publicly, and his declaration is not denied, that with a view to spare the judicial bench from hostile animadversion, he did deliberately invite the attorney general to submit a list of names to the leaders of the opposition, that a tribunal might be agreed upon that should be mutually acceptable. This most reasonable and most considerate overture was rejected, and the government deliberately selected three judges who were well known to the avowed political opponents of Mr. Gladstone, and more than opponents—foes—of Mr. Parnell. The result has thrown the tories into confusion and filled liberal unionists with the bitterness of despair. Their rage is pitiful in the extreme. Defeated and, indeed, disgraced on the major charges, they have fallen back on the minor charges, but only to be told, what is indeed the truth, that all these charges were just as well known in 1885, when the tories entered into that memorable arrangement with the Parnellites by which Mr. Gladstone was driven from office and replaced by Lord Salisbury. Therefore it is that in the tory ranks many an honest conservative makes no attempt in private to conceal the wrath with which the whole

connection between the government and the Times inspires him, while, as the speaker truly remarks, "all along the conservative benches there prevails a feeling of depression, of dissatisfaction, of anxious and angry foreboding."

The debate has been so far remarkable only for the wonderful speech which Mr. Gladstone made in proposing his amendment to the government motion. In that speech Mr. Gladstone made clear the hideous personal wrong that had been inflicted on Mr. Parnell, and then boldly declared that though he had formerly been of an opposite opinion, yet the operations of the land courts had convinced him that the agitation of the land league was necessary to the carrying of the land act, and he held therefore that it was useless to ask the judges for their opinion upon the conduct of the agitation since they were precluded from inquiring into the causes of it or the results of it. It is, of course, impossible to give in a few words any idea of the speech; but a very competent authority, viz., a writer in the Speaker, to whom I have already referred, says of it that "as an intellectual and physical effort it was one of the most remarkable even of his great achievements in the parliamentary arena." The writer I am quoting further remarks:

In that speech the whole of the great array of facts bearing upon the question of the special commission and the report of the judges were set forth in their due perspective. There is hardly anyone else in parliament who possesses the power which Mr. Gladstone has of thus marshalling all the incidents and facts of a complicated question in such a way as to enable the listener or the reader to take, as it were, a bird's-eye view over the whole stretch of country which he surveys. * * * He brought out the central facts connected with the special commission in their due and proper prominence and left those secondary details which always seem to have so extraordinary an attraction for inferior minds in that relative insignificance which rightly attaches to them.

Perhaps the finest testimony to the power of that speech, however, is afforded by the remark it drew from Michael Davitt, who, conversing with Mr. Herbert Gladstone after hearing the speech, said he must confess to have always had a lingering element of hostility to Mr. Gladstone, even after his adoption of home rule, but that he was unable to resist this speech and would own that the last remnant of hostility had been driven from his heart.

Such is the power of justice! The great work of reconciliation proceeds apace. Landlordism in its political aspect as toryism may extend its energies in the villainous ways that are peculiar to it, but in the country the triumph of justice is assured, and hence the feeling to which I have already alluded as existing on the conservative benches in the house of commons. The two most recent elections suffice to show how things are going. Take the case of St. Pancras. This is a London constituency. All the great morning papers, with the single exception of the Daily News, are on the side of the government, and morning after morning have poured into the constituency all that could be said against Mr. Gladstone's policy. The other day, when the poll was declared, the figures stood thus:

Bolton (Gladstonian liberal)	2,657
Graham (tory)	2,549
	108

In 1885 the figures were:

Bolton (G. L.)	2,380
Cochrane-Bailey (tory)	1,915
	465

In 1886 the figures were:

Cochrane-Bailey (tory)	2,074
Bolton (G. L.)	1,813
	261

Now, if anyone will take the trouble to examine these figures he will find that Mr. Bolton lost his seat in 1886 by reason of liberal abstention. The tory polled in that year only 159 more votes than he did in 1885, while Mr. Bolton polled 567 fewer votes in 1886 than in 1885. Now this year there are nearly 900 more voters on the register than there were in 1886, and Mr. Bolton has polled not only all the votes he polled in 1885, but 277 in addition, and he has actually polled 841 votes more than in 1886. It is true that the tory, Mr. Graham, has polled 631 votes more than he polled in 1885, but he has polled only 475 more than he polled in 1886. Thus it is clearly seen that there has been a very decided growth of liberal sentiment in this constituency since 1885, sufficient at all events to win the seat for the liberals. But the constituency is one of those London constituencies which contain much villadom, and this is eventually "cad"-ish and tory. The victory is therefore all the more remarkable.

But an election of a still more momentous character took place still more recently in the Stamford division of Lincolnshire. This is a rural constituency—one of those sup-

posed to be dominated by the tory "landocracy." True, the election was won by the tory, but if my readers do not mind following me in an analysis of the voting I think I shall be able to make them see how well founded are the observations I have made in the early part of my letter as to the dismay which is filling the tory mind. The election took place the other day and resulted as follows:

Mr. Cust (tory)	4,236
Mr. Priestley (G. L.)	3,954

Tory majority 284
There was no election in 1886, but in 1885 the figures stood thus:

Mr. Lawrence (tory)	4,631
Mr. Cudlip (liberal)	3,530

Tory majority 1,101
That is to say the tories have polled 395 fewer votes this year than they did in 1885, while the liberals have polled 121 more. And since there are 1,000 more voters on the registry now than in 1885, the tories knew very well indeed that if the liberals had had more carriages and the agricultural laborers had had a little more courage, the liberal candidate would have won easily, for it is a well known fact that the tories, having everything to lose, always poll their last man. Any addition to the voting in the Stamford election must therefore have been in favor of the liberal, and there were as many as 2,541 who did not go to the poll.

The tories know the significance of all this very well. Is it any wonder, then, that they should be a little dubious about their prospects? But I think I can make the significance of these facts yet a little clearer to American minds. There are throughout Great Britain many constituencies which were won by the tories in 1886 by very small majorities. Here are just a few exactly similar constituencies to Stamford, which were liberal in 1885, but became tory in 1886, and I add the majority by which the seat was transferred from a liberal to a tory:

Gainsborough—Tory majority	85
Loughborough—Tory majority	135
Huntington—Tory majority	161
Wisbech—Tory majority	107

It will be seen that if anything should happen in these constituencies at all resembling what has happened in Stamford, all these seats would revert to the liberals.

Now, I have gone thus into detail in this regard that my readers may appreciate the force of the statement that there are sufficient cases like these throughout the country to give Mr. Gladstone, in the event of a general election, a majority greater than he ever had before, provided that what has happened in the bye elections so far is really indicative of the change which we contend has been wrought in the public mind by the advocacy of Mr. Gladstone's policy and the support that policy has received from the developments in connection with the special commission.

It will now be seen what genuine reason for dismay the tories have and how solid are the grounds of our hope that the day is not far distant when "Ireland, a nation," shall have her own again, and play her part in the world. It may be that she will never do so as an entirely independent republic. But that is a small matter. The thing that is of essential importance is that Irish genius shall have free play, and it may be better, and no doubt would be better, that Irish genius should have the larger scope which union with a mighty empire rapidly developing into a vast republic affords, than that it should be confined to one small spot, however dear. Irish genius has had far greater room for development and far larger opportunity of human service in the great republic of the west than it has had these many years past in Ireland or in Great Britain. And provided now that in the near future such powers are conceded to a native assembly as shall enable Irishmen to deal with their own internal affairs, there is no reason why for larger purposes the Irish nation should not, upon equal terms with Scotland and Wales and England, remain an integral part of the great British empire. The English democracy will not willingly part with those for whom they have fought, and will then have won so great a battle as that now swiftly drawing to a close, and it will be seen that Irishmen will not, on this side, be willing to part from those who have proven themselves such friends. I have not time to go into these matters more fully now, but will content myself with observing that the tendency of the age is not to disintegration, but rather to aggregation. The genius of Ireland is too great, too magnificent, to be content even with "dear old Ireland," and can find its only fitting sphere of action in sharing in the great evolution, not to say revolution, which every thoughtful man sees to be proceeding in the British empire, and which will be fairly set agoing when the

next general election has swept this wretched government with its mongrel majority into the limbo to which disreputable things belong.

As I am closing this letter a glance at the morning papers shows that the feeling of discontent in the tory ranks found expression last night in a speech delivered by Lord Randolph Churchill. The noble lord dissociated himself completely from the government in regard to this special commission business which he said was unconstitutional from beginning to end. His speech was certainly remarkable, and will rank next in importance to Mr. Gladstone's. The effect of the speech cannot be other than most disastrous to the government. It will "raise a row" in the tory ranks, but Lord Randolph is accustomed to that. The important point is that liberals will be immensely encouraged by it, and many liberal unionists will be disposed to cease their opposition to Mr. Gladstone's policy. It may postpone the general election until next year, one authority thinks, but my own idea still is that we may look for a dissolution in the autumn.

HAROLD RYLETT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Aspen, Col.—(1) We have a silver mine that I am told pays over one hundred dollars per month in net dividends. There is no doubt that that amount is an enormous return upon the capital invested. How, under the single tax, can that mine be properly taxed? The element of risk in silver mining is so great that it seems to me that we cannot properly tax it at all. It has been estimated that as much capital and labor is spent in silver mining as is returned in the ore.

(2) In attempting to account for interest by the vital forces of nature, does not Mr. George make interest an unearned increment? C. W. JUDKINS, M. D.

(1) If it were true that as much capital and labor is spent in silver mining as is returned in the ore, the production of silver would cease. Nothing is long produced that does not on the average yield a profit.

The principle of the single tax requires that a silver mine should return to the public whatever it is worth, irrespective of its improvements. Whether in the case of silver and gold mines, this value could be better determined by appraisement and taxation, or by a system of government leasing, must be left to experience. This much is certain, that in the earlier stages of the single tax there will be no difficulty in making such mines pay their fair proportion of public burdens; and if, when the tax approaches the point at which it absorbs pretty much all land value, it appears that appraisements of such mines cannot be made with the same fairness as in the case of lands which grade down in value from a high rent to nothing, the transition to government leasing will be easy. The value of most land is determined by the margin of production—by what it will produce in excess of what the same application of labor the poorest land in use will produce. This holds good as to city lots as well as to farming land, and to such mining land as coal mines or iron mines. Here the mode of the single tax is quite as effective as government leasing, without being subject to the same objections. But there are some forms of special privileges in respect to which it may be said that there is no regulating margin. Among these are ferry franchises, market stands, mines of the precious metals, and so on. And as to these it is quite probable that the only just way of arriving at values will be by public bidding.

(2) No. It is the source of products, not the products themselves, that belong to the people in common. The coal mine and not the mined coal; the fountain and not the pail of water; the soil and not its fruits. Any value that attaches to the source of products is a common value; but a value attaching to a product belongs to the owner of the product. Between the sowing and the harvesting of wheat a value attaches to the crop, and, in a sense, that value is an unearned increment; that is, it is an increment which is not momentarily accompanied by labor. But in the true economic sense the increment is earned by the labor bestowed in preparing the ground and sowing the wheat. In the former and incorrect sense, there is an unearned increment attaching to every product, for even a work of iron would not hold together but for the natural forces which the producer has called to his aid. But man has the same right to appropriate to his temporary use the natural forces of growth as well as those of cohesion. In doing so he injures no man so long as he leaves to all an equal right to employ the same forces. It is only when he monopolizes the great body of natural forces, as he does when he monopolizes land, that he wrongs his fellows.

The state of Delaware makes the payment

of a tax a prerequisite to voting? The usual tax paid for this purpose is a poll tax, but the laws of the state leave delinquents off of the list of voters, as a punishment for non-payment, and therefore attempts have been to qualify voters by dividing up very small bits of land among them, because the holders of real estate remain on the tax list, as such, and are thereby entitled to vote. A local republican politician in Wilmington, named Mahaffy, has recently been qualifying voters in this fashion, and the man whose right to vote was challenged on the ground that he was a delinquent produced a deed from Mr. Mahaffy for a lot of land fifteen feet square, and insisted on his rights as a property owner. At the next meeting of the levy court of New Castle county the following self-explanatory preamble and resolution were adopted:

Whereas, It has come to the knowledge of this levy court and court of appeals through and by the presentation of a certain paper writing, purporting to be a deed from Henry C. Mahaffy to one George Cooney for a certain lot of land situated in the Ninth ward of Wilmington hundred, said lot of land being fifteen feet square and containing 225 square feet of land, more or less, and

Whereas, It appears in the aforesaid paper writing on and from Mahaffy to Cooney, that the consideration money therein named is the sum of \$25, that being at the rate of \$4.840 per acre; and

Whereas, The said Henry C. Mahaffy now stands assessed upon the assessment list of the Ninth ward of Wilmington hundred with two lots of land, No. 1 containing five acres, assessed value \$200; No. 2 containing five and one-half acres, assessed value \$200; total assessment \$400; and

Whereas, The above assessment is wholly inadequate to the selling price of the above real estate; therefore be it

Resolved, That the assessment of Henry C. Mahaffy be raised to \$21,000, an increase of \$20,600.

There was doubtless a great deal of politics in this action, but it presents a useful hint to single tax men in Delaware of the way to bring our demands before the local authorities. If there is any justification for the action in the case of Mahaffy, it must apply to numerous other lots of land in the city of Wilmington, and all that the local single tax men need do is to hunt up such cases and present them to the levy court, demanding action in accordance with the precedent set in the Mahaffy case.

Mr. Erastus Wiman has had printed in pamphlet form the speech of Sir Richard Cartwright, a liberal member of the Canadian parliament, delivered at the annual banquet of the board of trade and transportation at Delmonico's, in this city, on February 21. Sir Richard's address was an able appeal for complete reciprocity of trade between Canada and the United States, and it so clearly points out the manifest advantages of such reciprocity that it is little short of amazing that it should require anybody to make an argument on the subject. It ought to be apparent to men without any argument at all. If there is any reason under the sun why it is of advantage to Ohio to deal with Illinois it is equally clear that it must be to the advantage of the whole northern tier of American states to have perfect free trade with Canada.

C. P. Bolin of Whitman, Mass., writes to THE STANDARD to protest against the internal revenue tax on tobacco as a fraud that makes every revenue officer and every manufacturer of tobacco a perjurer. He asserts that Internal Revenue Commissioner Raum protested, when President Arthur was in favor of repealing the tax, that it should remain in force, as those who felt it could escape the burden by discontinuing the use of tobacco. Mr. Bolin asserts that the jobbers and monopolists in the tobacco trade were all on the side of the tax, and that President Arthur failed of renomination probably through their machinations. Mr. Bolin regards the internal revenue tax as partly responsible for the presence of tramps in this country, because it acts as a discouragement to business and lessened the demand for labor.

The Free trade and liberal association of New South Wales has issued in pamphlet form an address delivered at Bolman, N. S. W., in November last, by way of reply to an allegation in the protectionist papers of Victoria that the statistics of free trade in New South Wales were falsified. Mr. Pulsford's reply was an indignant denial, supported by citation of facts. The address is one part of the contest for continued free trade in New South Wales, and it is one part of Mr. George's mission to Australia to aid the free traders in this contest.

Baltimore, Md.—It is claimed here that if we had free trade glass would be imported at such low prices that we could not make any in this country. FRANCIS MOONEY.

If that were true, we should have to make other things in greater amount than we do

now in order to pay for the glass we imported. And since glass would be cheaper, a great deal more would be used, and our aggregate production would necessarily be greater than it is now. That would make a demand for more labor, and wages would rise. Would not your glassmakers be glad to go into other trades if they could live better with the same labor?

But it is not true that we should stop manufacturing glass. Why do we beat the world in making shoes? Has not the fact that leather and shoes are free something to do with it? Find out all the ingredients of glass manufacture. See what is imposed on each of these ingredients. Then ask your friends how the glass industry would be affected if not only glass, but also its ingredients, were put on the free list.

Western Resources, published at Lincoln, Neb., asserts that "the rulers of this country, the men who are having more influence over a larger number of minds than nearly all others combined, are Henry George and Clarence (sic) Powderly," because in their teachings they really represent a true democracy better than any others. In the next breath, however, the editor denounces Jeffersonian democracy. He could not have read Thomas Jefferson and Mr. George aright if he finds the two inconsistent.

The doctrine of states' rights, which is the bugbear of Western Resources, is only a part of Jeffersonian democracy—in fact, only a part of local self-government, which is a wholesome and necessary principle for a free peoples.

The National Economist, official organ of the National farmers' alliance, has appeared in new and improved form. The paper is interesting by reason of the close attention which it gives to the questions that are its reason for being. James F. Hudson's articles on railways lend a peculiar value to the paper.

The farmers' reform movement in South Carolina, which has for its object the election of a state ticket pledged to carry out important reforms, found utterance in a state convention at Charleston a few days ago. After a sharp fight nominations for governor and lieutenant-governor were made. One of the resolutions reported to the convention, and presumably adopted by the committee, calls for the leasing at auction of the phosphate beds.

W. E. Hicks of this city, having seen in the Troy Press an editorial article based upon Frederick Harrison's recent assertions as to the prosperous condition of the French peasant, wrote to the Press to say that the French peasant, like other men, is suffering from the curse of landlordism. The Press accepts Mr. Hicks's figures, speaks respectfully of his remedy, the single tax, suggests limitation of land ownership as a remedy, and finally acknowledges that the land question is of great importance, and, perhaps, contains the key to the riddle of the ages.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

For the convenience of persons wishing to send THE STANDARD on trial to their friends, we have prepared recruit subscription books. They are handsomely bound in heavy alligator paper, and sold at prices regulated by the number of blanks in each book.

These blanks are each an order on THE STANDARD to send the paper for four weeks to the person designated, and they save all trouble of remittance as they are paid for in advance. As soon as one of the blanks reaches our business office a postal card is sent to the person designated, informing him that at the request of the sender THE STANDARD will be sent to him for four weeks, beginning with the next issue, and that in case he does not wish to continue it it will be stopped at the end of that time. This attracts more attention to it than is given to a sample copy sent out directly from the office.

Every active worker for the single tax should have in his pocket a recruit subscription book, in order that he may be able to tear out the blanks and order the paper sent to anyone with whom he has been having an argument on the subject. If our friends will use the stubs in the books and keep a record of those to whom they order the paper sent they will be able to follow the matter up and probably make converts. The price of the books is as follows:

Five subscriptions	\$1 00
Twelve subscriptions	2 00
Thirty-five subscriptions	5 00

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

DREADFUL THOUGHT!

Boston Journal.

If the legislature were to be beguiled into adopting the resolution favoring free coal and free iron ore its course would be hailed by free traders everywhere as an adornment of free trade.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

A TOTAL ABSTINENCE PROTEST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: As a purchaser and constant reader of THE STANDARD, admiring your high purpose and devotion to humanity—though not a full-fledged convert to the doctrines it advocates, but willing to receive light on that or any other subject—I feel that some protest should be made against the attitude of THE STANDARD and Father Huntington toward the temperance question as expressed in the issue of March 5. Leaving out of the question for the present all religious, moral or ethical considerations, it seems to me that it may fairly be claimed on economic grounds alone that a race of sober, industrious people will in the aggregate be in far better condition materially, even "under existing conditions," than a race half drunk, half sober. Surely the homes that might be built and beautified, the "good things" of life that might be made and sold if the liquor traffic were abolished, would keep enough hands busy to counterbalance the increased competition for employment. Think for a moment from an economic standpoint of the nature of the liquor business—is there any form of investment which capital can seek, speculating in vacant city land excepted, which yields so large a profit for such a modicum of labor? How can there be any justification for the fear that, if capital so used is otherwise employed, less labor will be utilized? The great majority of the American people, drunk or sober, spend nearly all they earn, and there need be little fear that increased sobriety will mean increased penuriousness. And then besides, if the single tax question and other pressing problems are ever to be settled, and settled right, is it not essential that they be settled by the decision of a clear-brained, sober people?

As for the men and women who are driven to drink and vice by poverty and the fear of want, my observation leads me to believe they are not very numerous. If there are any such, the number is more than offset by those who are restrained from intoxicants by the same cause. I am and have been for eighteen years a worker in the trade which Mr. Henry George once adorned, and with a large experience among men making relatively high wages, I can truthfully say that, though I have known hundreds to be dragged down to poverty by drink, I have never known one who ever claimed that poverty had led him to drink.

Total abstinence advocates are apt, I know, like the propagandists of certain other reforms, to claim too much as the result of the adoption of their cherished principles. But surely it is not too much to say that with the disappearance of the liquor habit will come the disappearance of vice and crime and poverty and wretchedness, in so far as they are consequent upon the liquor habit. At any rate, there is room enough and work enough in the world for reformers of every kind, and it is well that every criticism of each other should cease, as this one does, with the hope that humanity will be uplifted by the others' efforts. GEORGE W. MYER.
Chicago, Ill.

AN ECONOMIC NIGHTMARE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I, too, have been and still am reading "Recent Economic Disturbances." It should be called "An Economic Nightmare." I wish every single tax man would study it. I would like to know his thoughts. At one moment I am roused to new hopes, vague shadowy visions, by the wonderful advance made in labor saving machinery. The next moment I am in the slough of despond at the frightful destruction of capital and the awful displacement of labor caused by this march of inventive genius. Involuntarily I glance at the closing chapters to see the dawn of hope. I have it—these disturbances are always righting themselves. Everything works out right to them that love the divine order. But alas, my eye immediately catches the authoritative statement that the author does not think that genius will call a halt in this destructive march. Indeed, men who are familiar with patents tell him that "in the future the production of patents will grow to still mightier proportions." Then my hope registers zero and I think of the annihilation of capital and men, women and little children without work. But I have fresh hope when I find that labor is everywhere receiving larger and larger money wages, and the purchasing power of the dollar is constantly increasing, while the poor capitalist, alas, is fast losing the hold on his income. I don't find in the book that the laborer gets all the increased annual wealth. Perhaps that part of it is destroyed. I don't find that the land owner gets one single penny of this annual wealth production. "To the farmer it is constantly decreasing in value. Perhaps Mr. Wells is

working for us on the sly! Will the landlords understand and get from under before the land becomes valueless?

What a dreary waste of figures and unrelated assertions the book is. Where is the gleam of hope in the new civilization, "Thy Kingdom Come?" Not one argument advanced that will give a larger hope, only to be very humble and not create more economic disturbance. Why, the man has left out of the discussion the foundation of the whole social structure—the land. He has ignored the growth of land values in all growing towns and cities. But the rent question would come up, and he was forced to say something. What is it this great economist says: "It's all because of bath tubs and gas pipes. If the workingman will have them he must pay more rent." Consider this among yourselves, oh laboring men! I wish this great teacher could go with me over the burnt district in our city of Lynn. I wish he were looking for a site for a factory in that same burnt district. He would find nothing said about bath tubs and other luxuries. What he would find would be—rent of land higher by one or two dollars a foot since the fire. And on looking back at the records he would find a great advance in land rentals during the past ten years. Not alone in Lynn but in all cities would he find this. If he is not hopelessly biased he would see where some of the profits of capital go, or why interest is lower. But does he want to see it? I am afraid not. It would seem as though the way traveler, though a fool, might see. C. H. LIBBEY.
Lynn, Mass.

PROMPT WORK OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: I see in THE STANDARD that the Manhattan single tax club has got out an illustrated tract. That prompts me to say a word in praise of that club's activity. A few weeks ago on strolling into the club rooms I saw a picture hung upon the wall, and suggested that it be reduced in size, placed upon a card with a statement of our principles and sent out to do propaganda work. The idea struck the officers of the club favorably, Mr. Wolff took it up personally, and the picture disappeared from the wall. A few days later it reappeared in the shape of thousands of the illustrated tracts piled up ready for distribution. It is such prompt grasping of valuable ideas and working them out that gives to single tax bodies their power in the community. W. E. HICKS.

HUXLEY AS A PLAGIARIST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Dean Swift wrote a syllabus for a "Digression on the nature, usefulness and necessity of wars and quarrels," wherein, after premising that the state of war is natural to all creatures, he says: "Every man fully sensible of his own merits and finding it not duly regarded by others, has a natural right to take from them all that he thinks due to himself; and every creature (including the tiger, of course) finding its own wants more than those of others, has the same right to take everything its nature requires. Brutes are much more modest in this way than men, and mean men more than great ones. The higher one raises his pretensions this way the more bustle he makes about them; and the more success he has the greater hero he is. Thus greater souls in proportion to their superior merit claim a greater right to take everything from meaner folks. This is the true foundation of grandeur and heroism and of the distinction of degrees among men. War is therefore necessary to establish subordination and to found cities, kingdoms, etc., as also to purge bodies politic of gross humors," etc., etc. Is not Huxley a plagiarist? Belleville, Ill. N. N.

A NATIONAL LECTURER.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: The single tax is gaining advocates in our town. The fact is that no reasonable man can give the subject fair investigation and not yield to the argument based on unquestionable facts. Old party prejudices are so strong, however, that with many ignorance is bliss. I believe that if you had a national lecturer who would travel all over the United States and present the subject in its true form, and at the same time take a lot of the literature to sell, it would spread the principles. The Farmers' Union has a national lecturer, and their land ideas are close to the single tax idea. J. A. WESSON.
Wingo, Ky.

HOW DREADFUL THAT WOULD BE!

Boston Globe.

We agree with our able contemporary, the Bangor Commercial, that it is time to call republican attention to the fact that we have free trade in ice. Unless a high duty is clapped on at once there is danger that the Canadians will "deluge" us with cheap ice next summer.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

WHAT OF THIS, MR. PORTER?

David De Leon talks about the "Eleventh Census Conspiracy" in the Nationalist for February. He asserts that the census act of 1880 provided for the gathering of statistics as to the unemployed. The census act of 1890 omits such provision, and the omission Mr. De Leon regards as evidence of a conspiracy to suppress the truth as to the economic condition of the masses. He asserts that the labor statistics bureaus of various states have omitted to furnish information on the subject named. The Massachusetts bureau, however, in its report for 1875, showed that in 26 of the principal industries the average idleness of the wage workers amounted to exactly one-quarter of their time, or the equivalent of 146,172 workmen out of a total of 584,690, idle the entire year. The same report, however, declared that only forty-three persons were wholly unemployed throughout the year. This assertion and the widely differing statistics provoked an angry discussion and at length an appeal was made to the federal government to investigate the subject when the census of 1880 came to be taken. This appeal resulted in the provision of the census bill of 1880, already referred to, but Mr. De Leon asserts that no such statistics as the clause provides for can be found in the census reports for 1880.

Nevertheless, the census statistics did enable some calculation on this subject to be made. The reports showed 3,837,112 persons engaged in manufacturing and mining, but only 2,732,535 persons actually employed in those industries during the census year. Here were 1,104,577 persons unaccounted for, or, as Mr. De Leon says, "idle." In fact, he believes that the idleness among the industrial classes was equivalent to the full time of 5,000,000 persons. This he takes as evidence that there exists in this country a large class of permanently idle persons.

Other sources furnished confirmatory data—all the more suggestive because on their faces far short of the truth—and added fuel to the discussion. In 1879, 1884 and 1887 the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics issued its tenth, fifteenth and eighteenth reports. The paradox presented by the Massachusetts decennial census for 1885 was, in each instance, essentially repeated. (1) The lowering of wages, (2) extreme penury, (3) hunger, (4) suffering through overwork, (5) pinching economy, (6) patent submission to unjust treatment, (7) 25,508 skilled and unskilled persons unemployed in 1878 at a season when hands are usually in great demand, (8) and an average loss of 4.11 months each during one year by not less than 241,589 wage receivers—sure symptoms of an overstocked labor market—were all candidly admitted and recorded, while at the same time (9) only 822 persons were reported idle in the state during the whole of 1885.

The appeal for information was made to the federal government again in 1888, but the provision for gathering statistics of idleness was omitted from the census bill of 1890, and Mr. De Leon regards this as the culmination of the conspiracy to suppress such information. Malthus having collapsed, the statistician is invoked in his stead by those interested to balk progress, and we have the Mulhalls, the Griffins and the Levis in Europe. "But capital is international; of recent years, moreover, its exodus to the United States has been prodigious. Accordingly, here also, where the counterparts of the Mulhalls, the Griffins and the Levis have begun to be needed and to show their heads, the improved and tempered instruments of plutocratic warfare against progress are likewise forging and to be forged. For this purpose the people's money is to be taken, and the people's will to be thwarted. Will the conspiracy succeed?"

DR. HALE ON BRAZIL.

We suspect that Dr. Edward Everett Hale is himself the author of the witty paradox, "Perpetual slavery is the price of liberty," with which he introduces his discussion of Brazil in the social problems department of the April Cosmopolitan. He explains that its meaning is that the citizen in a free country puts himself in bondage to political duty. Dr. Hale thinks the Brazilians are learning this lesson now that they are no longer governed by a benevolent emperor. Dr. Hale thinks that the emperor's departure marks the epoch when the Brazilian freedman must receive friendly attention. He publishes a letter from Brazil setting forth the poverty of the negro and the need for some organized charitable effort in the cities where the former slaves are crowded in deep poverty. Dr. Hale suspects that the trouble with the Brazilian freedman is the ease with which he obtains the simple necessities of tropical existence, and recommends as a remedy for his idleness and an incentive to activity that his wants be increased by education. At the same time he would promote diversity of in-

dustries, and encourage the freedmen to go from one part of the empire to other parts in search of employment. He cites the Burnham industrial farm in the Berkshire hills, partly in New York and partly in Massachusetts, as furnishing a valuable hint to the Brazilians, though he does not make it quite clear how the tropical negro is to profit by this example.

POVERTY IN RICHES.

"Overproduction" is the burden of Mr. C. Wood Davis's song in the April issue of the Forum. Mr. Davis undertakes to show why the farmer is not prosperous, and his explanation is "that the troubles of the farmer are due to the fact that there are altogether too many farms, too many cattle and swine, too many bushels of corn, wheat, rye, oats, barley, buckwheat and potatoes, too many tons of hay, and too great a production of nearly all other farm products for the number of consumers."

Mr. Davis reaches this conclusion by the study of statistics, some of them furnished by that doleful Jeremiah of economics, Edward Atkinson. It is Mr. Davis's belief that the 10,000,000 agricultural workers in this country and their \$16,000,000,000 invested in farms and equipments are unprofitably employed. He puts aside mono-metalism, the tariff, trusts and the greed of middlemen as suggested explanations for this phenomenon, and plunges into statistics. He shows that from the close of the war to about 1874 the farmer shared in the general prosperity, but that taking the period between 1850 and 1889 as a whole, the rate of increase in farms and farm products greatly outstripped the growth of population. He says:

During twenty years the exportation of corn has averaged less than five per cent of the product, and of oats less than one per cent, and the price of these grains depends almost wholly upon the home requirements and the extent of the supply. That lower prices follow enlarged supply is evident; and a medium or even a short crop brings the farmer more profit, and often more money in gross, than does a full or large one, as is clearly shown in the following table, which goes far toward explaining why the farmer is not prosperous. To illustrate: The corn crop of 1889 exceeded that of 1887 by more than 656,000,000 bushels, yet, counting the cost of the extra amount handled, it will bring the growers \$100,000,000 less. Again, the crop of 1878 was sixty-four per cent greater than that of 1874, and allowance made for cost of handling, brought the farmer \$149,000,000 less. The five crops of corn grown in the second half-decade tabulated exceeded the five crops of the preceding period by 2,124,000,000 bushels, yet the farmers netted \$71,000,000 less therefrom.

Mr. Davis follows this up with tables showing the acreage, average price and value of twenty corn crops and the same facts as to twenty wheat crops. He shows, too, by these tables that the average annual product of corn per capita, taken at periods of five years, has varied from 24.4 bushels in the period from 1870 to 1874 inclusive to 30.5 bushels in the period from 1885 to 1889 inclusive. In the same periods the annual domestic consumption of wheat per capita has varied from 5.05 bushels to 5.98 bushels; the latter in the period from 1875 and 1879 inclusive. From 1881 to 1889 inclusive it averaged 5.24 bushels.

Mr. Davis suspects that the price of our wheat is not determined by the foreign demand but that on the contrary the price in London is determined by our surplus. Reduce or eliminate that surplus and the price will rise. He shows, too, that we have about 2,600,000 cattle more than we need, in fine, that our excess of agricultural wealth is showing itself most alarmingly in nearly all important products and making our farmers poorer and poorer. "The history of American farming for twenty years is, in brief, that as the area in cultivation has increased, so has the product per capita, to be followed by ever-declining prices and diminishing returns."

WHAT THE TRUST MAY DO FOR US.

Mr. Hamlin Russell recently read before the Office men's club of St. Louis an extremely strong paper on trusts. Mr. Russell declared his belief that trusts are the last phase of monopoly and the last stage of an industrial evolution which will issue in a better social order. The trust is a necessity, for the end of all little things in the industrial world has come. Free peoples have never long tolerated monopolies; they will not long tolerate the trust monopoly, though the trust principle is good and must be preserved. The trust can no more help being a trust than the tramp can help being a tramp. The mill which turns out a gas trust at one end of the machine produces a tramp at the other. It is a good thing for the world to produce what it needs at the lowest possible cost, with the least exertion. No man likes to work, and people have abandoned the old methods, which made work, and adopted

new methods, which save work. We are going to use the trust idea and make it pay dividends to the people. The trust is like the sewing machine; the patent will run out and the people will get the benefit of the eatest contrivance ever devised by the wit of man.

No man who is able to understand the benefits accruing from cheap production can deny that the position of the trust is unassailable. In time, however, it will be found that as trusts increase so do the number of idle workmen. These men will demand work and refuse to starve to death in a quiet and orderly manner. Then some one will discover that certain businesses are natural monopolies and are not in justice to be run with a view to the profit of private individuals. All natural monopolies will pass under state control. If the present rate of progress is kept up most of the businesses of the country will have passed by that time into the hands of a comparatively small number of people and everything will be running along at a great saving of wages. Machinery will be doing most of the work, and landlords and capitalists will unlock their machines once a week and take out the accumulated savings in labor and transfer them to their strong boxes, just like the nickel and slot machine. At this stage of the game, where centralization, labor saving machinery and landlordism reach their highest point and the trust idea culminates, the people whose wages have been saved will not only ask questions but will suggest remedies, and the questions will require an immediate answer and the remedies will be potent for healing.

MR. GARRISON ON NATIONALISM.

When William Lloyd Garrison talks about "The Mask of Tyranny" in the April issue of the Arena, he means Mr. Bellamy's nationalism. The article is a criticism of nationalism from the point of view of the single tax. Of course, like everything that Mr. Garrison writes, it is of high literary excellence. Nationalism proposes to meet the problem of monopoly; to produce on a great scale at the cheapest rate, and give the community the benefit of such economy. Mr. Garrison notes that in this era of marvelous production population apparently fails to keep up with subsistence, yet we have discontented labor and widespread, enforced idleness. Nationalism says that competition causes all the trouble. Mr. Garrison answers, do not condemn competition; try it under conditions of freedom.

Mr. Garrison finds little in the history of government to sustain the idea that its powers and duties should be extended. A government that has strangled its foreign shipping by suicidal tariffs and now seeks to revive it by subsidies to men owning unprofitable ships could hardly be trusted to manage the whole commerce of a nation. If men left unhampered to their own devices in trade are failures, how can they succeed when chosen to govern? What industrial success could be predicted of a president who characterizes economic thinkers as students of maxims, not markets; and of a secretary of state who supposes that foreign imports are paid for with gold coin and not with domestic exports?

Nationalism would bind idler and worker alike, but necessity is the stimulus of energy and the guarantee of accomplishment. Nationalism would aim at an equality of human conditions through law; how much better to bring about equality of opportunity. How many trusts would stand in the presence of free trade? If such things fail, so would a nation that attempted to organize and direct all industries. Nationalism must include a power from which there is no appeal, and such a power is despotism.

Having criticized the remedy of nationalism, Mr. Garrison questions the accuracy of its diagnosis. Instead of competition he finds arbitrary restriction of man's powers to be the cause of our industrial woes. Industry asks of government what Diogenes asked of Alexander: "Stand out of my light." Allow labor unhindered access to land and the right of free exchange and there will be no excess of workmen. Under freedom no reasonable objection could be made to individual combination for facility and economy of production. Natural monopolies must be administered by government.

Nationalism in the name of liberty would further restrict a people suffering from restriction. Its leaders are indifferent to the evils of tariffs, because tariffs are socialistic. The single tax movement is anti-socialistic, since it would merely ask government to see fair play. It is fair to hope for progressive reforms from any government, since governments only reflect and register such movements. Individual freedom will alone bring ideal government.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

- First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.
- Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.
- Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.
- Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.
- Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

VETOED AGAIN.

THE SAXTON BILL FALLS UNDER THE GOVERNOR'S DISPLEASURE, BUT THE REFORMERS QUICKLY RECOVER.

Governor Hill last week sent a message to the legislature recommending that a joint resolution be passed calling upon Divisions one and two of the court of appeals to pass upon the constitutionality of the Saxton bill. The matter was referred to the assembly judiciary committee, and at a subsequent meeting of the committee Mr. Henderson, democrat, offered a resolution providing for such a reference of the bill as the governor had suggested. The committee did not act upon the matter, and on Monday the governor sent to the senate a message, vetoing the bill. Immediately after the message was received Mr. Fassett introduced a bill, which practically looks to submitting the question of ballot reform to a popular vote.

It provides that the inspectors at each poll at the next election shall provide a box to receive ballots in relation to the proposition for the enactment of a law requiring all ballots to be voted at any public election to be printed at the public expense and to be distributed to the electors by sworn public officials only at the polling places on the day of election. Each voter may present a ballot on which shall be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, in the form following: "For the enactment of a law requiring all ballots to be voted at any public election to be printed at public expense and to be distributed to the electors by sworn public officials only at the polling place on the day of election;" or "Against the enactment of a law requiring all ballots to be voted at any public election, to be printed at the public expense and to be distributed to the electors by sworn public officials only at the polling place on the day of election." The said ballot shall be indorsed "Ballot Reform."

As Mr. Cantor, the governor's friend, objected to the bill being sent to third reading, it was referred to a committee.

The significance of this action by the ballot reformers lies in the fact that upon one occasion the governor saved himself from an awkward responsibility by suggesting that the question at issue be submitted to popular vote in just this fashion.

SOME TROUBLE IN JERSEY.

The Knights of Labor and the ballot reform association of Hudson county met in Jersey City on Sunday and denounced the feature of the proposed New Jersey ballot reform law providing for the distribution of official tickets ten days before the election. It is asserted that two republicans on the joint committee of the legislature have joined the democrats in insisting upon this feature, and that Governor Abbott has favored it. The republican senate will pass no bill with any such provision.

The majority of the joint committee has made report and submitted a bill. The minority will submit a report in a few days. The West bill is changed in only a few particulars. One amendment provides that the ballots for each party shall be separate. The ballots may be distributed ten days before election.

LOST BY TREACHERY.

North Dakota has failed at last to get the Australian ballot. The bill providing for it passed both houses, but the houses failed to agree upon a trifling amendment adopted in the lower house, not because any one cared for the amendment, but because many who had voted for the bill were really opposed to its passage.

HIS IS THE ELOQUENCE OF TRUTH.

Chicago Universalist.
Aside from all question of sympathy with his doctrines we consider the literary style of Mr. Henry George for the purposes of instruction or public address, whether spoken or written, to come about as near perfection as that of any writer or speaker now before the English speaking public. His prose is solid, nervous, strong, illumined with poetic flashes and ornamented by beautiful turns of expression, but its rhythm is the rhythm of a robust, sensible prose, and has not that sickening regularity of rhythm and alliteration of blank verse sweetness which renders Mr. Ingersoll's style so objectionable.

THE REIGN OF INJUSTICE.

T. V. Powderly in New York World.
The little home (of the miner) is forced to pay a heavy tax, while the rich coal lands escape taxation altogether, or pay a nominal sum.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

WHO ROBS THE FARMER?

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION ALL OVER THE UNITED STATES—A STARTLING OFFICIAL STATEMENT AS TO THE FARMING LANDS OF NEW YORK—DELAWARE FARMERS STRUGGLING—KANSAS FARMERS DEMAND A LAND TAX—DISASTROUS PLENTY IN IOWA—FIGURES FROM MICHIGAN.

For some weeks past THE STANDARD has had an eye upon newspaper items indicative of the widespread depression among farmers, and within a few days half a dozen significant things have come to light, so that this seems a fit time to bring together some of the evidence on this subject. An article in the current Forum, summarized elsewhere, asserts that the farmers as a whole are unprofitably employed. Other evidences are submitted below.

The annual report of the New York state assessors declares that "there continues to be a marked depreciation in the value of farm lands in nearly every county, and the depression among the farmers continues, while the prospect for improvement is not good. Many assert that after paying expenses they cannot realize from their farms sufficient to pay the interest on mortgages, and consequently thousands of farms are falling into the hands of a mortgagee."

Following this general note is a brief summary by counties showing marked depression in the value of farming lands in the thirty-six out of the sixty counties.

In the counties of Albany, Broome, Chautauqua, Erie, Fulton, Jefferson, Montgomery, Oneida, Onondaga, Saratoga, Schenectady, Tompkins, Ulster and Warren, land values, save in a few cities, have generally fallen, the depreciation being specially marked in the purely agricultural districts. From 1886 to 1889 the value of farms in Albany county, outside of Albany, Cohoes, West Troy and Green Island, fell off \$330,600.

General depreciation of farm values is reported in the counties of Cattaraugus, Chenango, Franklin, Genesee, Greene, Hamilton, Lewis, Livingston, Madison, Niagara, Otsego, Schoharie, Schuyler, St. Lawrence, Steuben, Sullivan, Washington and Wayne. Many of these are almost purely agricultural counties. In Cattaraugus assessments have been maintained in the face of general depreciation in farm values. In Chenango, a purely agricultural county, real property was assessed in 1887 at \$19,154,708; in 1888 at \$16,162,013. In Franklin real estate has depreciated 25 per cent in three years, and there is no sale for such property, though a large proportion of the farms are offered. Values of farms in Genesee have fallen off 33 1/2 per cent in twelve years. In Greene farms have lost from 15 to 20 per cent in three years. It is said that there is only one tolerable fair farm in Hamilton county, and the removal of timber has generally depressed values. Failure of fruit has helped to depress lands in Niagara.

In Allegany realty has depreciated within the last three years by reason of the failure of oil. Agricultural land is down. In Delaware the removal of lumber has left thousands of acres worthless and the whole county has materially decreased in value in three years. Butter, the staple, is lower than at any time since 1885. Essex has lost \$184,436 in assessment of real property within three years, and this does not represent the true loss of value. Iron industries, "the mainstay of the county," have enormously decreased.

The report says of Clinton that the bulk of value is in Plattsburg and along the lake, which means, of course, that outside of a growing town, and the strip visited by tourists, land is not in demand. In Oswego county there is no material growth, while in Richmond it is the proximity to New York city that advances the value of land. Suffolk shows a slight increase since 1888 and the salt industries have added to the assessed value of Wyoming county.

While all this is true of the farming regions the large cities continue to grow, and land values in New York, Buffalo, Albany, Rochester, Syracuse and even the smaller cities are advancing by leaps and bounds.

E. O. B. of West Winfield, New York, in a recent communication to the Evening Post, tells about the decrease of farm values in his part of the state. West Winfield is a village of 800 inhabitants in the southern part of Herkimer county. The Unadilla runs through the region and is bordered by rich bottom lands. Back from the river the lands are uneven but productive. Six years ago a farm of 150 acres half a mile from the railway station at West Winfield was sold for \$12,000. Four months ago it was resold and bid in by the holder of a \$6,000 mortgage. When the correspondent wrote it was held at \$6,000, with no takers. This he declares is a fair showing as to the decrease of land

values thereabouts. E. O. B. concludes thus: "When our farmers find out the law of commerce, that it is 'an exchange of the commodities of one country for those of another,' that without this exchange there can be no commerce, they will begin to understand one of the great reasons why farming is so unprofitable, and why their lands are shrinking in value ten to fifteen per cent per year."

A recent dispatch to the New York Tribune from Washingtonville, N. Y., tells what Nathan W. Howell, chairman of the milk producers' union, said in answer to the inquiry, "Do dairy farms pay at present prices?" Mr. Howell submitted a dairyman's account book for 1889. This dairyman runs a dairy of twenty-five cows, each of which will present him with one calf a year worth \$2. The farm has 100 acres of land available for mowing, tilling or grazing. Here is the dairyman's account:

INVESTMENT.	
100 acres at \$40.....	\$4,000
25 cows at \$15.....	1,125
1 bull.....	30
1 pair horses.....	300
1 mowing machine.....	60
1 farm wagon.....	65
1 milk wagon.....	30
Marketing time.....	80
Total.....	\$7,900
FARM EXPENSES.	
Pasturage for 25 animals.....	\$504
50 tons of hay.....	400
1 farm hand, or helper.....	192
Board of same.....	192
Cost of feed (meal, etc.).....	374
Interest on plant.....	162
Taxes.....	53
Total.....	\$2,177
INCOME.	
79,059 quarts of milk at 2.58c.....	\$2,039
25 calves at \$2.....	50
Total.....	\$2,089
Farmers in debt at the end of the year.....	\$5,811

About one hundred representative farmers of Newcastle county, the richest county in Delaware, met at Wilmington some days since to discuss the question of agricultural depression. The farmers were unanimous in affirming that they were barely able to make a living from their lands. Robert J. Finley of Johns Hopkins university, while protesting that he was not a Henry George man, made an address urging the abolition of taxes on personal property and the imposition of a tax on real estate. Subsequently he substituted the term land for real estate, and explained to an objecting farmer that land which would fetch only the value of its improvements would be exempt from taxation. He was thanked for his speech. A resolution condemning the tariff as an unjust burden upon farmers was objected to, and finally referred to a committee which was instructed to report at the next meeting. The tone of the gathering was distinctly anti-tariff.

The Farmers' alliance, the strongest farmers' organization Kansas has ever known, has addressed a petition to congress for relief for Kansas homes. The petition says that one law firm in southern Kansas is foreclosing 1,800 mortgages, and the majority of the farmers of the state are imperiled. They have been promised by each of the great political parties that something would be done for their relief. Both parties have been tried, and thus far failed even to attempt any measure contemplating a betterment of the condition of the industrial masses. They have seen that, while they have been compelled to sacrifice their products in many instances absolutely below the cost of production in order to secure the common necessities of life, and in the effort, in many cases unsuccessful, to keep the sheriff from invading their homes, their representatives in congress are engaged in the consideration of every imaginable question except such questions as contemplate relief to the distress of their constituents. There are measures which the farmers demand shall have immediate attention. These relate to questions of money, of transportation and of the ownership of American lands.

They believe that the white citizens have some rights as well as the colored citizens of the south. They believe that fallen heroes, both white and black, in past struggles for liberty and the perpetuity of our institutions, can afford to wait for one moment until the rights of living heroes in the present struggle for American homes receive some recognition by the men who have been chosen to represent them in congress. Behind these demands are more than 100,000 ballots in the state of Kansas, and the time is coming, and is not far distant, when legislators will heed the voice of their constituents.

At the meeting last week of the Farmers' alliance conference, composed of the presidents of thirty-two county alliances in Kansas, resolutions were adopted demanding that a constitutional amendment be submitted to the people of Kansas allowing the legislative enactment of exemption of homesteads occupied by their owners from taxation, whole or in part, and that a cumulative

system of taxation be levied on lands held for speculative purposes by non-residents, aliens or corporations, in proportion to the increase of valuation.

They further demand a legislative enactment apportioning the shrinkage of farm values that are under mortgage obligations by reason of a contraction of the circulating medium or other unjust legislation between the mortgagee and the mortgagee in proportion to their respective interests at the time the mortgage was drawn.

The conference also demanded the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people, and declared that it is difficult for Senator Ingall's constituents to point to a single measure he has ever championed in the interests of the great agricultural and laboring element of Kansas, and that the members of the conference would not support, by votes or influence, any candidate for the legislature who favors his re-election to the United States senate.

A proposition to make the alliance a political organization was defeated. A resolution was adopted demanding of congress that Mexican ore be admitted free of duty.

A private letter from a well-known man in Des Moines, Iowa, to a friend in this city tells a story illustrative of what the boasted home market does for Iowa farmers. H. C. Wheeler of Odebolt, Sac county, probably the largest farmer in the state, and recently a candidate for the republican gubernatorial nomination, planted last spring 100 bushels of potatoes and raised a good crop. He sent thirteen carloads to Philadelphia, and on receiving returns from his sales found that he had lost \$100 on the transaction. Mr. Wheeler notified his neighbors that they might have the remainder of his potatoes for the digging.

In 1880 there were in Michigan about 154,000 farms, and these were valued at \$500,000,000. From a recent report of the commissioner of labor it appears that, of 91,000 farms in Michigan, about one-half are mortgaged for one-half their value. The annual mortgage interest is about \$3,000,000, and the annual value of the farm product is about \$2,420,000. In 1880 Michigan farmers owned the land they worked upon. There were some 62,000 farms tilled by men who could say: "I own this farm." In 1880 there had come a change which showed that one farmer in nine was but a tenant to some broker. And now it has come to this, that one-half the farms are mortgaged, and, of those that are not, one in five is tilled by tenant farmers.

At the close of the recent investigation by a committee of the inter-state commerce commission into the causes for the low price of corn, Commissioner Bragg summarized, in answer to a Tribune reporter's query, what he regarded as the most important points brought out. Mr. Bragg called attention to the fact that most of the witnesses had found the cause of the low price of corn in overproduction, low freight rates from the west and high ocean freights. Farmers in Kansas and Nebraska hurried their corn to the seaboard, and this overstocked the eastern markets and caused an advance in ocean freights by reason of the endeavor to unload the surplus on the European markets. Mr. Felton had asserted that any further reduction of freight rates to the seaboard would not help the farmers, but would put that much more into the coffers of the steamship companies.

Wellington M. Wenrick, a well known farmer of Berks county, Pa., has failed and made an assignment. His farm, of more than 200 acres, is one of the finest in the county. He is the sixteenth Berks county farmer to fail within a few months. Berks is one of the richest counties in Pennsylvania, and it adjoins Lancaster county, which ranks as the first agricultural county in the United States.

CAMPAIGN IN THE STATE.

WHAT MR. POST DID, HEARD AND SAID UP IN ALLEGANY COUNTY.

I recently finished a series of five lectures against protection in Allegany county of this state under the auspices of the Reform club. My first meeting was at Friendship, on the Erie road, where W. B. Estell spoke with me. There were present about 150 persons, consisting of farmers and villagers, a large proportion of the audience being republicans. Intense interest was manifested in the subject.

At Friendship, on the day after the meeting, I had the pleasure of a meeting with F. M. Todd, a prominent lawyer of Cuba. Mr. Todd is without exception the best posted man on tariff questions that I have met. If he could be induced to write a pamphlet of tariff illustrations it would be the best tract, both for popular use and for special information of speakers, ever put in print. Mr. Todd was born and bred a republican and protectionist. It was not until a few years ago that he even suspected there might be another side to the question. His conversion

was brought about by a business experience, which he related with a force and humor not easy to transfer to types. During the skating rink fever he was interested in several rinks, and, upon considering the extension of his business, concluded to open an establishment in Montreal. He first sent for prices of skates to an Indiana manufacturer and also to a manufacturer in Montreal. The price offered by the former was \$1.40 a pair, and by the latter \$2. Supposing the goods were of the same quality and considering that the cost of transportation and the Canadian tariff would make the price about equal, he had decided to buy of the Canadian. But when he got to Montreal he found the Canadian skates so inferior to the Indiana product that he sent for a consignment of the latter.

Awaiting the arrival of his skates he made arrangements to have his floors made. To his surprise he learned that though he was in a leading lumber city he could not get as good flooring for any price as he could get for a low price in the states. The reason for it, as explained by the manufacturer, was that better machines were in use here. "Why don't you send for one of those machines?" inquired Mr. Todd. "Because they cost so much," was the reply. "Do they cost more than your inferior machines?" "No, not in the first instance," said the manufacturer. "Our machines cost \$650, while the superior American machine costs only \$450; but when the American machine arrived it would be valued at about \$1,500, and by the time I had got it through the custom house it would stand me in something like \$2,000. Now, inasmuch as our people are satisfied with the kind of work we turn out, why should I put more than three times as much capital into a machine than I do?" Mr. Todd acknowledged that this wouldn't be business, and did the best he could with the flooring that he was able to get in Montreal.

Meantime his skates arrived, and he went to the custom house to get them through. After several days of "backing and filling" he was informed that the preliminaries were over. "Very well," said Mr. Todd, "shall I send a dray for the goods, or will you forward them to me?" He was informed that in this case neither course would be pursued; that the skates were worth \$2 a pair, and as he had invoiced them at \$1.40, the undervaluation was so great that they would be forfeited, and he himself might be prosecuted. "But," he urged, "I invoiced them at what they cost." "What difference does that make?" was the conclusive inquiry. "The American manufacturer might have given them to you for nothing. We value them at what they are worth." After a good deal of coaxing Mr. Todd got the officials to deliver all the cases but two, which were sent to Ottawa for valuation, on condition of a deposit of \$300 to secure the duties on whatever appraisement might be made. After a time the appraisement was reported from Ottawa as \$1.50 a pair. Estimating that a balance was coming to him out of his \$300, Mr. Todd went for the money, but was told that he still owed over \$50. This was made up of items of duty, on cartage from the Indiana factory to the railway, on freight to the Canadian line, on the value of the packing boxes at \$1.25 each, although the manufacturer had made no charge for them, and on another remarkable item. In packing the boxes the manufacturers found that one box was only about half full, and to fill it up so that the goods would not be loose in the box they had packed in a quantity of their business circulars, and on these circulars Mr. Todd was obliged to pay a duty upon the ground that they were literary productions of the pauper labor of the United States.

As a result Mr. Todd was compelled to sell his skates for \$3 instead of \$2.50, as he had intended, and he was led to inquire of himself what good that protective tariff did the Canadians. "Of course," he said, "it pinched me; but it was intended to do that for I was a foreigner; but of what benefit was it to the Canadian?"

He was not long in concluding that the Canadian tariff did not benefit the Canadian, but still thought it might be that the United States tariff was a benefit to the people of the United States. Indeed, had he not seen that the industries of the United States were in better condition than those of Canada, and was this not due to the tariff. He was already certain that the principle was universal, and that if a tariff was bad for Canada a tariff must be bad for the United States. But, if that were true, how account for the superiority of workmanship and prices in the United States. He was already thinking, and thinking fast, and the explanation soon came to him. "The larger the number of people inclosed within a tariff wall," he said, "the freer will be the trade of those people. A protected village would be ruined; a protected state would be injured, but would not feel the pressure so severely as a village or a county; a protected nation would feel it still less severely than one of its states; and if the tariff wall were built around the whole globe it would do no injury at all." And so he concluded that protection is worse for Canada than for the United States, because the population of Canada is so much less, and therefore its trade is so much more restricted.

On a visit from Canada, Mr. Todd encountered a striking illustration of the ill effects of protection. He is not a prohibi-

tionist, and when he stopped to call on an old schoolmate, who keeps a public house just across the river in Canada, he asked for beer. "I am very sorry I can't oblige you," said his old schoolmate. "They make such poor beer in Canada that no one wants to drink it, and the tariff on American beer is so high that there is hardly any sale for it; but I can give you some nice Bass's ale from the wood." Mr. Todd took the ale, for which he paid five cents a glass. The next day he called on a brother of his first host, who kept a public house on the American side, within sight each of the other's house. Here Mr. Todd asked for Bass's ale. A bottle was offered him for twenty-five cents. "No," said he, "I want some from the wood." "Well, you see," said his host, "the tariff is so high on this side that we can't sell enough to make it pay, and we only keep a little in bottles; but I can give you some first rate American beer." And so for five cents as much American beer was handed out as for the same price had been given of ale on the other side. Then said Mr. Todd to himself: "Laying aside all temperance questions, why wouldn't it be better for Canadian Mike and his customers and for American Pete and his customers if Pete could send a barrel of American beer to his brother in exchange for a barrel of Bass's ale?" That incident puts the idea of a protective tariff into a nut shell.

It was from Mr. Todd that I learned how the tariff had ruined the woolen and wool raising industries in his section of the state. This section was the center of a great woolen industry. Some of the best woolens that ever went into a tailor shop were manufactured here. The factories made a steady demand for domestic wool and the sheep raisers of the vicinity were prosperous. But when congress undertook to protect wool, the price of foreign mixtures rose, and the woolens, no longer made of the best mixtures, deteriorated. This reduced the demand for woolens and with it the demand for local wool, until now the woolen factories have disappeared, England has captured the woolen trade that this country used to have and sheep raising here is almost an extinct industry. Before leaving, I was able to verify all that Mr. Todd told me in this regard. In every town where I lectured I used his statement as an illustration, and was assured by the older residents that they could well remember when conditions there were as I described them, and how they were changed by the wool tariff.

From Friendship I went to Bolivar, where I lectured before an audience of about 150. Bolivar has a brief but interesting story. It was a little hamlet until oil wells were discovered all about it. There was a rush of people, and the hamlet was suddenly transformed into a frontier town. Lots that had been worth \$25 rose to \$1,000 and \$5,000; a theater was built and performances were given twice a day the week through; the streets were crowded at night so as to be almost impassable; gambling was openly carried on at all hours in houses on the main thoroughfare with doors wide open. When this had gone on for a while news came of better oil wells some miles away. There was a quick exodus, and for three months, now known as "the black Friday of Bolivar," the town was a hamlet again and building lots could once more be bought for \$25. But the new wells gave out and Bolivar became again a center of oil operations. With its population returned, building lots rose again to the former figure, only to fall when the people went away. There are now a few hundred inhabitants, and the principal industry is oil production. In this industry the producers are quite dependent on the Standard oil company, and I was well advised when about to go there, that if I knew anything particularly mean about that company I would not offend any of my audience if I told it. Oil wells sell for \$1,000 a barrel per day—that is, if any one wants to buy an oil well, he ascertains how many barrels a day the well will yield, and for each barrel he will pay \$1,000 for the well. This practice affords a simple illustration of economic rent and particularly of the variability of land values and the uniformity of wages. The dependence of producers on the Standard oil company is due to the fact that the company monopolizes the pipe lines and offers the only market for oil. As it controls the market, it can control the price, and the possession of this power it often shows by arbitrarily reducing the price of oil in Bolivar when the price to refiners is unchanged. Bolivar is a good place in which to study both the land question and the highway question.

My next place was Wellsville, where the audience was small, and my next Belmont, where there was over a hundred, who manifested the same earnest interest in the subject that was displayed wherever I went, and, as I am informed, is shown wherever a meeting is held.

I spoke last at Alfred Centre, about ten miles west of Hornellsville. This is the seat of a Seventh day Baptist university presided over by Professor Allen. The village is known as a Sabbatarian town. The twenty-four hours from Friday evening till Saturday evening are observed with Judaic strictness as Sabbath, but all day Sunday business goes on as usual. A great many of the people are not Sabbatarians, but being in Rome they do as Romans do.

The meeting was held in the chapel of the university and was attended by about 175. Although there are but three or four

democrats in the village there are many tariff reformers and free traders, one of the latter being President Allen, who told me he had been a free trader since long before I was born.

It was exceedingly gratifying to find that the democrats who took an interest in the meetings were radical tariff reformers, and most of them absolute free traders. Among the latter were Mr. Todd of Cuba, Mr. Newton of Bolivar, Judge Farnham of Wellsville, Mr. Chamberlain of Belmont, and President Allen and Professor Davis, the postmaster at Alfred Centre. Nor are these free traders confidential about their opinions. The agitation that has been going on has taught them as it has us that there is a strength with the people in free trade that mere tariff reform cannot claim.

LOUIS F. FOSTER.

TROUBLE FOR MCKINLEY.

HIS BILL ASSAILED ON ALL SIDES BY REPUBLICANS AS WELL AS DEMOCRATS.

WASHINGTON, April 1.—It is now seen that the premature publication of the new tariff bill made more trouble for its republican authors than was at first thought. The forced reconsideration of some of the most important features of the bill, and then the announcement by Chairman McKinley, a week after the time the bill was to have been published, that it would not be reported to the house of representatives "for some time yet," has taken even old stagers by surprise. It is evident from the pulling and hauling to which special interests are subjecting Mr. McKinley and his majority in the ways and means committee that they are having a pretty hard time of it. What with the chairman's sincere effort to reach his ideal of a "tariff for protection with incidental revenue," the greedy effort of a multitude of interests to build the tariff up, and a large and growing radical element in the party demanding material cutting down, the whole thing is fast approaching the ridiculous. It may, indeed, be a question if those two sincere and ardent protectionists, Chairman McKinley and President Harrison, in their refusal to compromise at a time when a little judicious compromising might lose them fewer friends, will not do more injury to their party than its most redoubtable enemy in the democratic ranks. Be that as it may, it is a fact that Messrs. Carlisle, Mills, McMillan, Breckinridge—in short, the democratic minority of the ways and means committee—seem in no wise worried over the perplexities that have befallen the gentlemen at the other end of the table, but on the contrary grow more and more cheerful as the fall campaigns draw nearer.

It appears that there has been a nice how-do-do over the proposal to put a duty on hides, but the shock that came from "down east" on that point gave evidence that that was a mistake, and hides were put back on the free list. This action, however, was reversed. Even that erstwhile hotbed of uncompromising protectionism, the Boston home market club, made a demurrer to taking off the free list a thing, which, as "raw material," enters so largely in the manufacture of other things.

Representative Flower of New York says the new bill raises the duty on oranges to a hundred per cent. It is hard to suppress a smile at this when it is considered that our own oranges sell in the New York market for \$4, \$5 and even \$6 a box, whereas the Mediterranean oranges from which we are to be "protected" do not sell for more than \$2.50 a box. In fact, the Mediterranean orange is inferior to the Florida orange, and even were it proposed to grow here this inferior kind it would be twelve years before the trees would be bearing, so that to the average mind there would not seem to be the narrowest basis for a duty, there being no oranges to compete with ours or any that we might raise in twelve years, and, therefore, nothing from which to protect.

The chemical schedule of Mr. McKinley's bill seems to have been made up by combining the chemical schedules of the Mills bill and the senate bill, the highest duty named in either being selected in almost every case.

SOME VALUABLE FIGURES.

PERCENTAGE OF LABOR COST IN THE MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the last report of the Massachusetts bureau of labor statistics are presented valuable facts as to the percentage of labor cost in many manufactured articles. There are complete returns from 1,615 manufacturing concerns. It is shown that in industries which, according to the last decennial census, produced annually goods valued at \$15,001,687, being 2.37 per cent of the whole manufacturing product of the commonwealth, the labor cost ranges from 51.24 to 77.06 per cent. According to the state census of 1885 these industries employ 16,395 persons. In industries producing \$158,016,950 worth of goods, 23.42 per cent of the whole state product, labor is from 5.92 to 18.34 per cent of the whole cost of production, and 106,045 persons are employed. In industries producing goods valued at \$313,100,086, or 46.40 per cent of the state product, the amount of labor in cost of production does not fall below 20 per cent or rise above 33.33 per cent, and in these industries 207,815 persons are employed.

These figures are highly significant in view

of the fact that the protectionists are constantly insisting that the tariff is designed and able to maintain wages. It is shown here that in the great bulk of Massachusetts protected industries the workman's share of the product amounts to less than one third the cost of product, while in many it falls below one-fourth. It should be remembered, too, that the manufacturer obtains his profit on the cost of production upon which these percentages are calculated. Of course the laborer's wages are a considerably smaller percentage of the selling price. It is probably true, also, that the highest wages are often the smallest percentage of the cost of production, for it has been shown over and over again that the best paid American labor is the cheapest, and often vastly cheaper, than lower paid foreign labor.

THESE MEN HAVE SENSE.

THEY DENOUNCE THE BARLEY TAX AS AN INJUSTICE TO WORKINGMEN AND DEMAND FREE TRADE WITH CANADA.

The Oswego seamen's benevolent assembly, No. 6,389, Knights of Labor, has adopted resolutions protesting against the proposed increase of the barley tariff as likely to exclude Canadian barley and deprive of employment persons engaged in the carrying trade. The resolutions declare that all taxes are eventually paid by labor, and the barley tax is an injustice to the workman and a piece of class legislation. The resolution requests Congressman S. E. Payne of the Oswego district to oppose the increase and favor legislation looking toward free commercial intercourse with Canada. The assembly directed that the resolutions be sent to THE STANDARD.

James C. Murray, recording secretary, who sends this information, adds that similar resolutions as to the woolen tax have been adopted by the board of trade and the common council of Oswego, and by all the Knights of Labor assemblies in the city. He assures THE STANDARD that the Seamen's assembly have unanimously adopted the single tax and are for free trade with all the world.

THE TARIFF SCHOOL.

The tariff school of the Reform club had its third session in the large meeting room at Cooper union on Friday evening of last week. Mr. Thomas G. Shearman was the lecturer of the evening, and his subject was "Correct Sources of Information." Mr. Shearman said that there was no one statistical work that gave in condensed form the figures necessary for a careful study of the tariff question. The best work embracing statistics ever printed was Grosvenor's "Does Protection Protect?" Unfortunately, however, Mr. Grosvenor, since he became a tariff writer for the Tribune, has refused to allow this work to be reprinted, and it now cannot be had. Mr. Shearman said he did not regret that there was no one work that was sufficient, because people remember the facts that they dug out themselves, and he recommended to those who proposed a serious study of the question the following books:

Bowker's Economic Fact Book.
American Almanac (annual).
U. S. Statistical Abstract (annual).
Compendium Census, 1880.
Mulhall's Dictionary Statistics.
Fawcett's Free Trade and Protection.
Massachusetts Census, 1885.
Massachusetts Annual Reports on Manufactures.
Massachusetts Labor Reports—Especially on Comparison of Wages.

MASSACHUSETTS QUESTION CLUBS.

Samuel W. Mendum, secretary of the Massachusetts question clubs, visited THE STANDARD office a few days ago and talked of the work done by the clubs. These clubs are organized for the purpose of asking questions on economics of persons supposed to be able to answer. As few as five persons may form a club. Blanks for questions and signatures are furnished to each club. When a question is asked it is addressed to Mr. Mendum at Woburn, Mass. He sends it for signatures to all the clubs and eventually sends question and signature to some presumably competent person for an answer. The questions are chiefly on the tariff and interesting answers have been received from various Massachusetts congressmen and business men. The answers are published in the Boston Post and sent in proof sheets to about a dozen other papers.

A VERY UNPLEASANT COMMUNICATION.

James Means, a shoe manufacturer of Boston, has written an open letter to Congressman Morse giving eight reasons for asking Mr. Morse, a protectionist, not to oppose the duty on hides, which duty Mr. Morse had opposed on the ground that it would injure his constituents in Brockton. His reasons are because wool is the keystone of protection, and if it can be knocked out the structure will fall; because, to be consistent, the protectionist who puts a duty on wool should do the same by hides; because the people need an object lesson to show them that the wool duty is an oppressive burden, and this could be shown by imposing a similar duty on hides and demoralizing the shoe trade; because protection is only a distribution of pudding and the impossibility of harmonizing

interests that conflict will make it impossible to continue the distribution; because the country cannot attain its highest prosperity until every particle of protection is eliminated from the tariff schedule; because, believing in a tariff for revenue only, he would like to see protectionists commit political suicide; because it is beautiful to see the advocates of "a tariff for politics only" tying themselves up in a knot; and, finally, because "you protectionists have it in your power to make the hide an instrument for the salvation of our industries. If you put a duty upon it we shall struggle and suffer for a few months, and after that American industries and American labor will be able to entirely throw off the burden of all oppressive tariff taxation, and will enjoy the prosperity which your party now denies them."

FREE TRADE WITH SOUTH AMERICA.

Senor Don Manuel Quintana of the Pan-American conference tells the Herald that there has been no official proposition from Mr. Blaine looking to free trade between the United States and the South American republics, but that it was casually spoken of by Messrs. Flint and Coolidge, of the American delegation. Senor Quintana said further, that the South American delegates were surprised to learn that the McKinley tariff bill increased the duties on some South American goods. On learning this the South Americans notified the United States delegates that the proposition to subsidize steamship lines between the United States and South America could not be recommended by the former to their respective governments.

Mr. Flint of the United States delegates said to the Herald correspondent: "It would be most profitable for this country if absolute free trade between the republics of the Americas could be brought about. Every interest throughout the east, west and the Pacific slope would be benefited indirectly, and most of them directly, by the more extended market for our products."

The conference is now considering a majority report in favor of negotiating reciprocity treaties between the United States and eighteen Central and South American republics.

HANDS OFF IS ALL HE ASKS.

S. J. Ritchie of the Canadian copper company told the ways and means committee of the house the other day that his company, which mines and smelts copper and nickel in Canada, and refines the product in Europe, would be glad to do its refining in this country if its crude copper and nickel could be admitted from Canada free of duty. He asserted that the company asked no duty on refined copper in aid of its projected refineries, but merely asked the government to keep its hands off. The company would invest several millions of dollars in refineries. Mr. Ritchie added that all the tariff legislation as to nickel for the past thirty years had been in the interest of only one man. Mr. Ritchie then proclaimed himself a republican and a protectionist, but a believer in the greatest good to the greatest number. He did not attempt to reconcile these inconsistent declarations.

A. Minoldi, Lawrence Giles & Co. and W. H. Westervelt, fruit dealers of this city, assure the Herald that the proposed increase of the duty on oranges will keep out the foreign fruit, greatly increase the price of the domestic article and damage the fruit business in this city.

J. B. C. of Brooklyn, who says that he is not a crank, except that hitherto he has voted the republican ticket, writes to the World to protest against the hosiery schedule of the McKinley tariff bill. He thinks there are a good many republicans who believe that an industry that can not thrive under a forty per cent protection would better be abandoned.

Many New England manufacturers testified before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature that New England industries must have foreign coal duty free if they are to live.

SINGLE TAX VS. WARD FUND.

Minneapolis Journal.
To the Editor of The Journal—Sir: I had occasion yesterday to visit St. Anthony Park, and immediately on my return, to take a trip through some of the most thickly settled parts of our own city, with the following results:

St. Anthony Park.	Minneapolis.
Good streets.	Mud!
Little mud.	Muddy crossings.
Dry walks.	Many places no walks.
Clean crossings.	No crossings.
Pleasant thoughts.	Rubbers lost.
No cuss words.	Bad thoughts.
	—n.

THE REASON WHY.

St. Anthony Park.	Minneapolis.
Streets made by special assessments against benefited property holders.	Ward fund.
No boodle for aldermen.	Scheming among aldermen.
	A favored few get work done.
	The rest of us pay the bills.

Let us pray for a change of system.

C. J. BUELL.

THE SLOGAN FOR 1890.

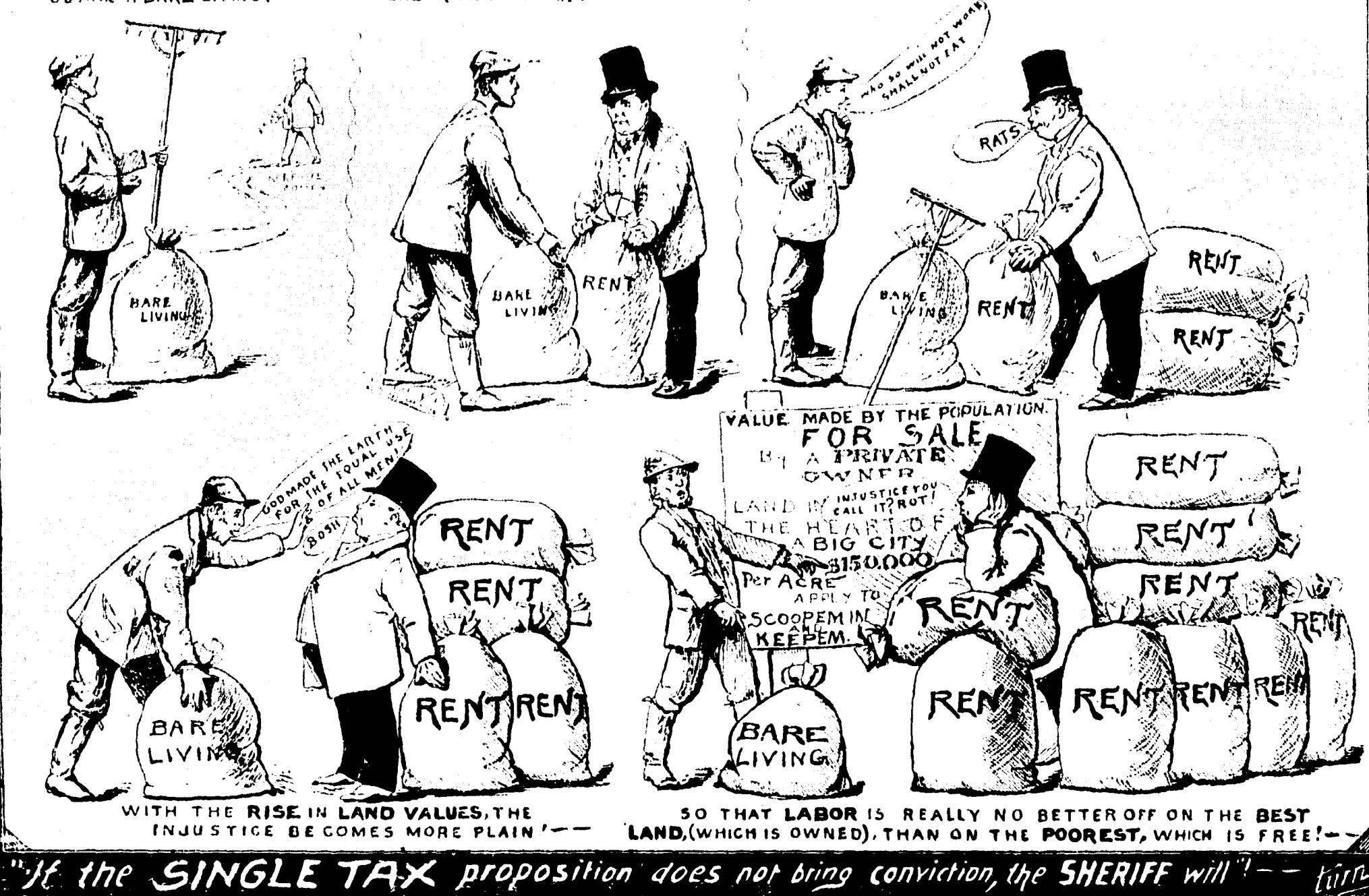
Philadelphia Times.
Tax reform.
Ballot reform.

He who pays INTEREST on a MORTGAGE, pays RENT!!

ON LAND FREE TO USE, LABOR MAY OBTAIN A BARE LIVING!

LAND ABOVE THAT GRADE IS OWNED, AND LABOR MUST SHARE WITH THE OWNER!

AS PRODUCTION INCREASES, THE SHARING GOES ON, MUCH TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE OWNER!



SINGLE TAX NEWS.

\$10,000 FOR THE CAUSE.

A HANDSOME GIFT TO JUDGE MAGUIRE TO AID PROPAGANDA WORK.

Special Dispatch to The Standard.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 1.—Judge Maguire has just announced that ten thousand dollars' worth of property was deeded to him by the late Kate Kennedy, to be devoted to the aid of the single tax cause.

JOSEPH LEGGETT.

\$100 PRIZE OFFERED TO NEWSPAPERS.

I will give \$100 to the newspaper which, before July 1, 1891, publishes the best editorial or contribution showing how and why farmers' interests are adversely affected by the existing systems of taxation, and how and why they will be benefited by abolishing said systems and raising all revenues required for local, state and general purposes by taxing only the value of land, exclusive of improvements. Each paper may publish as many articles in as many editions as it chooses, and forward a marked copy of each to my address, 1027 North Capital street, Washington, D. C. C. B. HEMINGWAY.

ALDERMAN STARR'S OBJECT LESSON.

Rockford, Ill., Gazette.
"Now here is a practical illustration of the Henry George idea of the land tax," remarked Alderman H. N. Starr to a Gazette reporter yesterday as he stood gazing earnestly at a receipted tax bill which he held in his hand. Mr. Starr is the original, should we say, the only advocate of Henry George's social theories in the city, and he is competent to speak on the subject. So the reporter fixed his attention on the major, who continued: "Now my brother and myself own a piece of property on North Main street. There is a good double house on it. The property has a 66-foot front. Next south of our property, Will Robertson owns another piece of property exactly like it—66 feet front and in every way just like ours, only his property is not improved. The land value of both pieces of property must be just the same. All the difference is the improvements which we have made ourselves. Our property is assessed at \$2,450. The other piece at \$350. The tax on the improved lot is \$87, and that on the unimproved lot is \$13—just a hundred dollars in all. Now, the Henry George theory would be to tax each of those lots \$50, which would give the same amount of money—\$100. The result of the present system of taxation is to discourage improvements on property, while with the George theory it is exactly the reverse. The George theory would do away with land speculation. We consider land the first necessity of the people, and think it should be kept out of the field of speculation. The two lots on North Main street were originally worth exactly the same. Two men buy them at the same price, then one erects a house and puts on the improvements. This increases the value not only of his lot, but also of the lot beside him. Other houses go up near by. All this increases the value of the land, which has not had one dollar expended in improvements. And now the government comes in and taxes the land of the man who has built houses and improved their property about seven times as much as it does the land of the man who has allowed it to remain idle. It is

unjust to those who improve property to be taxed for the benefits which they have given to others. The Henry George theory holds that no man should hold land unless he uses it, and then all land values should be taxed alike—improved or unimproved. If there is any discrimination it should be in favor of the man who improves the land instead of the present system which discriminates the other way."

"Now look at the facts in this case," continued the major, folding up the tax receipt carefully and tucking it into his vest pocket. "The land is worth from \$50 to \$70 per front foot. Let us say \$50 for the sake of illustration. Sixty-six feet would then be worth \$3,300. The improvements on our property are worth \$7,000. That makes our lot worth \$10,300 and the unimproved lot beside it \$3,300. Now taking the present system of taxation as a basis, still the method of assessment is unfair, because our assessment is about one-quarter of the total value, while the assessment on the unimproved property is only about one-ninth of the total value. It is all in favor of the speculators, you see. The trouble is the people do not understand Henry George's doctrines. They call him a socialist. His opinions are the very opposite of those held by socialists"—and the major sallied up Main street to explain to a constituent why a new cross-walk had not been built over the street in front of the latter's corner.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, April 1, 1890.

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

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending April 1 are as follows:

Thro' F. H. Marsh, Brooklyn, N. Y.	12 00
" T. L. Byrnes, Binghamton, N. Y.	9 00
" Harold Harmer, Manistee, Mich.	5 10
" T. W. Greene, New York city	17 70
S. T. Hunt, Aspen, Col.	6 00
J. J. McClintock, Aspen, Col.	6 00
Patrick Colvill, Aspen, Col.	1 50
Adolph M. Segin, Memphis, Tenn.	3 00
Messrs. Farrell & Flynn (add.), Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 20

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$3,314 50

Cash contributions for the week are as follows:

Clarkson, Paul, Lynn, Mass.	1 00
"For the Cause," New York city.	1 00
"Friend of the Single Tax," Cleveland	25
J. E. Parkerson, Aspen, Col.	1 00
Michael Lorentz, Aspen, Col.	1 00
B. L. Yarnell, Philadelphia, Pa.	1 00
Miss Alice Thacher, Orange, N. J.	1 00
A. Harmer, Manistee, Mich.	25
E. W. Brown, Houston, Tex.	24
William Coulson, Spring Valley, Ill.	25
J. W. Bucklin, Grand Junction, Col.	5 00
Thro' Lewis Williams, Revier, Mo.	1 25

"Worke," Tumwater, Wash. . . 28
Wm. Lancaster, Pawtucket, R. I. . . 1 00
Contributions in postage stamps . . 66

Contributions previously acknowledged . . \$15 25
Total . . . 688 05

The enrolment now stands as follows:
Reported last week . . . 77,823
Received during the week ending . . 585
April 1 . . . 78,408

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

A NEW POEM ON THE SINGLE TAX—THE MONTHLY BUSINESS MEETING OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB TO BE HELD TO-MORROW EVENING.

At half-past 8 o'clock last Thursday evening the members of the Manhattan single tax club sat down to their monthly informal dinner. A. J. Steers was elected chairman for the evening, and then the dinner was discussed. Then Professor Brizzi gave an overture on the piano, and the social part of the programme of the evening began. Mr. Werner of Newark was the first speaker. He spoke feelingly of his absent friend, Henry George, and closed by asking all to drink health and success to him in his work in the Antipodes. Then, in turn, each member sang, or told a story, recited or made addresses on the tariff or the single tax. Among the features were songs by Morris Van Veen, a duet by Messrs. Steers and Siemon, a talk on the tariff by A. J. Wolf and the piano recitals by Professor Brizzi, who excelled his previous performances, and who at the close of the entertainment was warmly thanked for the pleasure he had given to those present. The general opinion was that the feature of the evening was the reading of an original poem by the author, George Brunswick, as follows:

Rising and impatient cry,
To stirring up the nation;
The change is felt and must be made
To ward off ruination.
Oh, many are the remedies
Prescribed as healing lotion,
But we do challenge all of them.
To combat such a notion!
Single tax! single tax!
It's fair, it's just, it will not vex;
Single tax! single tax!
Keep up the shout and don't relax.

Off we mean to take the load,
Under which the life is bending,
Of those who toil with hand and mind;
A struggle never ending.
To set free all the energies,
Restore the natural sources;
They form the real commonwealth;
These are our saving forces.
Single tax! single tax!
It's fair, it's just, it will not vex;
Single tax! single tax!
Keep up the shout and don't relax.
From houses, barns and implements,
Take off the tax which squeeze them;
Emanate our industries
From burdens, which decrease them.
But on the bare land put the tax,
Full up to rental values;
Think out and spread this wholesome creed,
Till everybody argues:
Single tax! single tax!
It's fair, it's just, it will not vex;
Single tax! single tax!
Keep up the shout and don't relax!

Now, brothers, sisters—everyone
Imbued with human feeling;
All ye, distressed by poverty,
To you, we are appealing—
Acclaim it loud, raise up the shout,
From every house and steeple,
As fitting watchwords, bold proclaim,
Free trade, free land, free people!
Single tax! single tax!
It's fair, it's just, it will not vex;
Single tax! single tax!
Keep up the shout and don't relax.
The affair was a success throughout.

To-morrow evening, Thursday, April 3, the monthly meeting will be held, when the committees to whom had been given the names of the signers to the congressional petition to canvass, will be called on to report. This will be an interesting meeting, and all the members are requested to be present.

On the twelfth page of THE STANDARD appears the cartoon, prepared by the Manhattan single tax club, which was described in this column three weeks ago. The club is sending samples to every single tax club in the country, with the following letter:

New York, April 1, 1890.

To Single Tax Clubs and Persons Interested in the Single Tax: The Manhattan single tax club of this city is offering this enclosed tract at the rate of \$1.50 per 1,000, or 20¢ per 100 in smaller quantities than 1,000. The illustration is the work of Dan Beard, after the original cartoon by J. W. Bengough. The "Single Tax Platform" (printed on the back of the picture) was written by Henry George, and is a condensed but accurate statement of our principles. It is expected that this tract will be the first of a series that will enable single tax men to disseminate their ideas effectively and at small expense. In orders of 10,000 the name of any club will be printed without charge. If the demand is large enough a considerable reduction in cost may be effected.

Address Manhattan Single Tax Club, 36 Clinton place, New York city.

BROOKLYN.

DISCUSSING MR. OGDEN'S ARTICLE IN LAST WEEK'S STANDARD.

Mr. W. J. Ogden's paper on "Tax Reform or Land Reform—Which?" was read before the club Sunday evening. A discussion followed in which a large number of those present took part. Several new points were brought out, and although a majority of the members did not regard it as advisable to subordinate the moral side to the fiscal side, it seemed to be the general opinion that the ground taken by Mr. Ogden was likely to be very effective upon those who opposed the single tax on the ground that a man should pay taxes in proportion to the benefits received from government. The speaker next Sunday evening will be Mr. A. J. Steers, secretary of the Manhattan single tax club.

The following members of the club will go to Flushing this Wednesday evening: Messrs. Rand, Curley, Boulton, White, Baker, Utes, Cooper, Jacobson, O'Neill, Horan and McClean, each of whom is to deliver a ten-minute address upon a different phase of the free trade, single tax and ballot reform questions. Those members of the club who desire to join the party can do so by arriving at the Long Island City depot at 7:30 p. m.

NEW YORK STATE.

Harry D. Gawn, Rochester.—Our union, at the regular semi-annual meeting, Wednesday evening, March 26, elected the following officers: President, J. M. Campbell; vice-president, R. Frank Smith; treasurer, A. Des Roches; recording secretary, G. H. Congar; corresponding secretary, D. Waters.

Mr. Hume Calk will again speak before our union on Sunday afternoon, April 6. Subject: "The Gods of Gold."

J. J. Murray, Albany.—Mr. Mathew Kirsch will lecture before the Albany single tax club Sunday evening, April 6. Subject: "The Tariff and its Relation to Labor and Industry." A full attendance of single tax men requested.

MASSACHUSETTS.

A REPUBLICAN PROTECTION PAPER WRESTLING WITH THE SINGLE TAX.

S. T., New Bedford.—At a recent ministers' meeting a paper was read reviewing "The Land and the Community," very favorable. Reference was also made to "Progress and Poverty," very commendatory. The seeds are sprouting.

Clarkson Paul, Lynn.—I have sent twelve more signed petitions to the enrolment committee, each one of which represents an engagement with the enemy. But it's a great fight, in which single tax will be the winner.

S. T., Fall River.—The Tribune of this city is wrestling with the single tax doctrine. The other day its leading editorial was in answer to a communication from J. Whidden Graham on the single tax, and on another occasion it printed a part of the single tax platform. It is going to annihilate us, of course.

PENNSYLVANIA.

THE FARMERS' FAITH IN PROTECTION BEING SHAKEN.

C. F. Knight, Frankfort Springs.—The

farmers in this locality seem to believe that they are perfectly safe here and hereafter, so long as they look for "protection" to God and the tariff. I have shaken faith in many cases, but my time and opportunity are very limited.

G. M. Freeland.—The tariff fight is progressing lovely. The democratic press are growing bold and radical—absolute free trade communications are printed and appreciated.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A GENEROUS OFFER AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO OTHER OFFERS.

C. B. Hemingway, Washington.—Accompanying this note is an offer of a prize of \$100 to newspapers [printed elsewhere.] I do this believing it is the best and cheapest means of propaganda. I regret that I cannot afford to make it larger. If, however, other single tax men are impressed with the worthiness of the scheme, and can do so, let us have contributions, and make up a series of prizes. If we could offer \$1,000 to first, \$500 to second, \$200 to third, \$100 to fourth, \$50 to fifth and \$25 each to next six, according to merit, or make an offer on even a larger scale, I believe it would pay us better (by reaching a larger number of people) than a like sum expended in any other way would. Single tax men can do much by calling attention of their local papers to this offer, and they might in many cases bargain to write the articles for publication. The prospect of a prize might be an inducement to many publishers to open their papers to the discussion.

MARYLAND.

SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN BALTIMORE.

Wm. H. Kelly, Baltimore.—The single tax men of this city have every reason to feel encouraged. They have nearly secured the Australian election law, the agitation for which was started by them through the Knights of Labor; they have the most powerful and influential paper in the state working in their direction; they have the use of two columns a week in the best labor paper in the state (The Critic) for the discussion of their principles, together with the active assistance of the editorial page, and many other advantages. And all this has been accomplished in the last two or three years! We have three organizations for the propagation of our ideas (one of which is a colored organization), to say nothing of the Knights of Labor assemblies.

The only thing necessary to complete our happiness would be the full support of the Baltimore Sun. When this takes place, as I believe it will, our success is assured.

The Baltimore single tax society has invited Mr. Paul T. Bowen of Washington, D. C., to address them on Sunday evening, April 6, and we will undoubtedly give him a warm welcome. All persons who desire to hear a clear exposition of our principles are cordially invited to be present at Industrial hall on that occasion at 8 o'clock p. m.

OHIO.

PUSHING THE SINGLE TAX TO THE FRONT.

A. C. Hughes, Youngstown.—At our last meeting the following was adopted:

Resolved, That we, the single tax club of Youngstown, endorse and commend the action of our county auditor, Mr. T. E. Davey, in his instructions to the assessors calling their attention to the assessments of such lands as are held for speculation, and hope that he will see to it that they do their duty according to the law, in placing a fair valuation upon all vacant lands, and to this extent relieve the burdens of those who are doing good for the community by improving and building up the city.

We are actively engaged here in pushing the single tax to the front. Our club is growing larger each meeting. We are working in a quiet way, which is proving to be successful and all that we can expect. We expect a very lively light here in '92, as this is a stronghold of protection, yet we are making a few free traders, who when the time comes will show themselves.

W. H. McCarthy, Cleveland.—Among the men whom I work there are many now familiar with the single tax doctrine who a year ago knew nothing about it.

J. J. Jones, Weston.—Single tax and free trade are the all absorbing topics at the present time, and are being thoroughly discussed by the masses regardless of party.

INDIANA.

AN EXTRACT FROM AN INDIANAPOLIS NEWSPAPER—LIBERALITY OF THE ENROLMENT COMMITTEE.

Thomas J. Hudson, Indianapolis.—Within the corporate limits of this city there are nearly twelve square miles of vacant lots. These lots, if taxed to their full rental value, would no doubt be soon covered with comfortable cottages. Here is a clipping from the Indianapolis News:

Sanitary Officer Crane is making an inspection of the city. He inspected the Columbia alley neighborhood yesterday. "On Ohio street," said the officer, "is a ramshackle two-story frame house. There

are seven rooms in the house, occupied by twenty-four people. The house is vile and dirty beyond description. The plaster has fallen off; the roof is coming in, and props are used to keep the joists from falling down. In the rear of this is another tumble-down shanty of four rooms in which twelve people live—live? I mean exist. They sleep on piles of dirty straw scattered on the floor; the rooms are full of smoke, men, women and children all living together like hogs in a pen. The 'growler' is 'rushed' continually. Nos. 17, 19, 21, 23, 25 Columbia alley are unsafe, uninhabitable and dangerous to public health. They cannot be placed in good sanitary condition, and, should an epidemic occur, these places would be veritable pest holes."

"I shall endeavor to have all these places torn down. The owners of them get more rent from one room than the entire building is worth. I would not stable my horse in one of these sheds, and yet human beings live in them. The ground is valuable and the old rookeries stand in the way of improvements. Many of the occupants are depraved, and are bunched together in their wickedness. I believe they should be scattered. There are over one hundred houses in the city that should be razed to the ground."

Under our present system of taxation, in Indiana, the landlord who suffers such miserable sheds, as those described by Officer Crane, to exist pays scarcely any tax, but is allowed to wring from his tenants "more rent from one room than the entire structure is worth." And yet, in this good Christian city of Indianapolis, we have good Christian people who venture to assert that private property in land is absolutely necessary in order that land may be put to its best use.

John Gathard, Saint Jacob, Madison County.—The enrolment committee have sent me a liberal package of tracts, for which I desire to return my thanks. I have made them up into packages and will distribute them at our meeting of the Farmers' mutual benefit association. To show how our farmers are strained for money, our tax receipts were \$2,000 short when the books were called in, and the whole amount for this district was only \$11,100; and yet last year's crops were better than for several years. More than half of our county is mortgaged beyond redemption. Farmers that were, are tenants in a great many instances. Old residents are going west.

M. H. Palmer, Jerseyville.—I have met here some few who have heard of George and the land question, but they are stubborn protectionists. Still, with the aid of THE STANDARD, I am getting my work in, and it will I think be only a short while when I can expect assistance from them.

ILLINOIS.

ITEMS OF NEWS FROM QUINCY.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—At our regular meeting on the 21st ult., Mr. Otto D. Swearingen addressed the club on bailot reform, advocating the Australian system.

On call of the committee appointed at a former meeting of tariff reformers, another meeting was held on the 22d ult., and the organization assumed definite shape under the name of "The Adams county tariff reform league," with a declaration of principles advocating free raw materials, reduction of tariff taxes on the necessities of life, and an uncompromising hostility toward "protection." A committee, of which Oscar P. Bonney is chairman, was appointed to nominate a list of officers at a meeting to be held April 14.

In the course of a public address here on the 21st ult., Mrs. Helen M. Gougar, the noted temperance advocate, speaking of the various important questions presented to workingmen, included the land question as very important indeed, and said: "I would be glad to see the land of this nation so conditioned that no man could hold a foot of land that he did not use for productive purposes. I would like to see land speculation dealt its death blow in this country. Every person has a right to live and to enjoy the natural opportunities or bounties of this earth. Moneyed syndicates would buy up sunlight if they could. They would cork it up and sell it by the quart."

Hon. W. H. Collins addresses our club April 4 on "The fallacies of the single tax." This is the first opposition address we have been able to secure.

MISSOURI.

A SINGLE TAX COMMITTEE TO APPEAR BEFORE THE STATE BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

Wm. Day, West Plains.—We begin to feel a sweet friendship for all the writers for THE STANDARD. We make it a point to have the children read over and over again the charming poems of Mrs. Frances Milne. Why don't some one write a poem eulogizing her efforts. We are much affected with her touching welcome to Henry George at San Francisco.

Percy Popoon, St. Louis.—The single tax league voted at the last meeting to send a committee to Jefferson City for the purpose of submitting arguments to the state board of equalization in favor of a more equitable assessment of unimproved land. The state board has the power to raise or lower all assessments and to actually assess railways; and the committee will also discuss the matter of railway taxation.

Mr. Sandler, late of Philadelphia, addressed the league.

Mr. Jos. T. Tatum, an attorney of this city, has undertaken to make a full examination of the taxation of St. Louis and Missouri, the state laws and city charter, and report the measures that in his judgment ought to be pushed by single tax men here. We shall certainly decide on a practical campaign of some sort for the coming summer.

TENNESSEE.

MECHANICS AND OTHERS BEGINNING TO SEE THE CAT.

W. H. Wilson, Memphis.—I think all our daily papers are in favor of the single tax, but are afraid to come out openly and say so. I don't think the day is far distant before they will.

A. Gordon Sinclair, Memphis.—Two years ago single tax men were few and far between, but now almost every mechanic and intelligent working man that I have broached upon the subject is strongly in for the single tax. They are beginning "to see the cat"—beginning to see what can make the Christian religion practicable. Many professional and business men, including even real estate owners, in this city openly advocate and admit the justice and reasonableness of the single tax.

MICHIGAN.

THE SINGLE TAX GAINING STRENGTH IN DETROIT.

S. G. Howe, Detroit.—I have sent thirty-six petitions which were signed at a single tax meeting held March 25, on which occasion a very able paper was read before a large and intelligent audience, in Fraternity hall, by Mr. John B. Howarth, one of our worthy representative business men, on the advantages of equity in taxation as portrayed by the single tax. He was very attentively listened to and frequently and heartily applauded.

A. C. Woodruff, South Haven.—I believe I am the only single tax man here; but I am arranging a course of meetings that may develop others. A good speaker is what is wanted here to start the movement.

IOWA.

AN OBJECT LESSON IN MASON CITY—"OUR IDEAS BECOMING POPULAR."

J. N. Seburg, Mason City.—A citizen of this place, a few years ago, built an opera house at a cost of nearly \$60,000. It was an ornament to our town, and gave employment to many laborers. But the assessor increased the taxes on that citizen as though he had built a nuisance. It was thinking over this case, at the time, that made me a single tax man. There is no place in the northwest that has greater natural advantages than Mason City; yet they remain undeveloped to a great extent on account of our vicious system of taxation, which knocks the life out of all enterprise.

H. Ellingston, Kilkenny, Lescur county.—The single tax and free trade is becoming popular among the farmers in this region. Any friends who have literature to spare can make good use of it by sending it to J. Harris, Kilkenny, who will see that it will go where it will do the most good.

C. L. Brewer, Tripoli.—The one thing which has held me close and fast to the single tax movement when I might otherwise have abandoned it is the strong religious spirit which pervades it.

MINNESOTA.

FATHER HUNTINGTON TALKS TO ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCES.

C. J. Buell, Minneapolis.—Father Huntington spoke before a very large and enthusiastic audience in the Bijou theatre here last Sunday afternoon, March 23, at 3 o'clock. It took the place of the usual Sunday afternoon Union people's meeting. The platform was occupied by a number of local single tax leaders, among whom were many clergymen, most of whom are members of our league. We have in our membership clergymen of nearly all denominations from Roman Catholic to Unitarian. The address was a fine one, and brought out frequent and hearty applause. All the papers gave good accounts of it, among them the Tribune, the high tariff, monopolistic sheet of the northwest.

COLORADO.

A SECTION OF COUNTRY THAT IS JUST RECOVERING FROM A "BOOM."

J. R. Hinkle, Gunnison.—This section of country is just recovering from a "boom," so it is "nip and tuck" for some of us to support our families. Our county is sparsely settled, and the struggle for existence by the many and the greed of some to make a big "strike" and get rich—a prevalent idea in Colorado—precludes or greatly hinders the introduction and propagation of new ideas. We manage to get in our work to some extent nevertheless.

Thomas J. McGauran, Denver.—It is not very difficult to impress thoughtful people here with the justice and expediency of the single tax. Many are disposed to accept the truth. Since Mr. George's visit I meet with

many who have surrendered to the logic of the greatest patriot and economist of our time.

TEXAS.

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AGITATION GIVEN BY THE PETITION.

E. J. Perego, Wichita Falls.—A noted protectionist said to me the other day: "Doctor, I believe your cause is going to win. I see the signs everywhere; people and papers begin to notice it." I have been trying to get the preachers here to investigate the single tax, but they are too timid. They are afraid they will be called political preachers.

J. L. Caldwell, Mart.—The petition gives me opportunities for agitation, so I always keep them by me. Converts are being made slowly.

CALIFORNIA.

ONE OF THE GOOD RESULTS OF HARD TIMES.

A. H. Sanborn, San Francisco.—The visit of Mr. George has given the single tax idea a great boom in San Francisco, and the growth of the society has been very marked since. With larger numbers, better organization, more means and fresh hopes, we are moving slowly, but surely, to success.

F. T. Merritt, Perris.—One good thing the "hard times" here has done has been to lift a multitude of minds out of the bigotry that has stuck them fast in the "mud" of the "grand old party" and cause them to search for the causes of the decline.

MAINE.

A. C. Dunning, Auburn.—The cause is advancing here. We do all we can for the good of the cause with our organ of speech, perhaps making up in that way for lack of finance.

CONNECTICUT.

James H. Payne, Bridgeport.—W. J. Gorsuch delivered an address on "The tramp as a social factor" Sunday, March 30, before the Social science club. Mrs. Gorsuch gave an illustrative moral reading, entitled "The Rain." It was well received by the audience, in which were many ladies. Mr. Gorsuch then delivered his address. Next Sunday, April 6, Mr. A. W. Smith of New Haven will read a paper on "Moral Economy."

NEW JERSEY.

J. D. Miller, Jersey City.—Our club has hired a new meeting place, at the National assembly rooms, 642 Newark avenue, and tomorrow (Thursday) evening desires to see present every member of the club and all other single tax men in Jersey City.

MONTANA.

Robert J. Forrest, Butte City.—We are making an effort to organize here. We secured thirty signatures for that purpose and have hopes of securing out of that number a good working crew.

NORTH DAKOTA.

A. S. Frosid, Halton.—The single tax men of this state have gained a point from the legislature, which will be understood by reading the following clause in our new tax law:

Any person, company or corporation, in making up the amount of personal property to be listed for himself, company or corporation, shall be allowed to deduct from the gross amount thereof any indebtedness of himself, company or corporation, if the same be owned or held within the state.

It is not easy to say just how much this will reduce the amount of personal property taxes, but it will certainly be more than one-half, when the farmers have learned to take advantage of it. The largest part of the personal property taxes will after this come from the towns, while the greatest number of farmers will pay no personal property tax at all. It is worthy of observation that the tax on merchant's stocks, etc., is shiftable, but the tax on the farmer's personal property is largely not, being property he himself consumes. To all appearance the single tax will be against the farmer, but this way, for a beginning, of concentrating the taxes on land, does not meet the opposition of any of the farmer's prejudices.

ENGLAND.

ENCOURAGING REPORTS OF PROGRESS OF THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT.

S. T. London.—The second annual meeting of the United committee for the taxation of ground rents and values was held Friday, March 7, in the conference room of the National liberal club. Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q. C., presided. The annual report of the executive gave a most encouraging report of progress made during the year 1889. At the election of the first county council for London no less than forty members of the united committee had been elected, including seven members of the executive; and, in all, seventy-seven successful candidates, and a large majority of the aldermen subsequently appointed, were known to be favorable to the views of the committee. The important work of the land valuation committee of the council was described, and reference was made to the acceptance by the National liberal federation of the "taxation of land values" as

an essential condition in any scheme of land reform. Many town councils, boards of guardians and other local government bodies had passed strong resolutions in the same sense. The report also spoke of the good work done by the united committee by the publication of Mr. Fletcher Moulton's pamphlet on "The Taxation of Ground Values," which has been widely distributed and received the almost unanimous approval of the newspaper press. Already there had been applications for the pamphlet from over one hundred and fifty cities and towns in the United Kingdom.

Earl Compton, M. P., moved the adoption of the report, which he commended as an able summary of the year's work. The question, he said, had been making gigantic strides during the past few months, and it was now one of the most prominent questions of the day. There was, however, lamentable ignorance on the part of the public as to the real nature of the movement, but Mr. Moulton had made the subject very clear in his admirable pamphlet. He urged the necessity of sending competent lecturers about the country to explain the exact meaning of the taxation of land values, for they should remember that it was not merely ground rents which the united committee attacked. In London there was great discontent on the subject of taxation, and he hoped that this movement would ultimately become a non-political one. He therefore cordially invited the co-operation of the conservative party in carrying on the agitation. The resolution was adopted.

Mr. F. A. Channing, M. P., moved the following resolution, which was adopted:

That, in the opinion of this meeting, the local taxation of a town ought to a large extent to be levied upon the owners of land within the town, in proportion to the annual value of their land; and that no arrangement should be permitted to interfere with the landowner's obligation to pay this tax personally.

Mr. W. Saunders, L. C. C., then moved:

That this meeting pledges itself to assist the united committee in every possible way in its efforts to raise a special fund for the purpose of distributing a copy of Mr. Fletcher Moulton's pamphlet on "The Taxation of Ground Values" to every registered elector in the 55 metropolitan constituencies.

This was seconded by the Hon. D. Naoroji (liberal candidate for central Finsbury), and also carried.

SCOTLAND.

S. T. Brechin.—The Herald is one of the influential journals of Scotland. It is a convert, practically, to the single tax doctrine. It prints prominently all references to the movements of Mr. George; and in a late issue speaks of the ovations given to "the prophet of San Francisco" on his trip to the Pacific coast, en route to Australia. In the same issue it gives its views on taxation, and concludes by favoring the adoption of the single tax on land values.

TAXING FRANCHISES.

Mr. C. J. Cunningham is writing single tax communications to the Eagle published at Jasper, Ala., and in one of his recent letters he says he does not confine the operation of the single tax to land values alone, but extends it to all grants of governmental functions. He says that government has the right and should demand from every citizen to whom it grants valuable consideration a *quid pro quo* in the shape of a payment in the common treasury. He says:

Rights and privileges in the exclusive use and enjoyment of land parcels is the chief source, and, I believe, will ultimately be held as the only rightful source of valuable grant by government to citizen—the rental value or unearned increment of which is the rightful property of community. At least the tendency now seems to be to force government to the performance of all legitimate public service and deny to it the power to grant franchises and monopolies to individuals. The building of highways is clearly a community obligation; and the right of the government to impose the opening up and maintaining of even common public roads, by the forced labor of individuals, and this, too, of only a class of individuals, is not only questioned—but the right to grant franchises for building other roads and highways of any character for commerce or travel with the power of exacting tribute from the public by the grantee of the franchise, or monopoly, is being strenuously denied. But so long as these franchises and monopolies are granted by the government, so long will the right exist in government to demand a *quid pro quo*, value for value, from the grantee, however the question of political or economic expediency may determine the exercise or the foregoal of the right. As to railroads, so long as the present system of granting these franchises continues, the taxes on the lands they occupy as right of way, depot,

shop and other sites, should be levied and collected as on other land; the tax due for franchise should be secured by governmental control and regulation of passenger and freight transportation rates, leaving to these corporations only enough to pay them just compensation for the services rendered the public.

PERSONAL.

Warren Worth Bailey has a letter containing "Thoughts for Farmers" in the Sandborn, Ind., News. He calls on his old friends to think once more of the proposition on taxation made by him in the years gone by, by way of disabusing their minds of the fallacy that the single tax would militate against the farmers. Mr. Bailey tells them that there is a single acre of land in Chicago that is worth nearly as much as the whole of Knox county (in which Sandborn is situated), and that if the single tax were in vogue that acre would pay nearly as much for governmental support as Knox county now does, instead of, as at present, the owners of the Chicago acre shifting the most of the burden which they should carry on to the farming lands, not only of Knox, but of the whole state of Indiana.

We have just received a letter from M. Charles M. Garnier, that earnest worker at Paris, France, asking for more literature. It is a letter that ought to stimulate our Anglo-Saxon friends to renewed activity. Some weeks ago a package of tracts in English was sent to him and now he asks for more, saying that already splendid results have come from their distribution. This will come at once as a rebuke and inspiration to those who deplore the lack of opportunities. M. Garnier's success and constant faith show that the great truths of the single tax can be contained by no one language or country.

The Boston Globe says that Senator Allison, who has just been re-elected to the United States Senate, is a tariff reformer, if not a free trader, at heart, and would probably have spoken out in meeting before this but for the fact that he was soon to be a candidate for re-election. He now advocates "an enlargement of the free list wherever that can be safely and properly done."

The Baltimore Sun editorially notices Mr. Wm. J. Ogden's article printed in THE STANDARD of March 26, and without expressing any opinion of its own gives a summary of Mr. Ogden's argument.

S. B. Higgs of Portland, Ore., has a letter on the single tax in the Portland Public Opinion of March 15.

Judge James G. Maguire spoke before the single tax club of Oakland, Cal., on March 23, on "Henry George's Theories."

PUTTING IT IN A NEW WAY.

Providence Journal.
The essential idea of the new tariff bill is to protect Pennsylvania and the west from the pauper labor of New England.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having 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, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge to all who desire 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, 321 Powers' Block, Rochester, N. Y.

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"Best & Goes Farthest—Largest Sale in the World—Once Tried, Always Used."

CATARRH.

Catarrhal Deafness—Hay Fever—A New Home Treatment

Sufferers are not generally aware that these diseases are contagious, or that they are due to the presence of living parasites in the lining membrane of the nose and eustachian tubes. Microscopic research, however, has proved this to be a fact, and the result of this discovery is that a simple remedy has been formulated whereby catarrh, catarrhal deafness and hay fever are permanently cured in from one to three simple applications made at home by the patient once in two weeks.

N. B.—This treatment is not a snuff or an ointment; both have been discarded by reputable physicians as injurious. A pamphlet explaining this new treatment is sent free on receipt of stamp to pay postage, by A. H. Dixon & Son, 337 and 339 West King street, Toronto, Canada.—[Christian Advocate.]

Sufferers from Catarrhal troubles should carefully read the above.—[Adv.]

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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

COLORADO.

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

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Free reading room open every day, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2351 Marion st.

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

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

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

CONNECTICUT.

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

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

DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box 146, Bristol.

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

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

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 335.

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

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

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

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

INDIANA.

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

CLINTON.—Single tax club; Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., W. V. Wells; sec., L. O. Bishop.

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

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

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

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. H. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 973 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 318 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Moore, 90 Hedge ave.

DNA MOORE.—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

COVINGTON.—Council Bluffs single tax

club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 2:30 p.m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnahan, 826 W. Broadway.

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

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

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

KANSAS.

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

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

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

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

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p.m., at Druid hall, 506 Baltimore st., near Jay. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

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

SINGLE TAX ASSOCIATION OF EAST BALTIMORE. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

MASSACHUSETTS.

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

NEPONSET.—Single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 389 1/2 Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lathrop, 43 Walnut st.

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

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., their Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MICHIGAN.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

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

MINNESOTA.

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

SOUTH MINNEAPOLIS.—Single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hamersley.

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

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. a. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2733 Gamble street.

BENTON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. Saturday, 8 p.m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

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

KANSAS CITY.—Kansas City single tax club. Lectures Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sunday afternoons at 3. Headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every week day until 10 o'clock p.m.; the public cordially invited. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., J. C. Williams, N. Y. Life building.

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

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

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

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

NEBRASKA.

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

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

NEW JERSEY.

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the

National assembly rooms, 642 Newark ave. Pres., John W. Jakeway; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 Grove st.

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

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 102 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 160 Market street.

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON.—Washington land and tax club. Pres., John Morrison; sec., W. H. Christine.

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

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

NEW YORK.

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

HARLEM.—Single tax club, room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8:30 p.m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

NORTH NEW YORK.—Single tax club. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m., at 2840 3d ave. Pres., James R. Small; sec., Thomas F. Foy.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Club house, 56 Livingston st. Open every evening. Discussions Wednesday evenings. Business meetings Friday evenings. Lectures Sunday evenings. Pres., Peter Aitken; cor. sec., Robert Baker, 884 Greene av.

THE EASTERN DISTRICT.—Single tax club. Each Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, W. C. T. W. hall, cor. S. Third st. and Bedford av. Pres., John Britton; sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

EIGHTEENTH WARD.—Single tax club. Meets every Tuesday evening, 8 p.m., at 253 Evergreen av.

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., J. S. sec., H. B. Buddenburg, box 190.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p.m.; Sunday, 3 p.m.; 80 Reynolds Arcade. Pres., J. M. Campbell; sec., D. Waters, 167 Tremont st.

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p.m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., James J. Mahoney, 2 Division st.

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

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 8 p.m., 226 Union st. Pres., W. C. Albrow; sec., F. S. Arnold.

AUBURN.—Single tax club. Mondays, 7:30 p.m. College hall. Pres., Dan. Peacock; sec., H. W. Benedict, 6 Morris st.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

YONKERS.—The Jefferson club, 13 N. Broadway. Always open. Business meeting every Tuesday evening at 7:45. Pres., Fielding Gower; sec., Wm. Young.

OHIO.

STATE.—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1638 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 233 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348 1/2 S. High st., Columbus.

CLEVELAND.—Cleveland single tax club. Every Wednesday evening, 8 p.m., 144 Ontario st., room 16. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., C. H. Nau, room 25, Standard block.

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

COLUMBUS.—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, 348 1/2 S. High st. Columbus single tax club. Meets Sunday at 3:30 p.m. Pres., H. S. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

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

HAMILTON.—Hamilton single tax club. Every Saturday evening at 314 High st. Pres., Howard Rich; sec., Ambrose Strang, 742 E. Dayton st.

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

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 105 E. 5th st.

AKRON.—Akron single tax club. Pres., Jno. McBride; sec., Sam Rodgers.

MIAMI.—Land and labor association of Miami. Pres., C. F. Beall; sec., J. T. Beall.

MASSFIELD.—Massfield single tax club.

Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristor; sec., W. J. Huggins, 66 W. 1st st.

TOLEDO.—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 112 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a.m. Pres., A. R. Wenn; sec., J. P. Travers.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivories hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 6 S. Market st.

ZANESVILLE.—Central single tax club. Pres., W. H. Loughhead; sec., Wm. Quigley.

OREGON.

PORTLAND.—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. 2d and 4th Thursdays of each month, Grand Army hall. Pres., R. H. Thompson; sec., S. B. Rigen, 48 Stark st.

PENNSYLVANIA.

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

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

KENSINGTON.—Single tax club. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p.m., 2021 Frankford av., Philadelphia. Pres., James Wright; sec., Jno. Moore, 2188 E. Huntingdon st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p.m., 103 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. E.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m. Pres., Phil D. Tangney; sec., J. C. De Forist.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 402 1/2 Penn st. Pres., C. S. Prizer; cor. sec., Grant Nagle, 208 S. Third st.

ERIE.—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W. G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

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

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

SCRANTON.—Henry George single tax club. 1st and 3d Friday evenings of each month, Noke's hall, cor. Franklin ave

