

# THE STANDARD

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## THE STANDARD.

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## EDITORIAL.

The compromise ballot reform bill passed by the senate last week was reported to the assembly yesterday morning, and Mr. Acker (republican) and Mr. Sheehan, the democratic leader in the house, wanted it read at once. "Dry Dollar" Sullivan, one of the most disreputable Tammany politicians in this city, objected, and the bill was referred to the judiciary committee, which will report it to the house to-day. It is, of course, impossible to speak with certainty of the fate of any pending legislation at Albany, but the action of the Kings county democratic general committee on Monday night indorsing the bill, and the desire of Mr. Sheehan to have it promptly put through without change, indicate that Governor Hill favors its passage without amendment. A reference to the judiciary committee could not be avoided if any objection were made, and therefore such reference does not necessarily indicate that there will be an attempt to defeat the bill by tacking on amendments. At this writing the prospect seems to be fair for its speedy passage, and we have no doubt that it will be signed by the governor if it passes the house in the shape in which it left the senate. Our friends need feel no fear as to the result. The bill is a good bill; a very good one; in many respects superior to the Saxton bill; and it is infinitely better that pastors should be used than that any person, whether an officer or a "heeler," should be permitted to enter the secret compartment to assist a voter in preparing his ballot.

"The national ballot reform association" is the name of an organization, having nominal headquarters in this city, which is sending out a petition in favor of the bill introduced into congress by Mr. Lodge, which practically takes the whole control of elections for congress out of the hands of the people of the several states and vests it in agents of the federal government. One feature of the bill as introduced is the establishment of the Australian system of voting at such elections, but this is merely incidental, and the unconcealed design of the authors of the measure is to secure through it to the protectionist party, to use the words of Speaker Reed, the opportunity to "do our own registration, our own counting and our own certification." Barring the illegal seating of two senators from Montana, this is the most desperate and revolutionary measure that the protectionists have yet proposed with a view to holding on to power after the people have pronounced against them at the polls.

Of course the protected monopolists and those who are duped by them cannot be expected to falter in the work that they have undertaken. Greed, with fanaticism as its ally, is never scrupulous as to the methods by which it achieves its purposes. The devotees of the protective superstition have a right to favor the Lodge bill if they choose to do so; but they ought to do it honestly, and not pretend that they advocate the measure as ballot reformers. This, however, is what this so-called "national ballot reform association" is doing. Its course is thoroughly insincere, and we are pained and surprised to see the names of a few

single tax men on its list of committee-men.

So little is ballot reform the chief object of the Lodge bill that some advocates of that measure have already shown a disposition to throw aside the ballot reform provision of the bill. These men pretend to believe that if negroes call republicans to aid them in marking their ballots, they will thereby render themselves liable to be killed. Therefore it is suggested that the Australian system will not work where there is so much illiteracy, and it is argued that the power of the republicans to "register," to "count," and to "certify," will prove a better dependence than the Australian ballot. What position will the "National ballot reform association" be left in if the ballot reform feature of the Lodge bill is stricken out?

The democratic state convention of Oregon, which met at Portland on April 24, had a stormy session, owing to a contest between those who call themselves old-line democrats and the younger element in the party, which is loyal to free trade ideas. The Oregon democracy has probably been cursed by a larger proportion of the "moss-back," "hunker" element than can be found in the party elsewhere in the Union, now that the young men have overthrown the "hunkers" in Massachusetts. These old fellows who demand recognition for "faithful service" in the past—which service consisted apparently in trying to convince people that there was no important difference between themselves and their republican opponents—die hard, but they die. The men whose interest in the democratic party is based solely on the hope that that party may represent a vital principle are sure to control its counsels before long. This may lead to defeat through the treachery of the "hunkers" and "moss backs," but it is the only hope of the final overthrow of the representatives of the protected monopolists. We have a goodly number of single tax men in Oregon, and we hope that they are doing all that lies in their power to uphold the hands of the progressive men who have just captured the democratic organization in Oregon.

The Democratic business men's association had a dinner at the Hoffman house last week at which the principal speaker was ex-Surrogate Delano C. Calvin, who advocated ballot reform and tariff reform. Concerning the latter, he said that it "does not mean free trade. There has never been a democratic president who ever wrote a line in his message indicating that he believed that tariff reform meant free trade. It was because our adversary asserted that it was free trade that many votes were taken from the party at the last presidential election." It is time this kind of protest by alleged democrats was dropped. Tariff reform does not mean immediate free trade, but tariff reform cannot be commended to the judgment and conscience of the American people by any line of argument that does not eventually lead to free trade. In their efforts to conciliate the compromising and half-hearted democrats of the past generation such men as Mr. Calvin insult and drive away the most vigorous and hopeful recruits that the democratic party is likely to receive because of its opposition to the protective system. Free traders have

this satisfaction. Men who talk like Mr. Calvin have passed the meridian of life. They will pass away in the course of time, and no more such are coming to the front.

The article by Mr. Daniel R. Goodloe of Washington on federal taxation, printed elsewhere, is an exceedingly interesting contribution to the discussion of the question of the single tax as a means of raising federal revenue. We think it altogether probable that some of the more startling contrasts made by Mr. Goodloe are due to the varied standards of valuation by which assessors are guided, but if the inequalities exist to the extent indicated by his article it is clear that a constitutional amendment would be necessary for the purpose of accomplishing a just distribution of the burden of federal taxation. It is doubtful, however, if even with the inequalities suggested the poorer states would, under the single tax system, bear as heavy burdens as are now imposed upon them by the tariff. The question raised by Mr. Goodloe is worthy the serious consideration of those who have made a study of the statistics of taxation.

Mr. Rosewater, editor of the Omaha Daily Bee, in the course of his testimony before the committee appointed by congress to investigate the question of immigration, objected to the miserable un-American proposition to exclude foreigners from this country on the ground of their opinions, and in the course of his testimony said: "Henry George holds opinions that are radically at variance with our present form of government, yet he goes on writing and lecturing. But if the foreigner expresses adverse opinion about our institutions he is labelled 'dangerous.'" We fully agree with Mr. Rosewater as to the impropriety of the course proposed, but we deny that Mr. George holds opinions that are radically at variance with our present form of government. Mr. George advocates no policy that cannot be carried out by a constitutional amendment at the utmost, and in many states even this is unnecessary, since the single tax could be established by a simple legislative action. Men like Mr. Rosewater ought to familiarize themselves with the opinions of the various schools of political economists before attempting to describe their ideas, even for purposes of illustration.

The democratic committee of York county, Pa., recently adopted resolutions reaffirming the party's devotion to democratic principles, denouncing the proposed tariff legislation by the republican majority in congress, declaring for the Australian ballot system and presenting on behalf of the democracy of York county to the democratic state convention the name of Hon. Chauncey F. Black as a candidate for governor. This is the first formal step toward a "consummation most devoutly to be wished."

Mr. John De Witt Warner will deliver his lecture on wool and the tariff at the tariff school of the Reform club, on the second floor of Cooper union, on Friday evening of this week. This is one of the most important topics of all that engage the attention of tariff reformers, and Mr. Warner will unquestionably treat it in a masterly manner. The school is not restricted to those who have enrolled their names, and it is to be hoped

that the attendance on Friday evening will be large. The remaining lectures of the course will be delivered by Read Gordon on May 9, on "The tariff in its relation to manufactured food products;" by Louis F. Post, on May 16, on "The Tariff and Labor;" by Walter H. Page, on May 23, on "Tariff and the Farmer," and by W. T. Croasdale, on May 30, on "Protected and Unprotected Industries." All of the lectures thus far have been very instructive, and those who wish to prepare themselves for an intelligent discussion of the subject in the coming fall campaign should avail themselves of the remaining opportunities.

Any one who believes that the republican party is practically unanimous on the tariff question should glance over the array of evidence on this subject presented this week in our department called "The Free Trade Fight." There were some dissenting voices even in the laborious interviews of the Philadelphia Press, and it further comes to light that two influential republican papers in the west are bitterly opposed to the McKinley bill; that Representative Niedringhaus of Missouri is in revolt; that ex-Senator Van Wyck, republican, of Nebraska is seeking to array the farmers against his party in that state, and at the same time that another powerful Nebraska republican is opposed to his party's tariff policy.

South Carolina is stirred up, and very properly so, over the rascally proceedings by which the phosphate rock belonging to the whole people of that state has been given away by corrupt legislators to a few monopolists. Our Charleston letter, printed elsewhere, will be found interesting by all single taxers, and all the more so because it is probable that the people who are thus asserting their natural right to land have probably never heard of the single tax nor considered the land question abstractly. Nevertheless they talk like straightout single tax men, using almost the very phrases common among our friends. This merely goes to show that the single tax is in entire accord with that natural and instinctive apprehension of the truth common to all unprejudiced minds, and which is properly called common sense.

A casual allusion to an opinion expressed by a French sociologist on the tax system of China, which appeared in a recent signed article in THE STANDARD, has caused several of our correspondents to assume that THE STANDARD has declared that the single tax exists in the flowery kingdom. This is a singular misapprehension but it has led us to look up the question of taxation in China, and the result is given elsewhere in our Notes and Queries. Surely there ought to be no need of pointing out to single tax men that a tax on land is widely different from a tax on land values. If an arbitrary government were to impose a tax on land, and take the whole proceeds for its own use, it would become in effect a mere rack renting landlord and the people would have none of the benefits that will arise through the establishment of the single tax system. This system requires that occupants of the soil shall pay into the common fund a fair price for the special privileges that they enjoy, and that all people shall, through their relief from taxation and otherwise, receive the benefits of the income thus derived by the whole people from the property that rightfully belongs to them in common. There are some things about the Chinese system, however, which go to show how easily permanent possession is reconciled to actual government ownership of land, and the system is worth studying for that reason, though no one would be likely to assume that the Chinese had

arrived at the establishment of the single tax.

#### THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

THE STANDARD goes to press one day in advance of the great demonstration by workmen throughout Europe and the United States in favor of a legal work day of eight hours. It is useless to speculate, just on the eve of the event, concerning the probable success or failure of the movement. In this country, the federated trades alone are committed to the effort, and the Knights of Labor, though sympathetic, are not formally pledged to any support involving a strike. In England, there has been some dissension owing to resentment by many workmen of the attempt of the socialists to exploit the movement as their own, while in Germany and France the usual confusion in the newspaper reports render it impossible for any one in this country to form an approximation to an intelligent judgment of the situation.

The demand for shorter hours is an eminently just one. We do not accept the theory that men will do as much in eight hours as they do in ten; but we do insist that men already are giving to their employers more labor than they are adequately paid for. Therefore, if, instead of demanding more wages, they choose to ask for shorter hours, they are claiming something that is justly their own. This is notably the case in this country, for the discussion of the tariff question has clearly brought out the fact that the American laborer gives to his employer from 50 to 100 per cent more product in return for a stated amount of pay than is given by the laborer abroad. His wages, measured by product, are lower than those of English workmen, to say nothing of the worse paid workmen in the protected countries of the continent.

The fact that labor is swindled out of its due is the chief cause of the growing inequality between the rich and poor, and it has a great deal to do with the stagnation of trade now existing. A universal refusal of all laboring men to work for more than eight hours a day, if persisted in for two weeks, would unquestionably compel a change in the number of hours accounted a day's work. The trouble is that workmen, eagerly competing one with another for the opportunity to work, cannot be induced to stand together, and probably would not be able to maintain themselves for two whole weeks in absolute idleness. Just here lies the danger of the failure of the movement. If it does fail the result will be due to the conditions that make work a boon and shut up natural opportunities to labor.

In this country the lead in the great strike will be taken by the United brotherhood of carpenters and joiners, who will be supported in their demand, and if necessary sustained during a strike, by all of the unions represented in the federation of trades. Samuel Gompers frankly announces this policy, and asks all other trades to defer effort in their own behalf until the first great struggle has been won. If that shall be successful, he points out, it will then be easy for the various trades, one at a time, to obtain concessions. This is, of course, wise generalship, but we cannot understand why Mr. Gompers should express surprise that the employers who oppose the demand of the workmen should likewise concentrate their efforts and put all of the influence behind the employing builders, who must bear the brunt of the first attack. It is just as natural that the employers should adopt this course as it is that the workmen should do so. The effort of the workmen is to get more money for a given amount of work. The effort of the employers is to get more work for a

given amount of money, and both parties to the contest can, of course, be depended on to adopt whatever tactics seem most likely to succeed.

It is the comprehension of this fact that has led many trades unionists, who are also single tax men, to insist upon it that through political action alone can labor ever win justice. In the contest at the polls the workman appeals not merely to the popular sense of justice, but he enlists in his behalf the intelligent selfishness of all those members of the community who comprehend the fact that general prosperity must necessarily follow a large and permanent increase in the pay of workmen.

#### LAND AND BEANS.

"Evolution and Social Reform, the Socialistic Method and the Single Tax," was the title of a lecture delivered before the Brooklyn ethical association in the Second Unitarian church of that city on Sunday evening. The lecture is described by the New York Times as "most interesting and comprehensive," and it seems to have been listened to with interest by a large audience. Mr. Potts, the lecturer, started out with a general definition of socialism, communism, nationalism, anarchism and nihilism. He devoted his principal attention, during the first part of his lecture, to that clever novelist, Mr. Edward Bellamy, and pointed out some fatal defects in the scheme of state socialism described, on hearsay, by the preserved hero of "Looking Backward." Mr. Potts managed, however, to demonstrate that he has no comprehension of the conditions that cause men to accept such dreams as real, for he showed that he has no knowledge whatever of the startling facts that prove the steady tendency toward the concentration of wealth in a few hands. He also indicated his own undemocratic tendencies by a sneer at popular suffrage.

Having disposed of Mr. Bellamy's novel to his own satisfaction, Mr. Potts next took up the single tax. He declared that Mr. George is not a socialist "except in the matter of the ownership of real estate, and in that he is prepared to make a compromise, and simply take the value of the land instead of the land itself." That is to say, Mr. George is willing to compromise on the oyster and let who will have the shell. Though Mr. Potts intimates that Mr. George's views about land are socialistic he shows that he has himself given more attention to the subject than this would indicate, and he declares that "the theory of the different relations of man to land is not new." By this Mr. Potts apparently means that man's relation to land is different from his relation to other property. He is certainly right in saying that this is not new, for the difference has been apparent to clear thinkers ever since thinking became a habit among men. It was manifest to Moses, the Gracchi, Blackstone, Herbert Spencer (who seems to be the divinity at whose shrine Mr. Potts bows), John Stuart Mill, and to every one else who has considered the subject uninfluenced by a fanatical devotion to existing customs. What is new, Mr. Potts says, is the "assumption that the practical spoliation of the present holders of real property would be just and in the interests of mankind." Oh no, Mr. Potts, this is not new. The code of Israel compelled a redistribution of land in the interest of the people at stated periods. The Gracchi were murdered by the society savers of Rome for insisting on it that the men who gave to Rome her greatness were entitled to the conquered territory that the rich and lazy Patricians claimed as their own, and which was their own, quite as clearly as much land now is the property of men who hold it. The really new thing in

the George doctrine, though Mr. Potts does not seem to understand that it is new, is that instead of a redistribution of land, which would probably be impracticable among civilized people, Mr. George proposes to take the value of the land for common use and leave private ownership undisturbed.

Referring to Mr. George's declaration that the possession of land has been acquired largely through fraud and violence, Mr. Potts says that he thinks it would puzzle Mr. George to pitch upon any kind of property whatever, the possession of which is not in some degree tainted by fraud and violence. Mr. Potts does not know what he is talking about. Every product that goes into the hands of the producer is property untainted by fraud and violence. The chief count in the indictment against landlordism is that it takes a large portion of this honestly acquired property away from the men who own it, and puts it, by fraud or violence, into the hands of the men who have not earned it.

Mr. Potts, after intimating that Mr. John Stuart Mill had been "beguiled" into accepting the doctrine of "unearned increment," said:

But in what respect does real estate differ in this regard from personal estate? One man buys land, giving the highest price that any one will venture, and assuming all the taxes and other charges thereon, including the burden of interest, with the chance of an advance or a loss. Another man buys beans, upon which he pays no taxes. There happens to be a short crop, the price of beans is advanced, and he reaps a fine profit. "But," says Henry George, "the supply of land is limited." Yes, and there is a limited supply of beans. The reasons for the increment of value are of precisely the same character.

Now this is altogether too bad. Mr. Chadwick, we take it, has an intelligent congregation. Moreover, being Unitarians, they are not unacquainted with beans. They ought not to be insulted by having such childish nonsense talked to them. Furthermore Mr. Potts is under some obligation to make at least a pretense to intelligence. He is secretary of the Civil service reform association. The enemies of that reform assail it as a scheme for the exaltation of mediocrity—a plan for enabling men, through a parrot-like answering of questions, to obtain places that can only properly be filled by men of wide intelligence and experience. Of course we do not indorse this assault on the merit system, but the fact that it is made, suggests the need of the institution by the Civil service reform society of some test of the mental capacity of the men who are to pose before the public as its representatives. Probably Mr. Potts himself, if he were coached a little, might be able to see that "the supply of land is limited" for all time, and that all the might of all the mer on earth cannot add one jot or tittle to the natural resources open to the development and use of mankind, whereas a slight change in the application of labor to land would, inside of two years at the utmost, overcome any temporary falling off in the crop of beans, and supply the demand for that nutritious vegetable, even should all mankind come to share the Boston taste as to Sunday breakfasts. Beans limited! The mind cannot conceive of a permanent limitation in their supply. Mr. Potts ought to be ashamed of himself.

We are glad to see that the Brooklyn ethical society resented the implied insult to its intelligence. It rebuked the speaker by unanimously passing a resolution congratulating Herbert Spencer on his seventieth birthday, and wishing him a long life and the health necessary to enable him to complete the missing parts of his synthetic philosophy. It was Herbert Spencer who said, "We shall do well to recollect that there are others besides the landed class to be considered. In our tender regard for the vested in-

terests of the few, let us not forget that the rights of the many are in abeyance, and must remain so as long as the earth is monopolized by individuals. Let us remember, too, that the injustice thus inflicted on the mass of mankind is an injustice of the gravest nature. The fact that it is not so regarded proves nothing. In early phases of civilization even homicide is thought lightly of. \* \* \* It may by and by be perceived that equity utters dictates to which we have not yet listened; and men may then learn that to deprive others of their right to the use of the earth is to commit a crime inferior only in wickedness to the crime of taking away their lives or personal liberties."

#### CORRUPTION IN CANADA.

There are certainly some advantages in the system of government that brings a responsible ministry into parliament to answer directly to attacks and criticisms. An admirable illustration of this was recently given in the Canadian parliament at Ottawa. Sir Richard Cartwright in criticising a pretense of the protectionists that they had reduced the duty on rice, denied that they had done anything of the kind. He said they had reduced the duty on uncleaned rice but kept the duty on cleaned rice the same as it was. The result, he declared, was that the consumer paid as much as ever, though the treasury got less money. Sir Richard made a calculation that owing to this policy \$30,000 goes into the treasury, while \$170,000 is taken from the pockets of the people for the benefit of certain favored persons; probably friends of the government who are doing the rice cleaning. The following colloquy between Sir Richard Cartwright and Mr. Bowell, the minister of customs, took place:

Sir Richard Cartwright—I suppose of that \$170,000, when these gentlemen, with their colleagues similarly circumstanced, meet together in the red parlor to be assessed for funds for the purpose of defrauding the public, \$10,000 to \$15,000 will find its way into the pockets of the finance minister, or the minister of customs, or the minister of public works, or whoever devised the robbery, for the development of the election fund.

Mr. Bowell—You don't mean that.

Sir Richard Cartwright—I mean every word of it. I know how you do it.

Mr. Bowell—If it is necessary to deny the insinuation made by the honorable gentleman, I have no hesitation in doing so in the most emphatic terms. If he means to insinuate that, either directly or indirectly, I ever received any of that money, he is stating what is positively and utterly false.

Sir Richard Cartwright—What? That the prime minister called together eighty or ninety manufacturers and assessed them for election purposes?

Mr. Bowell—You said the money went into the pockets of my colleagues and myself.

Sir Richard Cartwright—I said it went into the corruption fund by means of which honorable gentlemen, the minister of customs among them, keep their places.

Mr. Bowell—The honorable gentleman made a statement which was unworthy of any man, either in this house or anywhere else.

Sir Richard Cartwright—I say that this whole business of protection is robbery, legalized robbery; that you subsidize the manufacturers, and that the manufacturers in return subsidize you. That is what I say.

It will be noticed that Mr. Bowell, while indignantly denying a charge that Sir Richard did not make, took excellent care to avoid any denial of the charge that he did make. Sir Richard Cartwright said that he supposed that this money went into the pockets of one of the ministers "for the development of the election fund," and did not intimate any belief that it was used for a direct personal advantage of any member of the ministry in question. Mr. Bowell pretended that he was charged directly with thus obtaining money for his own use and benefit, and resented the charge, but he evidently did not dare deny that eighty or ninety manufacturers had been called together by the ministry and assessed for election purposes, and that the money thus obtained went into the corruption fund. All he did deny, practically, was that any of the ministry had handled

the funds. This would probably be true in any event. We certainly do not manage things in that way in the United States. It is probable that Mr. Harrison and every member of his cabinet could truthfully deny having personally handled any of the corruption fund to which they owe their present places; but if they want to attempt to deny that such fund was raised they would be greeted with the shouts of derision from their own partisans.

As it is here, so it appears to be in Canada. Wherever the protective system exists it is, as Sir Richard Cartwright says, simply legalized robbery. The government subsidizes the manufacturers and the manufacturers, in return, subsidize the party that gives them the subsidy. It is rank, flat, remorseless robbery, unjustifiable in morals, disastrous in its economic results and a curse to the politics of any country where the system is permitted to exist. Happily its days are numbered in the United States, and our example will be powerful enough to enable friends of freedom like Sir Richard Cartwright to drive the money changing corruptionists from the temple of justice in Canada.

#### AN EQUAL CHANCE AND A FAIR START.

At a recent meeting of the Loyal Legion composed of officers of the Union army who served in the civil war, Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes, who once held the office of president of the United States, said:

Our America to-day is drawing near to the parting of the roads. Dazzled almost to blindness by contemplation of the unrivaled swiftness and splendor of her march to prestige, to power and to riches, our country may be tempted to reject, or may neglect, the message of Abraham Lincoln. That message was often repeated by him in words, and always exhibited by him in his life from his earliest to his latest days on earth. It can be easily and amply given in a single sentence. His whole life, his very being, seemed to say to his countrymen: "See to it that every son and daughter of our republic, so far as human laws and human conduct avail, shall have an equal chance and a fair start in the race of life." Reject or neglect this and our government ceases to be republican except in name, and that doom which the Almighty has appointed for all sham is not far off.

What does Mr. Hayes mean when he declares that we are at the parting of the roads and are facing a serious crisis in our national life? To those who look at the social problem, unprejudiced by partisan feeling, it is clear that we do face such a crisis and that our government is likely to cease to be republican, except in name, because American citizens no longer have "an equal chance and a fair start in the race of life." We can never have a permanent republic so long as our institutions are so framed that the rich constantly become richer and the poor poorer, owing to forces not under their own control. Single tax men find a sufficient reason for this tendency in the system of land tenure that compels the many to compete with one another for the privilege of producing—a privilege that they can only obtain from the legalized monopolists of natural opportunities rightfully belonging to all. But what does such language mean coming from one who is still an adherent of the policy of nurturing monopoly through the agency of a protective tariff.

The Philadelphia Inquirer, an ardent republican journal, which defends the Pennsylvania policy in season and out of season, repeats Mr. Hayes's warning and declares that from the ideal of Lincoln we have fallen further and further away. It says:

To establish a permanent class at the top which cannot fall and another at the bottom which cannot rise is to hold as firmly in its position the middle class between them. None of these things do we want to do. Perhaps it is but a tendency which, when fully recognized by the people, will warn them from the wrong road that they are in danger of taking to the other way, along which every

citizen will continue to enjoy his fair start and equal chance in life.

Our contemporary is mistaken in supposing that it is possible for any middle class to maintain the position it thus assigns to it. The constant tendency will be toward the division of the people into a plutocracy and a proletariat, and the middle class will eventually disappear. This is already illustrated in the rapid disappearance of farmers who own the soil that they till, and if existing conditions continue the process must go on with accelerated speed. How do protectionist papers like the Inquirer account for this tendency? We certainly agree with them that it exists, and we also agree with our contemporary that, when it is fully recognized by the people, they will return to the primal system under which every man had a fair start and an equal chance in the race for life; but they will begin by tearing down the system of protection which is maintained for the express purpose of preventing that equality of opportunity which is the natural right of freemen.

#### ENCOURAGEMENT FROM AUSTRALIA.

We print in this issue of THE STANDARD extracts from the news columns of the Australian papers that add something to the very full and satisfactory report contained in Mr. John Farrell's letter printed last week. It must be remembered that these reports come from papers not committed to the single tax, and somewhat careful to avoid any appearance of approving our doctrine, and hence the evidence they offer as to the remarkable success of Mr. George's visit does not need to be taken with any allowance for the enthusiasm of partisanship. It is perfectly clear that the colony of New South Wales is profoundly stirred by Mr. George's utterances, and it is not to be doubted that a great impetus will be given to the single tax cause thereby.

We print a full report of the brief speech made by Mr. George at the single tax banquet, and the faith and hope that animate his utterances should stir the advocates of the single tax—that "great body of men in the United States who are pledged to these principles, who are sworn soldiers in this cause," as Mr. George describes us—to renewed enthusiasm and energy in behalf of our cause. No immediate and visible results can be achieved at this stage in such a movement, but men can keep themselves in a state of readiness to take advantage of every opportunity that offers itself to push forward our principles and to eagerly help all who are going our way.

The great tariff struggle will be renewed at the polls at the coming fall elections, and the duty rests upon us—the real free traders of America—to exercise wisdom and display activity in assisting to bring free traders forward as candidates and in helping to elect them when they are nominated. The complaint that this is but a little step toward the single tax is a sign of a lack of enlightened zeal. The men who will not take the little first steps are never likely to take the final steps through which great reforms are achieved.

#### BALLOT REFORM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

No one who has been familiar with the work throughout this country in behalf of ballot reform will call in question the great service rendered to the cause by the Knights of Labor. They have been earnest and united, and like the single tax men, many of whom are also knights, they have persistently sought the immediate object in view regardless of partisan prejudices and affiliations. In this state they have rendered faithful service to the cause, and they could be depended on probably more thoroughly than any other organization among us to engage

in an honest and determined effort to carry forward a reform that has been forced on both of the great political parties in New York.

In Pennsylvania they seem to be the only organized body that is sincerely devoted to this reform, and we are glad to see in a recent number of the Journal of the Knights of Labor an earnest call on Mr. Powderly to take the lead in behalf of a demand for a constitutional convention in that state to establish the Australian system there. It is clear that without a constitutional convention the system cannot be established. Article 8, section 4 of that instrument reads:

All elections by the citizens shall be by ballot. Every ballot voted shall be numbered in the order in which it shall be received, and the number recorded opposite the name of the elector who presents the ballot.

It is, of course, impossible to have the Australian or any other system of fair and honest voting under a constitution containing such a provision. We do not know what excuses are urged in its favor, but it is clear to the most casual observer that human ingenuity could not have provided a system more effective for the promotion of bribery and intimidation. It would seem that the protected monopolists of the state had deliberately made a constitution that would enable them to coerce their workmen into supporting any ticket that they choose to put in the field. With such a provision in the constitution, any attempt to enact an Australian law that should have the essential characteristic of absolute secrecy would necessarily fail. With men of the character and influence of Hon. Chauncey F. Black making the demand, it would be easy for the Knights of Labor to obtain a hearing and to commit one or the other of the two great parties to the holding of a constitutional convention.

#### THEY WANT SLAVERY AGAIN.

Mr. James Anthony Froude is a tory of tories and a fair type of the literary men who lay their brains as a willing tribute at the feet of the fat-witted squires and greedy plutocrats, whose policy of selfishness they exalt into an idealized conservatism. In the course of a recent letter to the author of the "Memorial of a Southern Planter," Mr. Froude declares that he is afraid "that the day is not far off that the enthusiastic emancipators of your country and of ours will be found not to have been the truest friends of the race of whom they believe themselves liberators," and he goes on to say that "freedom is a doubtful gift if it does not bring those qualities of mind and character which alone can make a wholesome use of freedom." This remark is highly suggestive because it indicates clearly that the logical tendency of modern conservatism is toward a restoration of human slavery as the only solution of a grave problem that even conservatism can no longer ignore.

Had Mr. Froude been a man who comprehended the genius of liberty, he would, instead of uttering this idle regret, have declared that freedom is a doubtful gift so long as it is incomplete. He would have seen that to give men the right to vote and to choose their own vocations is an idle performance, so long as we perpetuate a legal system which denies them the right to labor for their own subsistence without first procuring the consent of a small and favored class, who are legally given dominion over all of the natural resources to which men must have access if they are to maintain life—much less liberty.

Mr. Froude's whole career, however, renders it impossible that he should take this view of the subject. No man has more clearly pointed out the evils which result from land monopoly than he has pointed them out in the earlier chapters

of his history of England, but, blinded by his worship of mere brute force and his traditional belief in monarchy and aristocracy, he absolutely failed to comprehend the true cause of the misery he depicts. That such a man should openly express his regret that men can no longer hold their fellow men in slavery is, however, a valuable indication of the trend of conservative thought, and it leaves no doubt as to the lines on which the great political battles of the future are sure to be fought.

We have arrived at a condition which is untenable. Men must be slaves or be absolute freemen. The paper guarantee of the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is worthless against the power to monopolize natural opportunities and exact tribute from all who desire to work. Between these two claims there is a new "irrepressible conflict" which never can be ended until the right of mankind to the earth it inhabits is clearly recognized in law.

#### FARMERS BEGIN TO SEE IT.

A press dispatch from Rockford, Ill., declares that the farmers in that portion of the country are becoming very much excited over the subject of taxation. They have held several meetings, and many of the speakers denounced the protective tariff as one of the causes of the depression of the farming interest. John Puddicombe seems to have seen a little further, even, for in one of his speeches he declared: "I hope that the time will come again when, if the old hen, in the course of business, finds it incumbent upon her to lay an egg with a double yolk, the owner will not be compelled by iniquitous class laws to hand one of the yolks over to some fellow who has no earthly right to it." Our single tax friends in Illinois should pay some attention to Mr. Puddicombe to show him how and why the producer is generally compelled to pay a part of his product to some one who has no earthly right to it.

So far as immediate effects are concerned, however, the important thing is that these farmers are beginning to see that the existing tariff system is one of the causes of their distress. The spontaneous awakening of interest among them shows that there is ample opportunity for effective work in Illinois, and the Illinois tariff reform league should not neglect the opportunity thus presented. The tariff discussion is the entering wedge for the whole question of taxation, and, when the debate is on, the time will be ripe for pointing out the iniquity of all indirect taxation, and thus preparing the way for free trade and the single tax. Can our single tax friends in Chicago not stir up the tariff reformers to increased activity?

#### THE SINGLE TAX IN ARKANSAS.

The propagation of single tax ideas in the state of Arkansas is necessarily slow, for the doctrine is new to the mass of our people and the most liberal minds, when the idea is first presented to them, rebel and repudiate it, and something like the following colloquy ensues:

"What," he says, "are you going to take the taxes off A, the banker, who is worth a million of dollars in money, and let him contribute nothing toward the support of the government?"

"Exactly so."

"Off B's improvements, consisting of a building worth \$40,000, and let them go untaxed?"

"To be sure."

"And off the goods of C, the great merchant, whose annual sales amount to more than a million dollars?"

"That is just what we intend."

"Then how are you going to support the government?"

"Take by way of taxation the rental

value of all lands improved or unimproved, wherever situated, and thus remove the fetters from human industry."

"Well, it is manifest the fools continue to multiply in the land."

"But, my friend, let me ask you a question or two. How much tax does A, the banker, pay on his million of dollars, or B on his forty thousand dollar building, or C on his million of merchandise sold?"

I cannot say; of course, he pays his regular rates, his equal proportion with all other property."

"Well, I can tell you just what each and all of them pay. They pay just nothing at all, but make a profit in their business by this taxation."

"Why, what do you mean? I do not understand you."

"A, the banker, adds the taxes to his fees, percentage and emoluments, and the customer pays it and adds it to his charge for the services or productions of his own trade, profession or business, and the consumer finally pays it. B, the owner of the improvement, adds the taxes upon his \$40,000 to the rent, the renter adds it to the price of his merchandise or manufactured products, and the consumer pays it. C, the merchant, adds the taxes he pays to the price of his goods, and the consumer pays it; and so with every other industrial operation. The farmer must get a price from the consumer for his wheat, rye, oats, cotton, stock, vegetables and fruit sufficient to cover all costs and expenses of their production, including all taxes, or he must ultimately fail and break up. There is not a producer of anything that enters into the supply of human wants but must have a price for the article produced which will cover the cost of production and all taxes on production, and the consumer must pay it. This is a fundamental law of all production, all industry, all business. But more than this, the consumer pays to all the industrial classes referred to a profit on all the taxes so advanced; so you see that all the taxation under the present system rests upon the consumer. There is no class except the laborer for hire that does not shift all the taxes it pays on to the consumer."

"Now, who are the consumers? They are the people of all classes, rich and poor. But the poor man consumes as much as the rich man, and therefore pays as much taxes to support the government. For it takes as much food to feed a poor man as a rich one; as much clothing and fuel to keep him warm; as much medicine to cure him when sick; as much whisky to make him drunk. His fare on the railroad and his tickets to the theater cost the same. So you see, my friend, the taxes by which government is supported under the present system is essentially a per capita tax, all wealth, all property, except the small amount that belongs to the industrial classes—the laborer for hire—classes who live by their personal services, is practically exempt from taxation."

"Now, these classes embrace about four-fifths of the people. Do you think a system which imposes four-fifths of the burdens of society upon the poor because the poor constitute four-fifths of the population, is an honest or just system? Is a system just which compels a poor widow with five children to pay more toward the support of government than the miser with his millions?"

"But, my friend, this is not the worst of it. Don't you see that under the power given by the land laws to capitalists to convert their capital into lands without limit all the best soils, the best timbered lands and all mining lands are being bought up by capitalists and held out of use, and the rising generation, four-fifths of whom began life with nothing but their two hands and their brains with which to make a living, are driven to the swamps, the mountains and the most worthless, desolate and remote parts of earth for opportunities upon which to employ their physical and mental powers in the struggle of life; are driven, moreover, into the great cities and centers of wealth to obtain employment by hire to the rich for wages

where, on account of the competition of numbers, thousands must fail to get positions and of necessity become idle tramps and beggars. And, what is worse, want, aggravated by the display of millions of wealth in the hands of the few, sufficient to supply all human needs, takes away the spirit and pride of the masses, and they become desperate, while great capitalists take advantage of their necessities in all the industries to build up great fortunes upon their labor at starvation wages."

"If you see this, do you not see that it is through this destitute and hapless condition that they become degraded and commit crimes for which they are punished by the laws, when the real parties deserving the punishment are the land holders—the great monopoly created by a combination between capital and land-lordism?"

"Now, a word more as to the remedy against these evils which, if permitted to go on, must necessarily wreck our whole political system. The remedy is to put a stop to the conversion of capital into land. This is the very open flood gate through which the masses of mankind are overwhelmed with starvation and misery. Capital has no principal or sentiment but the greed of gain. It seeks investment wherever it can gratify this greed. By the power to invest in lands it becomes segregated from labor as a factor of production and an enemy to the laborer. Take away this source of investment and it is easy enough to see that there could be no other source or field of investment—no other means of making gain to capital but in connection with labor."

"Capital and labor would be cemented and united in interest, which is exactly what nature designed. Capital of itself could produce nothing, and labor could produce little without capital. Acting in conjunction, with lands free, capital and labor would have a clear field and their united productions would inure to the benefit of all. There would be no millionaires on the one hand and no industrial slavery on the other—no destitution."

"But," says my friend, "how do you propose to put a stop to the conversion of capital into lands?"

"By the single tax. Tax nothing but land values, i. e., take the rental value of lands and lots and support the government with it; repealing all other taxes of every kind upon the products of industry which are, as I have said, all paid by the consumers."

"But," says my friend, "how does this stop buying and owning land?"

"By taking the rental value the government takes just what profit capital can make by such investments, and you may be sure capitalists will never put their money where it can make no gain."

"What then?"

"Why land, the natural opportunities of labor, would practically cease to be considered as wealth. No gain to capital or labor in connection with lands could accrue except in their development, culture—use. The owner would be compelled to put his lands to use or transfer them to some one who would. But lands—God's earth cannot be put to use; cannot be improved; cannot be made to produce for the supply of human wants except by the application of labor, and this would put labor on top as it ought to be. It would place labor in the lead as a factor of production with capital as its adjunct. But the two acting in concert, with all natural opportunities thrown open, the production of wealth would increase at a rate never before known."

"It could not possibly be otherwise unless the aggregate productive power of a country can accomplish more when shackled with monopolies and restrictions than when left free and in possession of all such natural opportunities."

"Well," said my friend, "your theory has some plausibility, but can never be put into practice."

A week afterward a single tax friend calls and says: "I have just had an interview with Mr. So-and-so, and he says

he will be dog if he doesn't think there is something in this single tax business."

Little Rock, Ark. SOL. F. CLARK.

#### FEDERAL TAXATION.

Allow me space in THE STANDARD to express my reasons for dissenting from the view presented by your able correspondent, Mr. Post, on federal taxation, in your issue of Wednesday last. He says:

"It is chiefly population that makes land values, and if land values were taxed and the tax thus apportioned, it could not but fall with practical equality upon the citizens of the different states. A tax upon land according to its value would, for the very reason that it must be apportioned according to population, be the ideal federal tax."

I am decidedly in favor of the single tax on land, exclusive of improvements, for all purposes, state, municipal and national; but I think it susceptible of demonstration that such a tax, apportioned among the states according to the provisions of the constitution of the United States as they now stand, would be most unequal and unjust.

The census report of 1880 furnishes all the facts necessary to the solution of the question. Take the two states of New York and North Carolina, for instance. They are of nearly equal area. The assessed value of real estate in New York is reported to have been \$2,329,282,359, and the assessed value of real estate in North Carolina is set down at \$101,709,326. It follows, therefore, that the value of real estate in New York, in 1880, was to that of North Carolina in the proportion of 22.9 to 1; and hence an equal rate of taxation on the two states would be in the proportion of \$22.90 on New York to \$1 on North Carolina.

But congress, under the constitution, would impose the taxes, not in proportion to wealth, but in proportion to population; and that proportion is as 3.6 to 1, for New York had 5,082,871 inhabitants, and North Carolina 1,399,750. The tax per capita on the people of North Carolina, therefore, would be six times greater than on those of New York. Take next Ohio and Mississippi. The assessed value of real estate in Ohio is stated to have been \$1,093,677,705, and that of Mississippi is set down at \$79,469,530. The proportions, therefore, are as 13.76 to 1; and for every dollar of tax imposed on Mississippi, \$13.76 should be imposed on Ohio. But their populations are in the proportions of 2.8 to 1; and Mississippians would be assessed at about five times as heavy taxes as those of Ohio.

Massachusetts has less than twice the population of South Carolina, while the value of real estate in the former exceeds that of the latter by more than fourteen to one.

These striking contrasts, or disproportions of population to wealth, are not confined to northern and southern states, but anyone who will take the pains to make the comparisons will find them to exist between eastern and western states, and they may treat all the states east of the Mississippi, especially those bordering on the Ohio, as eastern states.

The constitution of the United States must be changed before the national revenue can be raised by the single tax. Taxation must be based on the value of land, and not in proportion to the number of the people, in order to secure an approximation to equality. This constitutional basis of the direct taxing power was one of the very few serious mistakes made by the framers of that instrument, and it was caused by the presence of slavery. The southern representatives, while holding slaves to be property, were not willing for them to be taxed as such, and the north was not willing to give them full representation. Hence, the three-fifths compromise. The rational basis of imposing direct taxes according to the value of property was discussed, and voted on in the convention, but was at length laid aside.

There will be no difficulty about amending the constitution when the people begin to experience the advantages of the

single tax in its application to state and municipal affairs.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE,  
Washington, April 19, 1890.

### NOT OVERPOPULATION.

An old hobby is ridden by Mr. T. W. Russel in the April number of the Nineteenth Century. The misery of Ireland fifty years ago came from overpopulation. It was real overpopulation, according to Mr. Russel, for, "even if land had been rent free, the laborers, for whom it was incapable of providing labor, could not have profited."

Are you so sure of this, Mr. Russel? Let us investigate a few figures. The area of Ireland is 20,826,209 acres, of which, according to J. R. A. Culloch's description and statistics of the British empire of 1847, 13,000,880 were cultivated at that time. Let us leave aside the fact that a great portion of the remaining 7,800,000 acres could have been cultivated, if landlordism, with its habits of increasing rent without paying for the improvements as soon as the tenant had improved the land, had not been in the way. In spite of this obstacle 2,000,000 acres more have been put into cultivation since then, and millions more could be added. Let us leave this aside, though it is of great importance; let us simply divide the 13,000,000 among a population of 1,600,000 families of five heads each, and we obtain eight acres for each family—that is twice as much as is needed to feed them—so that Ireland could maintain at least double the population of 1840 without counting the food which could be imported for industrial products. As, according to Arthur Young, this land is superior to that of England in point of fertility, and as three acres are sufficient to furnish all the food a family needs, we could easily add 8,000,000 more if we include the land capable of cultivation but not counted in the above estimate. The rental, acre for acre, amounted to 13s. 5½d. This amounted to £5 8s. for each family, and as, according to Mr. Russel, the average earnings of a laborer amounted to from 2s. to 2s. 6d. a week, the part taken by the drone was as much as the workers got, and alone from this source the income of the latter could have been doubled. The indirect effect would have been much greater if that greatest of all hinderances to the free development of the country should have been taken off, the confiscation and consequent discouragement of improvements by idle landlords.

Look at the exports of that same poor and starving Ireland at the same period, exports mostly made to pay for the rent of the land due to absentee landlords. The exports of 1845, according to Culloch, amounted to 3,251,000 quarters of grain and meal. A quarter of eight bushels forms the estimated consumption of an adult during a year, and we thus see that the grain exported by itself would have been sufficient to feed half the population. Idle landlords took it away, the people starved and politicians like Mr. Russel call it overpopulation. Why, on the same plan one single family might be considered as overpopulation if somebody took away from them the foodstuffs they produced to feed on. The exportations of Ireland in other articles besides grains and flours amounted to about £7,000,000. The total produce of Ireland in grains, potatoes, garden produce and flax amounted to £28,200,000. This did not include meat, bacon, butter, eggs, etc., and industrial products; but it would, even as it is, have yielded three times as much to each family as they earned, according to Mr. Russel, if we take into account the wages he mentions. Page 682 he gives the average income of a family at that time to be under £50, which would be about eight times as much as the average wages paid to laborers, and therefore would by itself indicate that it was not overpopulation and a deficiency of goods which caused the need of the people, but a wrong distribution; for £50 a year for each family would be enough to feed and clothe them, would be a good deal more

than French and German populations possessed at that period.

If the annual drink bill, according to Mr. R., exceeds the annual rent paid for land to-day, it certainly must have done so in 1840, if, as the same writer states, people drink a good deal less now than they did then. He says that men drank to forget their misery. As the land system caused this misery, we here have got another item which has to be taken into account when we investigate the real cause of the state of things described by Mr. Russel. The absence of landlordism would have turned into food a great part of the wealth which flowed into this channel. Where, after all this, can we find a justification of the unpardonable levity which sees in overpopulation the source of Ireland's misery, when the real cause lies so evidently before the eyes of all, who do not intentionally blind them to the truth?

MICHAEL FLURSCHHEIM.

Bournemouth, England.

### ONE TAX ENOUGH.

(Third Article.)

THE UNITED STATES.

We now proceed to consider the effect of the single tax upon the United States, as a whole.

The official estimate of the whole national wealth, as given by the compilers of the census of 1880, was \$43,642,000,000. This is largely based upon guess work; but it is the best estimate which is to be had. This wealth includes the following items of real estate:

|                                 |                  |
|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Farms . . . . .                 | \$10,197,000,000 |
| Other real estate . . . . .     | 11,881,000,000   |
| Railroads . . . . .             | 5,536,000,000    |
| Mines, etc. . . . .             | 684,000,000      |
| Telegraphs and canals . . . . . | 264,000,000      |

Total . . . . . \$28,562,000,000

One half as land value . . . . . \$14,281,000,000

But in reality, one-half is too low an estimate for the value of the bare land included in this real estate. Wherever assessors distinguish between land and its improvements, land appears to constitute fully 60 per cent of the value of real estate. If we adopt that figure in this case, the land values of the United States for 1880 would amount to over \$17,000,000,000.

We prefer, however, to err upon the safe side; and as, in this and in every other case, an estimate of one-third of the whole value of real and personal property is an under estimate of the value of land, while it is a very convenient figure to adopt as a basis for calculation in all cases, we accept it here. One-third of all values would give a land value, for the United States, of \$14,547,000,000.

The taxes actually collected by the federal government in 1880, amounted to \$333,526,611. But this was \$66,000,000 in excess of any needs of the government. The actual expenditures for all purposes, including interest on the public debt, constitute the whole amount which would have been raised under any system of direct taxation. This sum must, therefore, be taken as the basis of our calculation for needed federal taxes.

#### COST OF GOVERNMENT FOR 1880.

|                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Federal taxes . . . . . | \$267,642,958 |
| Local taxes . . . . .   | 312,750,721   |

Total . . . . . \$580,393,679

We have now to ascertain the economic rent of land in the same year. The current rate of interest in the United States, from June, 1879, to June, 1880, was more than six per cent upon first mortgage security. The value of land was therefore estimated upon this basis, that is, upon the belief that the land was worth what its income represented on a six per cent basis. Six per cent upon the capitalized value of \$14,547,000,000 is \$872,820,000. But to this must be added so much of the taxes as actually fell upon land values in 1880. None of the federal taxes touched the land, but about thirty five per cent of the local taxes were laid upon the land. This is proved by reference to the assessments of real and personal property as follows:

|                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Real property . . . . .     | \$13,036,766,925 |
| Personal property . . . . . | 3,866,326,618    |

Assuming that one-half of the real property consisted of land values, which is in accordance with the rule upon which all these calculations have been made, it will be found that land values constituted 38½ per cent of all assessed property. To deal with perfect fairness, and to make every unfavorable admission which truth might probably require, we will concede that, in consequence of the general undervaluation of unimproved land by assessors, not more than 35 per cent of local taxes should be reckoned as now laid upon pure land values. This would amount to \$109,403,746. This brings us to the following conclusions:

|                                  |               |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| United States Ground Rent, 1880. |               |
| Net economic rent . . . . .      | \$872,820,000 |
| Taxes on rent . . . . .          | 109,403,746   |
|                                  | \$982,223,746 |

|                           |               |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| Cost of Government, 1880. |               |
| Federal . . . . .         | \$267,642,958 |
| State and local . . . . . | 312,750,721   |
|                           | \$580,393,679 |

Surplus of rent . . . . . \$401,889,000

The cost of government thus appears to constitute only 59 per cent of economic rent; although the actual taxes levied amounted to 65½ per cent of rent.

It will, however, be claimed that land is not worth six per cent annually upon its valuation, and was not in 1880.\* That is only a roundabout way of saying that it was grossly overvalued; because most of its owners could have obtained seven per cent for their money if they had sold the land at its valuation and lent the proceeds upon mortgage. But let us reduce the valuation by one-sixth, and call economic rent only five per cent upon the census valuation. Still, the result will be as follows:

|                                        |               |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|
| Gross economic rent at 5 p. c. . . . . | \$836,812,000 |
| Gross necessary taxes . . . . .        | 580,393,679   |

Gross surplus . . . . . \$256,419,000

This would still make taxes only 69½ per cent of economic rent. In short, by no possible calculation which can be honestly made by any intelligent man can it be shown that the economic rent of the United States is not far more than sufficient to supply all the needs of the most extravagant and corrupt form of government which has ever existed on this continent.

All these calculations have been made without any preconceived theory as to the proportion which taxation would probably bear to rent, and without any anticipation that in places so widely separated and so unlike in their social conditions, as Boston, Connecticut and Great Britain, there would be any similarity in results. Yet there is a very remarkable approach to uniformity in them. Including railway values in each, in the final estimates, the results are as follows:

|                         | Ground rent   | Government cost | Percentage |
|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------|
| United States . . . . . | \$982,223,746 | \$580,393,679   | 59         |
| Boston . . . . .        | 24,000,000    | 16,000,000      | 66½        |
| Connecticut . . . . .   | 15,682,000    | 10,600,000      | 67½        |
| Great Britain . . . . . | 905,000,000   | 575,000,000     | 63½        |

As, in Boston and Connecticut, these figures include federal taxes, levied far in excess of the actual cost of government, everything seems to point to the conclusion that the cost of government is everywhere less than two-thirds of ground rent.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

\*It may be noticed that rent, at the present time (1890), has been calculated for Boston and Connecticut at only five per cent on the value. But the rate of interest has fallen more than one per cent throughout the country in the last ten years.

### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS—ITS FAILURE—SECRETARY BLAINE'S PROUD WORDS—PREPARING FOR RAD LEGISLATION IN THE SENATE—SENATOR CHANDLER'S SIGNIFICANT RESOLUTION—THE HOAR FEDERAL ELECTION BILL—MORE ABOUT CONGRESS AND THE PROPOSED PARKS IN WASHINGTON—A PARADISE FOR LAND OWNERS—SECRETARY RUSK AND THE AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—REPRESENTATIVE BLAND'S PLAN FOR HELPING THE FARMER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 28.—At length the conference of American republics has wound up its affairs and many of the delegates have departed for their respective homes. After months of conferring and traveling about the country, what has been done? Steps have been taken to recommend to the various governments a uniform system of postage dues, a common silver coin to be used in exchange, the establishment of subsidized lines of steamships, the building of an international railroad system, and other things, good and bad. But the real, great work for such a conference has been left undone. Trade is left to struggle with its tremendous burden of tariff taxes as though it were the natural and proper thing. Indeed, Mr. Blaine's will so dominated the conference that though the consideration of some sort of reciprocal trade relations had been deemed by some of the southern delegates to be the chief object of the gathering, never a word on the subject was uttered officially, though more than one delegate took occasion outside and publicly to express his dissatisfaction with the attitude of our government in the matter. Much time and care were bestowed at the end of the session for the formulation of a plan of arbitration of differences that may hereafter arise between the nations in question, so that in his final address Secretary Blaine was moved to say, seemingly with a sense of pride: "If in this closing hour the conference had but one deed to celebrate we should dare to call the world's

attention to the deliberate, confident, solemn dedication of two great continents to peace and to the prosperity which has peace for its foundation. We hold up this new Magna Charta which abolishes war and substitutes arbitration between the American republics as the first and great fruit of the international American conference."

Yet how empty those words! The man who uttered them encourages with all the strength of his great abilities a passive war—stands a foremost champion of that policy which interpose irritations and difficulties in the way of free commercial intercourse—that intercourse which is the slayer of national ignorances and prejudices and which gives the best guaranty of lasting peace and prosperity. So far from freeing trade of its trammels and knitting the republics into a close confederacy of sovereign states, in which the welfare of each would be for the good of all, the legislative as well as the administrative branch of Secretary Blaine's government takes the opposite course. Moved by the spirit that constrained Mr. Blaine in preventing all discussion of tariffs and trade in the conference congress now heaps both insult and injury upon the southern nations in proposing to build higher that tariff wall which they find at the entrance of our ports and over which they have to climb to exchange their commodities with us. This is "holding up a new Magna Charta;" this is "abolishing war," indeed. Even as the eloquent secretary spoke, congress was authorizing the building of three great, heavy armored battle ships—the first of an imperious fleet; huge built-up steel guns were being turned out not half a dozen miles away; and all manner of schemes were being considered for decking out the great republic in the accoutrements of war. Verily, "we hold up this new Magna Charta which abolishes war!"

Mr. Chandler of New Hampshire has offered a resolution as a standing rule of the senate to limit debate and authorize the presiding officer to "count a quorum." This is the principle introduced by Speaker Reed into the house rules, and is offered here, as it was adopted there, ostensibly to "expedite the taking of votes" and to "facilitate the public business." However truly it may be said that discussions are unduly drawn out in the house, this cannot be said of the senate, which is a smaller body, and is distinguished for its orderly and generally decorous proceedings. It cannot but wear a very bad appearance, coming as it does in the face of the redetermination of the republican side to get control of federal elections. In addition to the bills already offered and which have been explained more or less in THE STANDARD, Senator Hoar of the ballot reform state of Massachusetts presents a bill from the committee on privileges and elections, which is said to have the sanction of the republican caucus, but which deliberately avoids any provision for the extension of the Australian ballot system. Instead of the election machinery being left in the hands of the state authorities, as at present, the bill provides that "the chief supervisors of elections now in office, their successors, and such chief supervisors of elections as may hereafter be appointed by any law of the United States" shall select as supervisors of election from a list of persons named by the circuit court of the United States "two persons who shall be of different political parties, and one additional person"—the one additional person being of the dominant party, and at this time would be republican. Vacancies shall be filled with persons of the same political faith as those preceding in the offices. No steps are taken to secure a secret ballot in states where there exists no such law, though it is stated that the act "shall not prevent any state from providing by law, if it see fit, that ballots shall be provided at the public expense, containing the names of such candidates as may have been nominated by qualified voters in the district, not less in number than one for every one hundred persons who voted at the next preceding annual election therein, and from providing suitable regulations for ascertaining such nominations and for screening from observation the vote of each voter and keeping the same secret." But there is no obligation that such a system shall be adopted, and the inference is that the votes in the southern states are to be taken as they have hitherto been taken, but that the machinery shall be in republican instead of democratic hands. And as the act is to take effect in the elections of this fall it is obvious that this means is to be taken to keep the republican party in power.

Finding that the house would not consent to make the United States pay the whole cost of improving and maintaining Zoological park in the city of Washington the senate has receded from that position and adopted

the house provision that half the expense be borne by the District of Columbia. The house, in a few days, will take up the other senate park bill, authorizing the purchase of two thousand acres of land near Zoological park for the establishment of what may be known as Columbus park. Mr. Payson of Illinois tells me that no bill shall pass the house, if he can help it, which does not oblige the persons owning land adjacent to pay part of the cost of establishing the park in return for the benefit they will derive, and he has prepared an amendment embodying the provision he favors, and will offer it at the proper time. As former discussions have shown a large number of the most influential men on both sides of the house in favor of the principle, there is every probability of its being adopted. In order that every member may act intelligently, Mr. Spinola of New York offered the following resolution, which was adopted: "That the commissioners of the District of Columbia be, and they are hereby requested to report at once to the house of representatives the assessed value of all property included within the bounds of the proposed Rock creek park, as the same appears on the tax rolls of the city, and the same report shall also give the names of the persons against whom such assessments are made."

In respect to this resolution General Spinola tells me that he wants to throw a little light upon the ownership of the land in question and upon its value as stated for the assessor as compared with the price now asked for it. It is stated that a number of senators own a share of this and of the land adjoining, and that this is the cause of their reluctance to have any of that land burdened with a tax. "I do not see why my constituents hundreds of miles away should pay for a park from which land owners here are to get the benefit," said General Spinola to me, and on looking about I find that Washington is a landlord's paradise. Mr. Charles F. Adams, well known in the single tax movement, owns, in the name of a little society, a house in the outskirts of the city. The street on which the house faces has been laid with a sewer and well paved with asphalt for a mile or more beyond that point, making Adams's house very much more desirable than when he first built it, and yet he has never been called upon to pay a cent more in taxes. A bill was passed through congress and Uncle Sam paid the whole cost of sewerage and paving. Most congressmen are accustomed to a very different order of things, and have at no time had reason to be so forcibly impressed with the Washington land owner's liberality to themselves as during the last few years, during which so many plans have been brought forward to improve the city—all at the nation's expense. Before they have proceeded much further it is more than probable that many of the congressmen will get a pretty clear idea of the advantage of taxing land values.

"For months past," says Secretary Rusk of the department of agriculture, "from all parts of the country there have reached me communications, many of them from large bodies of men, all of them from persons deserving consideration, and all of them deeply in earnest, respecting the present condition of agricultural depression." It would be, he says, "a work of supererogation at this time to undertake to prove the existence of severe agricultural depression," as it is universally admitted. There are, he thinks, two great causes, the first, "inherent in the farmers themselves," the second, due to circumstances over which farmers have no control but which they can meet "by law." They must "carefully study the character and the quality" of their products "rather than mere quantity," they must not try to hold more land than they can use, as this reduces them in circumstances, and each farmer must endeavor to supply all the wants of his household as far as soil and climate will permit. Aside from individual efforts comes in the tariff. "In the days when the farmers were prosperous," says the secretary, "when good crops were accompanied with high prices, and the value of agricultural land went up accordingly, the farmers to a man stood by the principle of protection urged on behalf of the manufacturers, who, burdened then with the heavy load of taxation imposed upon them by the civil war, were threatened with grave disaster in the face of European competition. Now, in the face of the severe competition which to-day confronts the farmer in foreign markets, duty, fairness, and, in the long run, self-interest, demand that we should afford him the benefits of a home market for all that he may be able to produce on our own soil." The thing to do is to protect the farmers from foreign sugar and molasses, animals and their products, breadstuffs, fruits, hay, hops, oils, rice, seed,

tobacco, vegetables, wines and other things. This would give them the home market all to themselves and add to the price of their products. But if the secretary would stop to consider he would see one of the effects of increasing the price of products would be to raise the value of land from which the products were drawn, since this would be equivalent to making the land more productive. Once nearly every farmer owned the farm he worked, and such a benefit would have been generally shared, but of late years ownership has been rapidly, if silently, concentrating into the hands of a few, so that the advantage to be reaped in the higher price of products would be absorbed by the owners of land in an increased rent. Thus it was that in England the landowning class fought so bitterly against the abolition of the corn laws.

Representative Bland of Missouri has introduced into the house a bill that would help the farmers. It resembles the bill presented by Representative Breckinridge of Kentucky a few weeks ago. It places on the free list all imported goods exchanged in foreign countries for our farm products. It provides that in all cases where it can be shown by proof satisfactory to the secretary of the interior that any goods, wares or merchandise imported into the United States have been purchased abroad by exchanging farm products for such goods, or when such goods have been purchased with the proceeds or avails of our farm products in foreign countries, such goods, wares or merchandise shall be imported free of duty. The bill further provides that any deficiency in the revenue caused by this act shall be made up by a tax on incomes of \$2,000 or upwards. There is no possibility of such a bill passing, but it shows the working of the yeast.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

Langdon House, St. Anne's Hill, Wandsworth, S. W., England.—Will you kindly answer the following questions propounded by Mr. T. Nicholson?

THOS. BRIGGS.

1. A tax upon land values can only be paid out of the prices obtained for the produce of land.

This is true. If we were to say that a land value tax must be paid out of the produce of labor applied to land, we should be more exact, but would probably mean nothing different from what Mr. Nicholson means.

2. The produce of land is the necessities of life.

Construing the term "necessaries of life" broadly, so as to include all the material things which we desire, this also is true.

3. A tax on land values is, therefore, a tax on the necessities of life.

By no means. Mr. Nicholson errs in assuming that the thing with which a tax is paid is the thing taxed. A tax on tobacco, if paid in corn or the price of corn, is not a tax on corn. A tax on bachelors, though paid out of the price obtained for pork, would not be a tax on pork. This tax on bachelors, recently proposed in France for the purpose of promoting marriage, admirably illustrates Mr. Nicholson's fallacy. It would have to be paid out of the products of labor applied to land; but it is plain that it would not in any sense be a tax on these products. It would be a tax simply and solely upon the privilege of remaining unmarried, just as a marriage license tax is a tax on the privilege of getting married. So a tax on land values, though paid with products of labor, is not a tax on those products. It is a tax on the privilege of monopolizing valuable land.

4. A tax, if of considerable amount, increases the cost of the article taxed.

This is true of all articles produced in competition. But it is not true of monopolized articles. To tax corn is to increase its price, because the tax makes it more difficult to produce corn, and therefore tends to lower the market supply. But to tax land values is to decrease the price of land, because the tax makes it more difficult to keep land out of its best use and, therefore, tends to increase the market supply.

5. Therefore a tax on the necessities of life increases the cost of those necessities.

Yes.

6. The necessities of life are articles of trade, and any action of government which increases their cost is against freedom of trade.

Yes.

7. A tax levied upon necessities produced in this country, and not upon those received from abroad, is a protective duty against home growth.

Yes.

8. The British farmer would have a right to demand that corn coming from abroad should bear a tax equal to the proportion of single tax he had to pay out of his corn.

No. Though he pays the land value tax with corn this does not increase the cost of producing home grown corn. The price of corn is regulated by cost of production from

the best land of no value. To tax corn is to increase the cost of production of corn from all land, the poorest as well as the best. But to tax land values does not affect cost of production from land of no value, since that kind of land does not come under the tax, and, therefore, it cannot affect cost of production from any land. Its effect is to lessen the rent which would otherwise go to the land owner by virtue, not of his labor, but of his ownership.

If we are correctly informed, most British farmers now pay the single tax out of their corn to landlords in the name of rent. Does that increase the price of corn, or give them a right to demand that corn coming from abroad shall be taxed?

9. Both by increasing the cost of produce and necessitating an equal tax upon foreign produce, the single tax idea is contrary to the principles of free trade.

When Mr. Nicholson comes to understand the incidence of taxation he will see that this question needs no answer. The single tax does not increase the price of production or necessitate any tax whatever on foreign produce.

10. Political economy requires that the expenses of government should be borne by the citizens in proportion to their wealth.

It would be better to say that expenses of government should be borne by the citizens in proportion to the value of the special privileges government secures to them. But as owners of the most valuable special privileges are certain soon to become the wealthiest men in a community unless compelled to bear the burden of taxation, it is not important to deny this postulate.

11. The single tax would cast the heaviest burden on the man whose family consumed the most of the necessities of life.

This is, of course, not true. A tax that does not increase the cost of the necessities of life can have no such effect.

12. Political economy demands that the wages of the working classes shall enable them to get as much as possible of those things that will keep them in health and strength and enable them to rear families, so that wealth producers shall be as efficient and numerous as possible.

It demands that they shall get all they can earn, and that they shall not be required to pay anything out of what they produce, even for the support of government, unless government gives them advantages—not benefits, but advantages. It is desirable, in normal social conditions, that wealth producers shall be efficient and numerous; but in the conditions that prevail, under which the single tax (rent) goes to private land owners, increase of productive power presses against monopoly of land, until growth of population seems to be an evil, to be offset by such comparative blessings as pestilence and war.

13. The single tax would raise the cost of necessities and thus reduce the purchasing power of wages, and would tax a man in proportion to the number of children he rears.

This is precisely what present systems of taxation do. But the single tax, falling solely upon the rent which now goes almost untaxed to landlords, would tax a man according to the value of his government privileges, and not according to what he consumed, nor according to what he produced.

14. The single tax is therefore against political economy, as well as against free trade.

Against one as much as against the other.

If Mr. Nicholson will take the trouble to read chapter VI of book II, and chapter I of book V of Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," he will soon understand that a tax on land values does not increase the cost or price of products; and when he once understands that, he will see that what remains of his argument favors the single tax.

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William Waldorf Astor, one of the chief owners of New York, has just sold \$1,000,000 worth of urban real estate. This probably leaves the poor man with scarcely more than \$90,000,000 worth of such property, but if he follows the thrifty example of his late respected father he will hardly miss his \$1,000,000 ten years hence. The great advantage that Mr. Astor has over some rich men is that his property increases in value no matter how little he may do to improve it.

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The Watertown, South Dakota, Journal of April 18 contains an interesting three-column article on "American wages and foreign pauper labor," by Joseph Dana Miller of Jersey City. Our friend "Uncle Tom" of Bryn Mawr, Pa., has on the same page a news letter of over a column. W. E. Brokaw's single tax department contains letters from Warren Worth Bailey of Chicago and C. J. Buell of Minneapolis. Mr. Brokaw wants South Dakota news; and he asks single tax men in that section to send in subscribers and the names of friends whom a sample copy might induce to subscribe. All single

tax and free trade literature is on sale at the Journal office for the convenience of people living in the northwest. The Codington county tariff reform club has selected the Watertown Journal as its organ, in which will be published the proceedings of their club and other matters of interest and instruction. Our single tax friends in the Dakotas will strengthen Mr. Brokaw's hands very much if they would subscribe to the Watertown Journal. It can be had three months on trial for twenty-five cents. The yearly rate is \$2; six months, \$1.

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James T. Dubois, once United States consul at Aix la Chapelle, tells a funny story of the tariff. An American living at Aix la Chapelle had to send his sister's dead body to New York, but found that between the undertaker and the freight the operation would cost \$400. By way of economy, therefore, he had the body cremated, and sent over the ashes, the whole costing only \$40. The box of ashes came in free of duty, but when the facts came out several undertakers in Europe sent to the United States treasury department a solemn protest against the importation of human ashes free of duty, on the ground that Americans dying abroad would be cremated and sent home, thus depriving embalmers, manufacturers of coffins and others interested in caring for the dead of a source of revenue from their legitimate business. This appeal was never acted upon.

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Grater's Ford, Pa.—Suppose immigration were stopped entirely, would not the difficulty of finding employment (which is popularly attributed to unrestricted immigration) still continue? Would not increase of population by births have the same effect, though more slowly, as increase of population by immigration and births combined?

C. A. W.

Of course. The conditions complained of are not local, but world-wide. They are worse in countries from which immigrants come than in the countries to which they go. But when the whole world is considered there is no such thing as increase of population by immigration. The increase is an increase by births alone. Therefore immigration is not a factor in the general social question. It has local effects, but no general effects. Under land monopoly it tends to a glut in the labor market of the locality to which the immigrant goes; but it at the same time tends to a scarcity in the labor market of the locality from which he comes.

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A correspondent writes to THE STANDARD insisting that the assertion that the single tax prevails in China needs some qualification, since it is impossible that a country in the condition of China can really have any such system of taxation in full working order. Of course the correspondent is correct. China has a land tax; but she also has other taxes, and the revenues of the government are not applied exclusively to social needs, but in large part go to maintain a luxurious court, an idle nobility and a great military establishment.

"The Middle Kingdom," a second edition of which was recently issued, has been for the past forty years the chief English authority on China. This book has several references to revenue and taxation, but its author apparently failed to see the significance of a land tax, especially in cities, and is unsatisfactory in his citation of figures. He confesses that he has not been able to obtain accurate returns as to the revenue of the Chinese empire, and he does not make it clear what proportion of such revenue goes to supply social needs. Here are some extracts:

Landed property is held in clans or families as much as possible and is not entailed, nor are overgrown estates frequent. The land is all held directly from the crown, no allodial property being recognized; if mesne lords existed in feudal times they are now unknown. The conditions of common tenure are the payment of an annual tax, the fee for alienation with a money composition for personal service to the government, a charge generally incorporated in the direct taxes as a kind of seutage. The proprietors of land record their names in the district and take out a hung ki, or "red deed," which secures them in possession as long as the ground tax is paid. The sum varies, according to the fertility, location and use of the land, from \$150 per acre for the best down to twenty or thirty cents for unproductive or hilly fields, as the exactions for alienation or sale of lands are high, amounting to as much as one-third of the sale price.

Sometimes the people accept "white deeds" from each other as proofs of ownership and responsibility for taxes. As many as twenty or thirty such deeds of sale occasionally accompany the original hung ki, without which they are suspicious, if not valueless. In order to keep the knowledge of the alienation of land in government offices, so that the taxes can be assessed, it is customary to furnish a Ki Wei, or "deed-end," containing a note of the terms of sale and amount of tax liable on the property. There is no other proof of ownership required, and simplicity and efficiency of this mode of transfer offer a striking contrast to the cumbersome rules enforced in western kingdoms. Revised codes of land laws are issued by the pro-

vincial authorities when necessary, as was done in 1846.

The paternal estates and houses thereon descend to the oldest son, but his brothers can remain upon it with their families, and devise their portion in perpetuo to their children, or an amicable composition can be made; daughters never inherit, nor can an adopted son of another clan succeed. A mortgagee must enter into possession of the property and make himself responsible for the payment of taxes; unless explicitly stated, the land can be redeemed any time within thirty years on payment of the original sum. Section XC to C of the code contains the laws relating to this subject, some of which bear a resemblance to those established among the Hebrews, and intended to secure a similar result of retaining the land in the same clan or tribe. The inclosure of recent alluvial deposits can not be made without the cognizance of the authorities, but the terms are not onerous; for waste hillside and poor spots ample time is allowed for a return of the capital expended in reclaiming them before assessment is made: Vol. 2, pps. 1 to 3.

Rent of land is usually paid according to the amount of the crop, the landlord paying the taxes, and the tenant stocking the farm; leases are for three, four, or seven years; the terms vary according to the position and goodness of the soil. Vol. 2, p. 5.

Concerning city ground rents "The Middle Kingdom" has this unsatisfactory passage:

All holdings pay a ground rent to the government, but no data are available for comparing this tax with that levied in western cities. The government furnishes the owner of the ground with a lung ki, or "red deed," in testimony of his right to occupancy which puts him in possession as long as he pays the taxes. There is a record office in the local magistracy, of such documents.

Houses are rented on short leases, and the rent collected quarterly in advance; the annual income from real estate is between nine and twelve per cent. The yearly rent of the best shops in Canton is from \$150 to \$400.

According to the authorities cited in "The Middle Kingdom" estimates the Chinese public revenue vary from \$50,000,000 to \$200,000,000. The former probably refers to the revenue actually sent to the imperial treasury, while the latter probably includes revenue expended in the provinces by provincial officers. One estimate placing the revenue at 79,500,000 taels, shows 18,000,000 land tax in money, 13,000,000 land tax on produce, 20,000,000 internal excise, 15,000,000 import and export duties, 5,000,000 from salt gabel, 7,000,000 from the sale of offices and degrees and 1,400,000 from sundries. The tael is worth about \$1.33. Thus, in a revenue of about \$105,000,000 somewhat over \$41,000,000 comes from the land tax in money and the "land tax in produce." Of course the "land tax in produce," if laid in proportion to the amount of the crop, is not such a tax as is now contemplated by single taxers, since the intelligent and industrious farmer who raises a good crop on land not naturally productive or not especially well situated would suffer in comparison with the inefficient farmer who raised a poor crop on fertile and advantageously situated land. "The Middle Kingdom" distinctly affirms in one place that the tax is laid in proportion to the crop, and in another that it is assessed according to the quality of the land and the difficulty of tillage. It states also that the chief tax in rural districts is a land tax varying from ten to sixty-six cents an acre. It seems probable that the author has failed to distinguish between a land tax and a tax upon the products of the soil. Much of the tax is paid in rice. It is asserted that an average tax of twenty-five cents an acre would yield in China \$150,000,000.

No. 1, vol. 1 of Freedom, a little newspaper published at St. Louis in advocacy of the single tax, appeared under date of April 19. The editor is F. E. Marlow. He declares it his object to publish a paper advocating the rights of the masses against the classes.

According to the New York Times rent rolls in this city are much what they were in 1885, and most of the advances have been made upon property whose leaseholds are expiring, such leaseholds having for some years commanded a premium from sub-tenants. Much of this property includes tenements, upon which the income has hitherto been about ten per cent. The Times, however, believes that there is a tendency downward in the matter of tenement house rents as well as in other rentals, partly because of the success attained by the improved dwellings for the poor. Of course it is only a temporary cause that can check the rise of ground rents in New York, and as the Times confesses that such a check does not seem to be in operation one may well doubt whether there has been any considerable fall in house rents. If there has been, the owners of houses and not the owners of land have suffered the loss.

#### BELLAMY WAS ASTONISHED.

Boston Globe.

Our eccentric Boston contemporary, Liberty, hears at third hand that Edward Bellamy wrote "Looking Backward" as a satire on socialism, and was the most astonished man in the country when thousands of people took it seriously and set him up on a pedestal as the prophet of a new era. This story will make the nationalists hopping mad.

## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

### DR. HAMMOND ON SUMPTUARY LAWS.

"Sumptuary Laws and Their Social Influence," a paper read by Dr. William A. Hammond before the New York society for medical jurisprudence and state medicine, is published in the Popular Science Monthly for May. Dr. Hammond rapidly outlines the history of sumptuary legislation in ancient and modern times, and then discusses the effect of such legislation in the United States. Laws against the sale of strong drink he classes as sumptuary, because, while the ostensible ground of such laws is the public welfare, it is notorious that their advocates constantly urge that those who indulge in strong drink expend money that would be better expended for other things, and cultivate idleness and luxurious habits. The argument in favor of such laws applies with equal force to many other evils not regarded as proper subjects of state regulation. When such laws are enforced they interfere with the rights of many who never injure themselves by the immoderate use of strong drink, but to whom such a stimulant is a positive benefit.

For the most part, however, such laws are not enforced, and Dr. Hammond testifies that from his own experience, it is just as easy to get strong drink in Maine, Vermont or Rhode Island, where prohibitory laws prevail, as in New York. At a public dining table in Rhode Island he was told that he could not obtain a bottle of champagne, without producing a physician's prescription. He promptly wrote the prescription and the champagne was served. Iowa's law against treating is absurd and oppressive, but easily evaded. Minnesota's law to punish drunkenness is even worse. A man found drunk even in his own house may be fined from \$40 to \$60 or sent to the workhouse. Drunkenness is both a vice and a sin, but if the law undertakes to punish vices and sins it will have its hands full. Laws aimed at vices and sins have been passed in vain in all ages of the world. Dr. Hammond notes with deprecation the existence of laws against profane swearing and blasphemy. A sin or a vice does not necessarily inflict injury upon others, whereas a crime does. Drunkenness becomes properly punishable by law when indulged in publicly to the offense of others.

Dr. Hammond regards the Minnesota law as an outrageous invasion of personal liberty. A man has a natural right to get drunk, to cut off his nose or to commit suicide. New York's law against attempts at suicide is absurd and a dead letter. Lying is esteemed by civilized men a worse vice than drunkenness. Why not a law against lying? The law against selling cigarettes to youths less than sixteen years of age is utterly vain, since it can be evaded with little or no trouble, and it certainly will not lessen the use of cigarettes among youth.

### THIEVES OF NEW YORK.

Richard Wheatly writing in the May Cosmopolitan, says that the number of professional thieves, permanently or temporarily resident in New York city, is estimated by competent authority to be about 6,500. These thieves cost the community, in stealings, expenses of police, law courts and prisons an average of \$1,600 each, which, multiplied by their number, 6,500, gives the startling total of \$10,400,000, or twice as much as is spent in education. The value of property stolen from January 1, 1883, to January 1, 1889, was \$6,015,221. Of the 85,049 arrests made in the city during 1888, 6,538 were for some offense connected with theft. Of suspicious persons 3,577 were arrested, and of vagrants 3,073, "all constructive or possible thieves." Crime throughout the country keeps pace with the relative growth of urban population.

"Abject want is the first and foremost of all crime causes," says Mr. W. Delamater, who has given this subject much thought. The conditions of life in the densely populated Fourth, Sixth, Tenth and Eleventh police precincts, in which twenty-seven per cent of the arrests in 1888 were made, are shockingly promotive of vice and crime. According to Mr. Wheatly's figures, in 1888 the tenements in these sections housed 1,079,735 persons. Family privacy is almost impossible and beneficent home influence is neutralized by contact with vice. Bad air, bad diet and bad lodging poison the physical system, while the horrible herding of men, women and children, with and without family relations, in these shameful sties brings to the surface and into pernicious indulgence all that is wicked and reckless in human nature. Heredity shows itself in the criminal records. The 623 descendants of abandoned women included 200 criminals and many idiots, imbeciles, drunkards, lunatics, paupers and prostitutes.

Prostitution luxuriates on the ill-gotten

gains of theft. Some students estimate that eighty per cent of prostitutes are reared in tenements, and the "strongest primary impulse to leprous vice" is starvation. One noted convict declares that men of good family origin are often driven to crime because they cannot become subservient in menial occupations, as the remuneration is inadequate to meet his tastes and habits. "Consequently his dietetic, gastric and soporific inclinations develop skill worthy of a better cause."

Thieves gather in various resorts chiefly below Fourteenth street in the more crowded parts of the city. The lowest of their kind are found in the hideous cheap lodging house, of which, in 1888, 267 with 10,439 rooms provided 4,649,660 nights' lodgings. An average of 13,152 homeless persons sleep nightly in police station houses and pestilent dormitories. Bank burglars obtain tools from skilled mechanics, who find it profitable to work for criminals. A few skilled engravers are employed in preparing counterfeit securities.

After touching on various other predatory criminals and their methods Mr. Wheatly discusses the remedy. The efforts of the police are addressed chiefly toward repression. The reformation of thieves is rare. Only one per cent truly reform, say the pessimistic police authorities.

### GENERAL PRYOR ON JUDGE TOURGEE.

Not long since THE STANDARD published a summary of Judge Tourgee's article in the Forum, designed to show that the post-bellum amendments to the federal constitution do not guarantee that the negro shall enjoy the elective franchise on the same terms with the white. In fact, Judge Tourgee's article seemed almost to affirm that the war was a failure. Curiously enough we have now in the May issue of the Forum, Roger A. Pryor, a confederate brigadier, taking the exactly opposite view.

General Pryor first endeavors to show that by the post-bellum amendments a radical change in the mutual relations of the states, the people and the national government was brought about. Up to the time when those amendments were adopted the essential rights of the citizen were entrusted to the protection of the states, but now such rights are taken under the protection of the federal government, and are guaranteed against the adverse action of the states. Judge Tourgee complains that the fourteenth amendment, in forbidding any state to abridge the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the United States, neglects to enumerate such privileges and immunities. General Pryor points out, however, that such privileges and immunities may be deduced from other guarantees in the constitution, and affirms that a formal enumeration would be perilous, since an inadvertent omission of some right might be construed as intentional.

General Pryor points to the important provision that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, and wonders that Judge Tourgee overlooked this important guarantee in his discussion of the subject. Previously to this enactment life, liberty and property were protected by only the state constitutions. Due process of law, thinks General Pryor, could not mean a statute passed for working a wrong.

The provision that no state shall deny to any person the equal protection of the laws, General Pryor regards as an effectual safeguard to all sorts of citizens. Thus the citizen has the double protection of state and nation. The crowning glory of the post-bellum amendments, however, was the abolition of slavery and the provision for securing to the newly emancipated black the elective franchise on equal terms with the white.

Judge Tourgee thinks that the extreme state's rights theory and the doctrine of the citizens' paramount allegiance to the state rather than to the nation remain undisturbed. General Pryor holds that secession and nullification, as potential facts, were annihilated by the stroke of war, and no longer find shelter or justification in the theory of our government. True, as Judge Tourgee says, the post-bellum amendments do not declare secession unconstitutional, but such declarations would have been an admission that secession had been constitutional, and that the lately coerced states had been acting within the law. The right of secession has been definitely adjudicated by the arbitrament of war. "Power is a surer guarantee than paper."

General Pryor argues further that the post-bellum amendments do negative the right of secession by implication, that is by abrogating the fundamental principle of the former federal system and instituting allegiance to the nation rather than to the

state as the paramount obligation of the citizen. Before the enactment of these amendments citizenship of the United States was an incident growing out of citizenship of a state, and the logic of secession was that the original allegiance was paramount, and therefore the state had the right to secede. By the new amendments "all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside." These make citizenship of the state subordinate to citizenship of the United States. This destroys the fundamental postulate of secession and nullification. Another provision of the new amendments forbids a state to abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States. But the assumption that a state may leave the Union involves the admission that a state may not only abridge but abolish the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, since no federal privilege or immunity can attach to a community not in the Union. More decisive still against secession is the provision empowering the federal government to enforce all guarantees of the new amendments, for the right to coerce a state is not compatible with the right of a state to secede.

General Pryor admits, of course, that the amendments do not absolutely enfranchise the negro. They respect the ancient theory that the right to vote is in the main a matter of state guarantee and regulation. But they provide that such right shall be allowed the negro on equal terms with the white, and that any denial of the franchise shall work to the abridgment of a state's representation in congress. Indisputably, if the object was formally to confer the suffrage upon the negro, the amendments have miscarried. A state may deprive the negro of the right to vote. It may deprive a white man of that right, and, according to the constitution, it can prescribe no disqualification to the negro that shall not apply equally to the white. No state is likely either to abridge its representation in congress or to disfranchise its white inhabitants for the sake of disfranchising the negro.

Judge Tourgee's argument that the language of the XV amendment declaring that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race," etc., guarantees only the negro already in possession of such right against its loss, and leaves the state the constitutional right to enact a law enfranchising in the future only whites, strikes General Pryor as without force. If the provision forbade the states to "deprive" any citizen of such rights on the grounds named, Judge Tourgee's argument might hold, but it is the denial of the right that is prohibited, and such prohibition is violated whenever concession of the right is refused.

General Pryor closes by classing the post-bellum amendments along with Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence as monuments of freedom and progress.

### WATTERSON ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Henry Watterson contributes to the May Cosmopolitan the first of a series of papers on southern problems. The negro question is his subject, and he takes the current southern view that the attitude of southern whites toward the negro in politics is merely prompted by the wholesome instinct of self-preservation. Mr. Watterson insists that the southern whites are essentially the same people as the northern whites and that the latter would act as the former act if similarly situated. "Nowhere on earth can the bottom of society be put upon the top with happy results. Five hundred qualified and responsible voters, born free, can never be reduced to subjection by one thousand semi-barbarian ignorant and irresponsible voters, just emerged from slavery. To attempt this in any part of New England would be to run rivers of blood. Its attempt in the gulf states did run rivers of blood. Intelligence and property must rule over imbecility and pauperism, and the proposal for any purpose whatever, to set aside this law, alike of nature and society, is a crime of the first magnitude. Its only effect, as far as it can have an effect, will be, as it has been, to involve the communities to which it has been applied in the horrors of race war."

Mr. Watterson asserts that there are not two sides to this question, and that the people of the north have only to understand it to agree with him. The black of the south is not the black of New England. When all has been tried we shall return to the plan of leaving the race question in the hands of the local communities where it is a living issue.

Mr. Watterson declares that he has always advocated the education of the blacks, and opposed any curtailment of their rights. He promises in his next article to consider the benevolent side of the question, which, he affirms, is the southern side.

## GEORGE IN AUSTRALIA.

## NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS OF HIS MEETINGS.

CROWDED HALLS AND GREAT ENTHUSIASM—BETWEEN 5,000 AND 6,000 PEOPLE AT ONE GATHERING—MR. GEORGE'S SPEECH AT THE SINGLE TAX BANQUET.

Mr. John Farrell's interesting report of Mr. George's reception and meetings in Australia, which appeared in the last issue of THE STANDARD, told the story of the wonderful successes of Mr. George's visit. The Australian papers not merely affirm the statements of Mr. Farrell, but giving details showing that the enthusiasm of the people was even greater than our report indicated.

The Sydney Telegraph of March 7, describing Mr. George's arrival, says that when the procession reached the town hall "there was something more than a cheer—it was a roar of enthusiasm—from some 2,000 throats." The crowd demanded "just a few words," and Mr. George complied, speaking briefly. "This over," continues the Telegraph, "more cheering ensued, and the hall was entered where the mayor, who was surrounded by prominent men, representatives of politics, literature, the arts and commerce, received the visitor and introduced him to the more notable." Mayor Burdekin then proposed the health of Mr. George, saying that although all present might not agree with his views, he could rest assured that he would everywhere be well received. He said they were pleased to have the opportunity of doing honor to a man whose name was so prominently before the world and who has spent his life in endeavoring to benefit his fellow-men. "I have no doubt," said the mayor at the conclusion of his speech, "that all will agree with me in saying that in doing honor to Mr. Henry George we do honor to ourselves." This was followed by hearty cheering as Mr. George arose to respond. The Telegraph says that "Mr. George quickly made it apparent that he was as much an elocutionist as an orator, and that of the first rank. In this his great experience and varied knowledge of mankind provide him with the magician's wand with which he sways an audience."

Mr. George began by saying that he felt a peculiar interest in Australia because it was the first country outside of his own that he had ever visited, having touched there when he was a boy before the mast. He alluded at once to the tariff question by declaring that "when I came into your bay this morning I had with me three trunks and a number of carpet bags, and in every civilized country I have been in before, they asked for my keys and insisted upon looking through my luggage, and here you said not a word. (Cheers.) I asked the officer, 'Shall I open these boxes?' and the officer said 'No,' and, what was more, he assured me that they would not be opened ashore." Mr. George went on to assure his audience that a man could not go ashore that way in England, and that when they came to the great republic the case would be far worse. He facetiously described the manner in which the United States officers first swear a man that he has nothing dutiable in his trunks, and then, disregarding his oath, proceed to carefully search them. He congratulated the people of Sydney on the public ownership of their tramways and railways, and alluded to the opinion held by Tom L. Johnson, himself a large owner of street railways, that municipalities should not only own their tramways but run them free, just as the owner of a hotel runs an elevator free for his customers to make more valuable the upper stories and receive therefor a higher rent. The free tramway would similarly increase the value of property in the city, and the municipalities would recoup themselves by a tax on the increased value of the land. Mr. George further complimented the Australians on their system of voting, and declared that it must be ere long the American system also.

His speech was received throughout with laughter and cheers. He was followed by Mr. D. O'Connor, M. P., with an address on "Australian federation and the unity of the English speaking races," to which Mr. R. Teese responded, after which the banquet broke up with cheers for the visitor and the mayor.

The papers sent reporters to interview Mr. George the moment he landed, and to a Telegraph reporter he said that he had intended remaining in Australia two months, but as his friends in New South Wales have so filled up his time that he cannot visit the other colonies, he will endeavor to stay longer. He gave cheerful answers to the inquiries as to the progress of the single tax movement in the United States and declared that this is largely due to the agitation of the tariff

question through which the single tax principle will find its readiest access to the minds of the American masses. The interview occupies over two columns of the Telegraph, and the Sydney Echo, Herald and other papers likewise print long reports of interviews with him. The banquet given to Mr. George by the single tax league in the Sydney town hall on the evening of March 7 was a more democratic and informal gathering than the reception of the previous evening by the mayor. There were about two hundred persons present and Mr. Garland, M. P., presided. He paid numerous high compliments to Mr. George, who thereupon spoke, and his speech, as specially reported for THE STANDARD by Mr. Lorimer E. Hareus, was as follows:

## THE SPEECH AT THE SINGLE TAX BANQUET.

I don't like these banquets. To be stuffed first is not a good preparation for making a speech, and listening to laudations, such as our chairman has been making, is not pleasant. If I am here to-night, if I am your honored guest, if I know to-night that go where I may over the civilized world I will find men who will gladly clasp hands with me, if it has been given to me to help forward a great movement, it is through no merit of mine. It is not from my energy, it is not from my learning, it is not from my ability; it is from the simple fact that seeing a great truth I swore to follow it (cheers); that finding a duty to do I determined that with all the strength I could command I would do it. (Cheers.) If I were really to take to myself such flattering comments as have been made about me to-night, my usefulness would soon be ended. Here as our chairman remarked to me early in the evening, here are the men of the future. It is so! (Cheers.) We have, as Emerson said, "hitched our wagon to a star." The time has come in the whole world, the time has come in God's providence for a great advance movement. (Great cheering.) The fate of our civilization itself depends upon our coming up higher, and thankful ought we to be that to us it is permitted that we should give what we may to the advancement of that truth, the stepping further and stepping higher. (Cheers.) What brought me to Australia? Our president is but joking. What brought me to Australia was not his persuading me that my health needed repairing, but the fact that he and other Australians said to me: "We have under the Southern Cross the quickest and most progressive of the English-speaking communities. Australia is the country that will adopt the single tax first. (Cheers.) Your presence there will help us." And because I believed them I am here to-night to do what I may to help this cause forward here; not for your sakes alone but in the conviction that your advance here will be the advance of the whole civilized world. (Cheers.) Aye, you have great advantages, you men of Australia, and especially you men of New South Wales. You have opportunities that have been denied to others. You have here the full experience of all the rest of your brethren without many of the things that have held them back. "From him to whom much is given from him much will be required," and your advantages are your obligations. Not merely for yourselves, not merely for the millions who after you will inhabit this continent, but for those in the lands you have left (hear, hear), for the men in less favored communities whose lives are dark and drear, for those who sink under heavy burdens, for the weak women and for the little children. (Cheers.)

We of the north, we in the older countries, have had proofs of the great heart of Australia. When on that day which this man (John Farrell, who sat beside the speaker) sitting beside me has in his burning verses told, when the Standard of Australia, wreathed in flowers, was carried at the van of that great procession that defiled into Hyde park, when out of the sheer sympathy of humanity you of the south made that marvelous contribution to the fight of the dock workers of London, Australia did indeed advance. And we of the great republic—to-day we are looking toward Australia; to-day we are taking counsel of your experience; to-day we are following in the path you have outlined. Men of Australia, lead us further. (Continued cheering.) If my friend is right, if the proud boast that has been uttered to-night be true, if here be the freest of free communities, set to the rest of the world an example of your faith in freedom. (Cheers.) Be not afraid or ashamed of her; follow her further; trust her utterly. (Cheers.) All over the civilized world to-night rests the shadow of a great problem. We advance and advance. Invention follows invention, and discovery discovery. The power of human muscles to satisfy human wants is multiplied, and yet everywhere as material progress goes on the struggle for existence becomes, not easier, but harder. We who are here to-night—we, the thousands and hundreds of thousands that we represent—believe that this is not a natural condition of things. (Hear, hear.) We believe that a social state is possible in which no deserving man shall want, that a social state is possible in which not merely the few, but every child of God, released from the obligation of giving his whole powers to the mere effort to live, shall have op-

portunity to develop all that is best and highest in his nature. Whether we see that condition of things on earth or not, whether we see the way of its triumph or our eyes are shut forever before it comes, is to us who have felt the power of this faith a slight matter. It is enough for us to know that God does live; it is for us enough to know that it is not by His will that these deep wrongs, this burning injustice, exist on earth; it is enough for us that we have the opportunity, while life is left to us, the opportunity to struggle to bring about that reign of righteousness on earth (cheers); and whether it comes in our time or not—some day, some time, whether we be here or be elsewhere, it will come. (Loud cheering.) Aye, and to-day, this is given us to see with our eyes that it is coming. (Cheers.)

I come here—I come here as the representative of a great body of men in the United States who are pledged to these principles, who are sworn soldiers in this cause. And beyond the United States—our chairman knows how six months ago we stood with Michael Davitt in that Rotunda hall in Dublin, and how the enthusiasm for which the Irish race is famous welled up around us. He has seen, he knows as I know, something of the men who in the three kingdoms, England, Ireland and Scotland—aye, and in little Wales, too, which is full of them—are bending all their energies to push this movement on. If you love Australia, if you are proud of her, if you wish her to have the glory of leading the civilized van, carry on this great movement, carry her banners to the front. (Loud and continued cheering and applause.)

## NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF THE GREAT MEETINGS.

Mr. George subsequently proposed the toast, "The Single Tax," and in doing so declared that the term has the great merit of explaining our meaning and pointing out our method, which is "the abolition of one tax after another until we get to what is really a natural tax, to what is in effect not a tax at all." (Great cheering.) Mr. George also paid a high tribute to the fairness with which the single tax cause had been treated by the Australian press since his arrival in Sydney.

On the same day, before the banquet, Mr. George, as has been stated, participated in the reception given to O'Connor, the Canadian oarsman, and made a brief speech. Later in the day he was the guest at the luncheon of the members of the Presbyterian assembly, and he was welcomed to Australia on behalf of the Presbyterian body by the moderator, Rev. T. C. Clouston. As Mr. George arose to speak he was received with great enthusiasm, and was heartily applauded throughout the speech. On Saturday evening, March 8, he delivered the first of his series of addresses in Protestant hall. The Sydney Herald says: "The building was packed with a very representative gathering. On entering the platform Mr. George had an enthusiastic reception, the whole of the audience rising and waving their handkerchiefs or hats, cheering vociferously."

The protectionist paper, the Star, sneers at Mr. George as an orator, but admits, with evident reluctance, that the hall was entirely filled and many were turned away.

Concerning this lecture the Telegraph says that it was listened to by a great crowd, and that "there was a considerable amount of struggling for admission, and some little time before 8 o'clock the galleries were densely packed and the lower portion of the hall filled. Upon the lecturer making his appearance on the platform he was greatly cheered, the large audience rising and waving handkerchiefs and hats in accompaniment to their shouts of welcome." The title of this lecture was "The Land for the People."

The second lecture of the series was delivered Monday evening, March 10, and the subject was the single tax. It was a very rainy night, but the Telegraph says "the attendance was estimated to be between five and six thousand, and included many ladies. The Morning Herald says: "On entering the platform Mr. George met with the enthusiastic reception, the audience rising and cheering vociferously. Mr. E. W. Foxall occupied the chair, and the platform was crowded with single taxers." The Star, the protectionist paper, does its best to belittle the meeting, but admits that the audience probably exceeded three thousand.

The third of the series of lectures was also delivered at the great Exhibition building on Tuesday evening, March 12, Mr. George Herbert, president of the Maritime council, presiding. The subject was "Labor and the Tariff," and a very large number of workmen were present. The furious rain storm continued and the attendance was not so large as on the previous evening, though all of the papers say there was a very large audience. Mr. George, on coming forward, had his usual enthusiastic greeting and delivered a powerful lecture on the tariff question in its relations to laboring men.

The fourth lecture was delivered in Prot-

estant hall and was an impromptu affair gotten up for the benefit of the "unemployed," and the attendance was not equal to that of the earlier lectures. The story of Mr. George's campaign in the surrounding towns has already been printed and telegraphic reports of it appear in the Sydney papers.

## ECHOES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

The public interest created by Mr. George's addresses did not subside after he left Sydney for his tour through the country. On Saturday evening, March 15, there was a debate at Protestant hall between Mr. Thomas Rose, a protectionist candidate for parliament, and Mr. A. Riddell, J. P., representing the Hillgrove single tax club. The only report we have of the debate is in the Star, which of course declares that the champion of protection achieved a notable victory. Though the votes of the meeting were not fully counted, the chairman announced that on the question of protection versus single tax the protectionists had a majority. The report of the meeting is so one-sided that it is impossible to judge whether Mr. Riddle was able to present the single tax effectively or not. A characteristic incident is the issue of a manifesto by the socialists attacking Mr. George and the single tax, and warning the people not to waste their time in shouting themselves hoarse "over single taxism, but to strive for socialism."

The Rev. J. C. Percival of the Wesleyan church in Wollongong preached a sermon on Sunday, March 9, in which he alluded to Mr. George as "a teacher whose principles have become a factor to influence the social and economic questions of the day; a teacher who professes to have found a solution of the pressing problem of this century—the increase of enormous wealth and pitiable poverty and the ever widening breach between the two. To him this colony has accorded a worthy reception. Without pledging ourselves to the adoption of his views, we have promised a courteous and intelligent hearing to what he has to say." Without accepting Mr. George's views, he declared it to be the duty of the Christian pulpit to consider every suggestion of a way out of the difficulties and out of "the heartless view that all the misery and distress in the world must, in the good providence of God, go on forever."

The papers are filled with communications on the subject, many of them sharply attacking the single tax, which the writers have not taken the trouble to understand. Mr. George's speeches were admirable, and we shall print copious extracts from them in future issues of THE STANDARD.

## A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF GEORGE AS AN ORATOR.

A writer in the Sydney Echo of March 11 gives a graphic description of Mr. George's first meeting at Protestant hall. He starts out by saying that his (the writer's) last visit to Protestant hall before that had been during the Santley season, when the stage contained a profusion of flowers and a grand piano, and the house was filled by fashionable people, most of them ladies. On this occasion, he goes on to say, there was nothing on the platform but the orthodox table, with its water jug and glass, and a row of chairs, while the contrast in the audience was fully as great. He thus continues:

Instead of an audience of women and men in society, it was a gathering of men—many of them old, nearly all of them of mature years. It was what would be called a "solid" meeting; not only in allusion to the dense crowd, but to the character of its components. Men of different nationalities they were, but a glance impressed the spectator with the feeling that it was no ordinary occasion that had filled the little hall with these men of character, of resource, of independence—of virility, in one word. There were but few women present. The galleries were as fully occupied as the floor space was; but here one noticed that he was not dealing with "gods." I have seen a good many audiences; I do not believe there is one man in our community who could have drawn together such a house as on Saturday night rose, cheered, waved handkerchiefs, and cheered again, as, surrounded by a bodyguard of the single taxers, Henry George came to the front of the platform and looked squarely at his first Australian audience.

The reader will find in the Herald the very words of Mr. George; but the very words do not tell what the lecturer said. You must add the magnetic quality of personality. Imagine, then, for two hours this man walking to and fro in his narrow slip of platform—12 feet, say, by 8—and speaking entirely without manuscript, note, or other accessory—speaking, too, in a slow, almost solemn, voice, and dealing with phrases of what Carlyle named "the dismal science." For a man under these circumstances to keep the eager, strained attention of a packed hall, including men of every shade of politics, is an intellectual feat. I said at the commencement of this article that not a man in our community, in my opinion, could even draw such a

house; I add, that not a man here, even if he could pack the Protestant hall as it was filled on Saturday night, and with a similar class, could hold them so absolutely on the same ground for a fraction of two hours. And this man did it without an effort. Much of it is in his mental affinity to his audience, much in his personal magnetism. Let the phrase stand, loose as it is, just as implying an instant and cordial sympathy established between lecturer and hearers. This is, it seems to me, just Mr. George's strong point. He is in touch with the average "solid" citizen just by being much on the same plane, by appealing to the common chords of humanity, by compromise, by avoiding the extreme, and meeting men half way with something practical and non-revolutionary. He makes few flights, but keeps on a plain highway, footing it along sturdily on substantial earth. His very phrases are commonplaces. He attains the success that rewards a bold compromise. On Saturday night we did not know what we should hear. The man who owns land went prepared for what a correspondent in the Herald the other day flatly called anarchy and robbery; the man who has no such pleasing care expected to hear how in the newest gospel human nature itself was to be revolutionized. And the great result is they are both satisfied. The landlord knows that all that is meant is a land tax, and he hopes that as long as he holds the land the tenant will pay the tax. And the tenant thinks, he knows not how, that he is going to see a sort of fresh start, and without revolution get all that could be hoped from revolution.

Well, it will all be sedulously threshed out now to exhaustion. We have had a tariff crusade and a federation crusade; we shall have a single tax crusade. Leaving it all to the devout energies of the polemics, there remain a few words about the subsidiary matter of the first address of Mr. George on Australian soil. There was the bit of hard hitting against protection. "Is labor such a poor thing," he asked, "that she begs and is thankful for anyone's protection? Give labor a fair show and an equal chance; that's all the protection wanted." Then it was noticeable that the speaker had run the gauntlet of the stump. No interruption interrupted him. He turned the tables generally. While he was talking about the Cradley Heath laborers some one interjected, "How much beer do they drink?" The cry was supported and condemned from half a dozen quarters, and the only approach to dissension of the night was apparent. The lecturer repeated the question, paused, answered, "Too much, I have no doubt. But," his voice ringing again, "a total abstainer told me in England that he did not blame these people for drinking; if they did not drink they must go mad. And when they have spent all they can in drink it isn't enough to make the difference between living as they do and as Christian Englishmen and English women should." He was cheered to the echo. That was one instance, but his readiness and his touch with the audience showed in dozens of cases.

An American is a born raconteur, and Mr. George has the national talent. He tells a story well, and on Saturday night, side by side with phases of an attention that was almost painfully silent, he provoked explosions of laughter or more subdued mirth. The reader may wonder when the reporters drop in their parenthetical "laughter" in that dramatic story of Lord Dunraven's committee and the Cradley Heath laborers. It reads rather feeble; but sometimes, when men's deeper feelings are most worked upon, laughter or a smile can be easiest provoked as a mere relief. So, perchance, the iteration of the "seven lords" of the committee took off the pain of the picture of women jumping on the oliver and children sweating for a starvation pittance in the Black country. An American, too, is a compound of reverence and something near irreverence. One of the apoloques related on Saturday night to illustrate the evils of private ownership of land was a dialogue between celestial persons, in which even the apostles became land grabbers, and the border of the Jasper sea was described as a "good farming lot." So that it may be gathered that some of the effects of Mr. George's first address were riskily attained and a little mixed. But they were attained. It was in the close of the lecture that the apostle of the single tax showed at his best. He described himself as a man standing where the shadows of life grow longer and deeper, and as it was his aim he commended it to his hearers to make it theirs also, so to devote their powers that the pressure upon the very poor might be lessened, the great gulf between class and class filled, the satisfaction of those legitimate wants common to all mankind made more easy, and every child brought into the world be given a chance to share the best life of the race. "Look forward," he cried, "to the time when social pressure shall not force these children, of whom Christ said it would be better that a millstone were hanged about a man's neck and he were cast into the sea than that he should offend one of them, into lives where purity is a miracle. When there shall not be any more in all the land the necessity for men to eringe and beg to be allowed to subsist, and when he that will not work shall be left with a good conscience to starve. Look to it, you in this fair young land, to lay so true the foundations of your state that in generations to come all men shall have equal

scope to work and live. As your opportunities are greater, so is your responsibility." When he closed he received a recognition that was magnificent in its spontaneity and heartiness. On the whole he deserved his success. The address struck no chord that was not honest. He appealed to the pity of men for other men, for women, for children, victimised and crushed by the very conditions of their hard existence, and in his protest against these evils he appealed to true sentiments in his auditors. It was an address that came, the best of it, from the heart as well as the head. Trivial at times, in its best parts it rose into semi-religious fervor and height. There was not a word or a phrase that did not instantly interpret itself to every mind in the hall. No one who was present can deny that a very deep impression was made, nor on the whole that that impression was fairly gained.

#### A VISION.

It was but a greeting,  
A clasp of the hand—  
An instant's delaying  
On Time's shifting sand;  
But never can memory  
Lose the delight  
Of that exquisite vision  
That glanced on my sight.

Oh, lovely ideal  
Of beauty and youth!  
Transfigured by purest  
Devotion to truth:  
'Twas heavenly luster  
That beamed from her eyes,  
And her voice was the music  
We dream of the skies.

Oh, genius had dowered  
That beautiful head,  
And love had smoothed softly  
The path for her tread.  
Life's fairest promise  
Unfolded to charm,  
While girlhood's glad pulse  
In her bosom beat warm.

The glow of the dawning,  
The day's dying gleam,  
The foam beaten rocks,  
And the meadow-girt stream;  
The winds and the waters,  
The hill and the vale,  
Had nature's high warrant  
To tell her their tale.

But, I thought, on the canvass  
Translating to us  
The far-hidden meaning  
Earth spoke to her thus,  
A something diviner  
Than beauty had made  
A sweet sacred message  
Of color and shade.

For purer and deeper  
Than genius might know  
The fountain that nourished  
Her soul's overflow:  
With the prison of heaven  
It flashed in the light!  
And the stars of the midnight  
Within it shone bright.

Oh, Love never weary  
Of life-giving grace!  
That lavishes beauty  
In loneliest place.  
Shall He to His children  
Their birthright deny,  
And mock with his bounty?  
Her faith made reply.

The wrong of the ages  
Rose dark on her view,  
But the glory of sunrise  
Was piercing it thro'.  
And the dawn of her life,  
Like a rose opening bright,  
Glowed fresher and fairer  
To welcome the light.

Oh, beautiful head,  
With tresses of gold!  
God love thee, and keep thee  
For blessing untold.  
A guerdon, unwon  
By self-seeking, shall be  
Truth's high consecration  
Of Art unto thee.

It was but a moment—  
A moment how fleet!  
That gave to my vision  
That memory sweet.  
But it lives—a rebuking  
To doubt or despair;  
Hope's pure inspiration,  
Undying and fair.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, Cal.

#### WELL, PUT IT ON ICE TILL NEXT YEAR.

Boston Globe.

That bounty of two cents a pound will not do the Louisiana sugar planters much good this year. The sugar lands are under water and it does not look as if they would be dried out in time to make a try for McKinley's boodle.

#### PROTECTION REDUCED TO AN ABSURDITY.

New York Evening World.

A Wisconsin woman has just paid duty on her own hair. She emigrated from Germany and forgot to bring with her a switch that she had had made from her own locks. It was sent to her by mail and stopped by the customs officers.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### A VOICE FROM CALIFORNIA.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: I had never given the single tax theory any special attention prior to the visit of Henry George to this place, the 1st of February, this year, except that I had read "Progress and Poverty" and a few copies of THE STANDARD. But one of the proudest moments of my life was when I introduced Henry George to a large audience of our most intelligent citizens assembled in Illinois hall. And never before had I heard an address on social or economic questions so replete with sound logic, startling facts and thrilling eloquence as was the speech of Mr. George on the memorable night of February 1. This is strong language, for I have listened to nearly all the distinguished public speakers who have appeared before the American people during the past twenty-five years. But I mean it. Henry George is one of the keenest and most profound thinkers of the age, and as an educator of the people he has no equal.

I am a nationalist. Not a "dreamer," but a practical advocate of government control of railroads, telegraph lines, and many other distributing forces. Up to that point, at least, I think the George men and myself agree. If, when those important steps have been taken, we should feel obliged to separate and travel different roads, the balance of the journey need be only a friendly race to see which will first reach the goal of industrial emancipation.

The greatest cloud upon the American people—the heaviest incubus on the industries of the country—is land monopoly. It is the great overshadowing curse of the age. The single tax provides a rational, proper and most effective remedy for this gigantic wrong. It strikes a death-blow to speculation in that which is as truly one of God's natural gifts to man as is the air, the sunlight or the water.

Our present system of taxation is worthy only of a nation of idiots. It seems almost incredible that a system so fraught with injustice and so productive of misery should have been perpetuated down to the present so-called "age of progress." It places a premium on idleness and imposes a penalty on industry. It encourages monopoly and outrages every principle of justice. It is the cause of more pauperism, wretchedness and crime than any other species of popular folly that can be named. The single tax promises relief. Those who candidly investigate it cannot help seeing how reasonable it is. Those who denounce it (like his ignorant excellency, Governor Waterman of this state) do so either from prejudice, selfishness, or a failure to know what they are talking about.

RALPH E. HOYT.

Los Angeles, Cal., April 10, 1890.

### CAN'T POUND THE TRUTH INTO THEM.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: Mr. Bartley's scheme of reciprocity, as outlined in recent letters in THE STANDARD, meets my earnest, enthusiastic approval. His first reason, summarized, "it would organize the workers as consumers," is what particularly commends the scheme to me. I don't know how others fare, but my own experience is that it is all up-hill work trying to pound economic truths into the heads of most wage workers. This is a simple and easy method of opening the minds of the masses to the truth that consumers are the employers of labor. When we succeed in disabusing their minds of the belief that capital employs labor, an incalculable amount of good will have been accomplished for our cause. Plainer sailing will surely follow.

JOSEPH MCGUINNESS,

215 Ross street, Brooklyn.

### GET RID OF THE PARENT MONOPOLY.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: I have read Mr. Bartley's articles in THE STANDARD carefully. I cannot agree with him at all. It seems to me, from eighteen years as a trades unionist, a Knight of Labor, and at two different periods a member of the Central trades union of Boston from my local union, that it would be better for us labor men to do away with many of the laws that now oppress us and come back to first principles. We will never derive any benefit by making more laws to govern our unions. Let us all unite on one question—the parent monopoly, the land speculator—and we will soon see the benefit.

Dorchester, Boston, Mass. JOHN LAVIS.

### FROM SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: In your issue of Jan. 29 is an article headed "Farmers Excited." You are right in taking a hopeful view of that excitement, and you will not wonder much that our farmers are even more excited than yours. So dread-

fully excited are they, indeed, that they have formed themselves into the Producers' defense league, which has recently held its first dinner at our capital, Adelaide. Here in Australia, as in America, the main spring of the farmers' opposition to the single tax is sheer ignorance. The rank and file allow themselves to be led by one or two prominent but ignorant men. Hon. W. Copeley, the father of the Producers' league, is hopelessly ignorant of the single tax. His errors have been pointed out to him again and again, but he goes on saying the old things. The Register, the leading paper of this colony, comments on the dinner and also opposes the single tax, but on different grounds. It sees the evil of land monopoly, but has got no further toward a cure for that evil than the appropriation of the future unearned increment. I shall take care that Mr. George sees the Register article when he reaches Adelaide.

We shall soon be in the throes of the general election, and the fight will wax fast and furious. There are three single tax men in the field, one hailing from this very town; but in most of the election addresses occur the words, "I am opposed to the single tax." A greater part of the candidates are protectionists. Notwithstanding this opposition, and perhaps because of it, single tax doctrines are making headway. This town is to have a visit from Mr. George, and we shall give him a hearty welcome. We want to look in the face of the man who opened the eyes of many of us to the evils of our so-called civilization.

W. G. WILSON.

Port Pirie, South Australia, March 10, 1890.

### THE LABEL PLAN.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: The articles of James Bartley in THE STANDARD demand a more careful review than my limited time will permit me to make. The question of eight hours is paramount to all others at this time. With the successful issue of that movement light will dawn upon the workers illuminating the pathway to the adoption of other reforms and progressive measures.

The label is a trade union instrument and can be made powerful for good. The cigar makers' international union leads the way that is safe to follow. The further development of the plan through the American federation of labor will doubtless follow the securing of the eight hour day. THE STANDARD is to be congratulated on giving Mr. Bartley the opportunity for a full presentation of his views, and I hope it will awaken a full discussion of the subject. Mr. Bartley says in the third article, "It will be observed that the plan goes far towards making a reality of the popular but misty assertion that the interests of capital and labor are identical." The assertion is not misty but false, as the interests are antagonistic.

Capital made upon capital is made from the non capitalist, and the antagonism will disappear when the interests are identical.

The union label will help in that direction. Boston, April 1. GEO. E. MCNEIL.

### PERSONAL.

The many friends of Mr. A. M. Molina of Bayside, Long island, will regret to hear that his son has been stricken with paralysis. The poor boy has been bed-ridden for nearly three months.

T. E. Lane, one of the active workers for the single tax on Long island, has removed from Bayside to Flushing.

The Buffalo Truth of April 27 contains two letters on the land (or single tax) question—the first from Dennis E. Ryan, a district master workman of the K. of L., and the second from E. B. Buddenburg, secretary of the Buffalo tax reform club. Both gentlemen take ground in favor of the single tax.

Mrs. Leonora M. Barry, a prominent member of the Knights of Labor, was married in St. Louis April 21 to Mr. O. R. Lake, a printer of that city. At a subsequent meeting of the printers' assembly, H. Martin Williams offered resolutions congratulating the happy couple.

Mr. S. M. Burroughs of London, England, has been writing for the Darford Express a series of articles on "The greatest hotel on earth."

F. E. Marlow, a compositor on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, has entered the field of journalism and christened his paper "Freedom." Its motto is "Free men, free speech, free land, free trade."

### THE FROZEN TRUTH.

Thomas G. Shearman to Massachusetts Manufacturers.

You have the capital, you have the labor, you have the skill, you have the experience to enable you to compete successfully with manufacturers in any part of the world. But you have not the materials; and if you will not open your ports to free materials, you must expect to decline.

## 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.

## DELAY AT ALBANY.

THE COMPROMISE BALLOT REFORM BILL PASSED IN THE SENATE AND REFERRED TO A COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE.

Perhaps the best evidence of Governor Hill's sincerity in his friendly attitude toward the compromise Saxton bill is furnished by the action, on Monday night, of the Kings county democratic general committee in urging the assembly to pass the measure. Meanwhile the republican senate was scared back into decency last Thursday and the bill, as agreed upon by the governor and the committee of the Ballot reform league, was passed.

The bill was reported in the assembly yesterday, and Messrs. Acker and Sheehan, the former a republican and the latter a democratic leader, wanted it read at once. "Dry Dollar" Sullivan, Tammany democrat of New York, objected, however, and it was referred to the judiciary committee. The committee will report to-day.

## ANOTHER TRIAL IN NEW JERSEY.

The New Jersey state committee of ballot reform associations will hold its regular meeting at 1 p. m. on Thursday of this week, at the office of Judge William P. Douglas, No. 1 Montgomery street, Jersey City. The object of the meeting is to organize a concerted effort for ballot reform. It has been suggested that the New Jersey legislature may adopt the compromise Saxton bill which has found favor in the eyes of Governor Hill.

## NO REFORM THIS YEAR IN OHIO.

The Ohio senate, after shuffling with the Mallon Australian ballot bill much as the New York senate shuffled with the Saxton bill, has adjourned without passing any ballot reform measure, having postponed it to January. Meanwhile the house refused to pass the senate joint resolution providing for the appointment of a commission to investigate the Australian system of voting. The legislature has adjourned. Although strongly recommended by the governor in his message, the law has virtually been neglected by the democratic majority.

## OREGON'S AUSTRALIAN BILL.

The executive committee of the Oregon ballot reform league has finished a bill designed to provide the state with the Australian system of voting. The bill is published in full in the Oregonian, and that paper says: "Criticism is invited, with a view to getting the bill in the best possible form for presentation to the legislature. Painstaking effort has been made to bring all its features into harmony with the constitution, so that objection on constitutional grounds may be avoided. We think public opinion in Oregon is ripe for this system of ballot reform, and the task now remains to perfect an act that will be suited, as nearly as possible, to the conditions existing in our state."

The bill as published provides for election precincts for not more than 250 voters; for minority representation in the boards of election judges and clerks; for nomination by petition; for an exclusively official blank ballot, with numbered stubs and names of candidates arranged alphabetically under the heads of the offices for which they are running, such ballot to be distributed by sworn election officers only on the day of election and to electors as they come up to vote; and for separate compartments, where electors must prepare their ballots in secret. The illiterate voter may obtain the aid of two judges of election in preparing his ballot. The ballot must be initiated on the back by the officers of election. There are elaborate safeguards against various forms of fraud.

## GEORGIA MAY GET IT.

An effort will be made in the Georgia legislature this winter to pass a law giving the state the Australian ballot system. The desire is to have it put into effect before the city elections in January.

## 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.

## SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE, RISE.

I know it is rude for one to press  
In throngs of comfort and courtesy,  
To bring the garb of a sullied dress,  
Or a tale, black tongued in its misery—  
I know it is rude, but I trust above  
The graces of wealth and etiquette  
Linger some words of the God of Love  
Which Fashion has not forgotten yet.

So I come with a tongue as black as coal,  
And a tale of sullen and heavy gloom  
Of those who are robbed in body and soul,  
And have no place in our Father's home;  
And I show you a garment vile as aught  
Which covers the shame and suffering deep  
Of those whose toil was so cheaply bought  
That the wretches bartered their virtue cheap.

You have heard, no doubt, of the prison pen,  
And the dread of Andersonville hotel—  
It was soldiers' fortune in war time then,  
But the blood boils up at the tale they tell.  
And now it is peace, yet the law decrees,  
The law of Christian and northern folks,  
That the soldier of labor shall starve and freeze,  
Or bend his pride to the poor house yokes.

There was a time when the tramp, tramp,  
tramp  
Was a soldier's gait and a loyal air,  
But the seeker for work is a beggar scamp  
Whom nature has fitted for workhouse fare.  
The lord of the land his freedom owns;  
He is not one of our Father's sons;  
So give him a ticket for breaking stones,  
Or feed him lead from the Gatling guns.

O Spirit of Independence, rise!  
Awake the conscience of gallant men;  
Again the slave from his shackles cries,  
And the land we love must be freed again.

There ne'er was struggle, but some could lit  
Like butterflies on the field of fight,  
And jest with common and shallow wit  
At the deadly grapple of wrong and right.  
But what true woman shall count it naught,  
And what true man shall be afraid  
When we turn to the fight which must be fought,  
And marshal our hosts for the grand crusade!

The night seems gloomy, and damp, and still;  
The serfs are sunk in their slumbers deep;  
The wheels grind slowly in labor's mill,  
But the soul of freedom can never sleep.  
The wind blows cool on the sentry's brow,  
The trifling children of feast and dance  
May reckon little of purpose now,  
But the sappers and miners shall still advance.

Though robbers yet in their riches trust  
And priests stand dumb in the lordling's gate,  
The children of God who hold Him just  
Shall ever gather, and preach and wait.  
Their hearts enlist for the pure and good,  
Their hands are pledged to the cause of right;  
For noble manhood and womanhood  
They form their ranks for a sturdy fight.

They come in the might of the Lord of hosts;  
They came like conscience in whispered voice;  
They do not startle with empty boasts,  
But they come to conquer. Let men rejoice.

O, spirit of independence, rise!  
Put on your armor, ye gallant men.  
Again the slave from his shackles cries,  
And the land we love must be freed again.  
Cincinnati, Ohio. C. H. FICH.

## MUST WE COMPETE WITH THE PAUPER DEAD OF EUROPE?

Boston Globe.  
The duties that had already been paid on the dead man imported in a line cask from Denmark to New York were remitted by the collector on the ground that the schedules did not cover his case. We may, therefore, add free cadavers to the recent hides victory.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

To-morrow, from 2 to 11 p. m., the public will have the opportunity of seeing at Sherry's rooms a constellation of New York's prettiest women engaged in the bewitching occupation of selling fancy goods for charity's sweet sake. The occasion will be a bazaar for the benefit of St. Mary's free hospital for children, and presiding over the tables will be some of the most prominent of our society leaders. It is rare that so much beauty is gathered in one spot, and this attraction, as well as the character of the charity to be benefited, will be sure to draw a crowd.—[New York Sun, April 20.]

Mrs. Lavinia Griffin is living on four cents a day. Her home is on the ground floor of the rear tenement house at No. 606 East Fourteenth street. The casual observer would be apt to say she was dying on four cents a day, but Mrs. Griffin calls her existence living, and perhaps her imagination supplies that part of her sustenance found by most of us in beef and other solid things. Since last December Mrs. Griffin's bill of fare has been bread and tea morning, noon and night. Somehow she has managed to support life on this fare. She is a tidy little woman who looks younger than fifty. Her soft brown hair is barely edged with gray. She has honest blue eyes. She does not complain of poverty. All she finds fault with is the lack of button holes to make. If these were only plentiful she could earn \$5 a week. Five dollars a week means comfort to Mrs. Lavinia Griffin.—[New York World.]

For the first time in several years a coach is to be run daily from the Hotel Brunswick to the Country club, Messrs. Reginald Rives, Theodore Bronson, Prescott Lawrence and other members of the Coaching club to officiate alternately as whips. This will give ample opportunity for lively pleasure parties, with a gay luncheon at the club house and a chance now and then to see a pigeon match or a run with the hounds. Pigeon shooting, by the way, has become an institution at the Westchester club, and very good sport may be seen there. At a recent meeting Mr. Marion Story won two cups in succession, and Mr. Oliver Belmont beat Mr. Story, Mr. Sands, Mr. Thorne and nine others.—[New York Sun.]

Inspector Gerraughty of police headquarters tells a story this morning of a case of extreme destitution that touched his heart. Inspectors Burke and he arrested John P. La Phelle for the alleged embezzlement of \$50 worth of cigars from Patterson & Foster, 10 School street. In explanation of the offence La Phelle said: "You have known me a long while, Tom, and I never did any wrong before. But I was desperate. My wife was suffering for the necessities of life. A short while ago two of my children died. My cigar stores had failed to net me any money when I sold out. So I went to Patterson & Foster and told them that I had a customer who would take a certain number of boxes of cigars. They gave them to me. I sold them and used the money. How else was my wife to live?" Gerraughty says that he has known the man a number of years. He has owned several cigar stores, but he has been unfortunate. La Phelle has previously been an honorable man and lives on North Margin street. He is probably destitute. But the law has to take its course.—[Boston Post, April 21.]

Yesterday James Tynon, an old-timer, informed a reporter for the Republican that in 1863 John Larimer, jr., offered him the corner lots on the northwest of Larimer and Sixteenth streets, now occupied by the German national bank, for \$1,400. Mr. Tynon was willing to put up \$1,200, but he considered the former figure too high and no deal was made. These lots are now probably worth \$125,000. A corner lot on Lawrence and Fifteenth streets was also offered him at \$400, and he says the Tabor block site could, at one time, have been bought for \$150 a lot.—[Denver, Col., Republican, April 20.]

A man named Schimmelmann yesterday at 1 o'clock ended his life in a saloon at 1957 Larimer street by sending a bullet from a 45 caliber gun into his brain. The tragedy was the final act which ended a period marked by hopeless despondency. Schimmelmann arrived in Denver from California last week. He came here with but very little money in his pocket. No friends greeted his arrival. His work was obtainable. His wife was expected to join him yesterday, coming from California. A blank future was before them. He sought the saloon, where he became his own destroyer.—[Same paper, same date.]

## HOW JIM PUZZLED THE SCHOOLMASTER.

Australian Standard.  
James McPherson was a boy of some intelligence, with a father an ardent protectionist, and an uncle an uncompromising free trader of the Manchester school. Naturally, as Jim's father and uncle lived in the same house Jim got a pretty fair idea of the stock arguments on each side; but what he never could make out was how labor benefited by either policy. His father sternly maintained that in a protectionist country there were better wages, while his uncle just as strongly maintained the same in regard to free trade countries. Now, Jim thought to himself, there can't be such a striking difference between them in any case, or there could not be any necessity for such an endless amount of argument about the subject. At any rate,

he thought he would ask the schoolmaster; and one day a favorable opportunity occurred when that gentleman was instructing Jim's class regarding the value of population. "Every additional head of population," said the schoolmaster, "represents a clear gain to the state or to the community as a whole, of many pounds, and adds to its total wealth."

"Who gets the wealth, sir?" asked Jim. The schoolmaster looked with surprise at a boy who took an interest in economic questions which, as a general rule, did not interest his pupils. "The wealth," said the schoolmaster, "is taken by those who earn it, and who by their industry and frugality deserve it."

"Have you much wealth?" said Jim, looking into the face of his master, who the whole neighborhood knew was a model of industry and frugality.

A troubled look passed over the face of the schoolmaster as he replied, "My occupation is not directly productive, but as every man cannot educate his own children, a schoolmaster by doing so leaves others more time to produce, and thus keeps the carpenters, tailors and factory hands in production and adds to national wealth."

Jim didn't see that this was an answer to his question, so he tried again. "Do all carpenters, tailors and factory hands who are sober and frugal share in this wealth that you say population gives to the state?"

"Yes," said the schoolmaster; "in a degree of course they do, but their share is much smaller than that which goes for interest and rent."

"Why?" said Jim.

"Why?" said the schoolmaster, "why? Because population means more laborers, and more laborers mean more competition, and more competition means less wages."

"Then population does not give value to labor?" said Jim.

"No," said the schoolmaster; "on the contrary, competition reduces the value of labor."

"Yet it gives increased wealth to the community. Who gets the value population gives?" said Jim.

"Those," said the schoolmaster, "who possess certain advantages which labor must use to live, and for the use of which labor makes a large return."

"Are there many people possessing such advantages?" asked Jim.

"No," replied the schoolmaster; "they are in one sense numerous, but compared to population as a whole they are few, very few."

"Are those few persons industrious, temperate, and frugal? Do they take the wealth because they earn it, and by their industry and frugality deserve it?" said Jim.

"It by no means follows," said the schoolmaster; "those few persons possessing certain advantages gain wealth by the possession of those advantages, and may be neither industrious, frugal, nor temperate."

"And they get the largest share?" said Jim.

"Yes," said the schoolmaster.

"It does not seem fair," said Jim.

"It is a state of things," said the schoolmaster, "that it is not our place to grumble at; these advantages are natural opportunities, principally land, which a few people have obtained and which entitles them to the value given by population."

"Then if population does not give value to labor it only gives value to land," said Jim, "because labor cannot do without it; and the man who owns the land gets the greatest share of the value."

"If you could only prove that, my boy," said the schoolmaster, "you would make out a case for the followers of Henry George, whose works, by the way, I have not read. Unfortunately for his theories, population gives value to many things besides land."

"Permanent value?" said Jim.

"Yes," said the schoolmaster.

"What things?" said Jim.

"Well," said the schoolmaster, "let me see. Here are the boys' hats, for example. If a store keeper had a lot of hats, and population suddenly increased, hats would become valuable."

"That is not permanent value," said Jim, "but merely temporary. As population increased competition would increase, and wages go down; they would start making hats, and the value of hats would decrease; but the value of land would go up. Is there anything besides land that population gives a permanent value to, that is what I want to know?"

"Well," said the schoolmaster, "it may be so; we need not discuss it."

"Don't you think," said Jim, "that, if land takes the greater part of the value population gives, those who by their industry and frugality deserve it should get a larger share than they do?"

"That would mean," said the schoolmaster, "the handing over of those natural advantages which private individuals now hold to the community for their general advancement, which can never be."

"Why?" said Jim.

"James," said the schoolmaster, severely, "things have come to a pretty pass when a boy of your age cannot take his teacher's word without asking why. We will go on with the next lesson." PETER PICKLE.

## TRUE FOR YOU.

Concord Patriot.  
Thomas G. Shearman of New York in his address at the meeting of the Franklin county tariff reform club, at Greenfield, Mass., Tuesday evening, declared that "a protective tariff is a scheme to make the poor man pay the rich man's taxes." This is true, indeed, but it is only half the truth, and the smaller half at that. It is a scheme to make the poor man contribute to the rich man's continued enrichment.

## SAFETY ONLY IN DECOLLETE.

Louisville Courier Journal.  
If Brer McKinley wanted to stop American tourists from wearing foreign pauper clothes he should have demanded that they should wear no clothing whatever on returning to their native land. There is safety in the décolleté style only.

## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

## REPUBLICANS ON THE TARIFF.

PHILADELPHIA PRESS FINDS PLENTY OF SUPPORT FOR THE MCKINLEY BILL.

The Philadelphia Press publishes the result of interviews on the tariff question with 159 republican congressmen. The number of republicans who believed a bill revising the tariff and reducing the revenue must be passed before this congress adjourns was 20. The number now ready to vote for the McKinley bill as it stands was 141. The number who believe the McKinley bill is sure to be made satisfactory to the party and the country by amendments and passed was 118; not sure about it, 7.

Benjamin Butterworth, who is not without symptoms of intelligence on the tariff question, strongly intimates his dissatisfaction with the measure by refusing to discuss it specifically, and declaring the necessity for a revision of the tariff that means revision. "Nothing short of that will suit the country," he asserts.

Senator Evarts approves the bill, but would like to see an entire repeal of the tobacco tax and some further modification of the internal revenue law.

Senator Allison declines to discuss the bill, on the ground that the senate finance committee, of which he is a member, will shortly be busy with the measure.

The California republicans are opposed to the sugar schedule, and one of them, Mr. Dehaven, says he is opposed to the prohibitive tariff which he suspects this measure is designed to enact.

Henry Cabot Lodge, who has turned his back on his convictions, will support the bill because he thinks it suits the whole republican party.

Senator Plumb of Kansas thinks the kind of bill passed more important than the mere passage of some bill.

Mr. Coleman of Louisiana, the only republican from the gulf states, will vote against the bill as it stands should that be the last act of his official life. The sugar schedule is his grievance.

Senator Higgins of Delaware is for the bill, of course, but he has doubts about the increased duty on tinned plates. Delaware has large canning interests that will suffer by reason of this duty, and this accounts for the attitude of Mr. Higgins toward tinned plates, though he does not say so.

Senator Moody of South Dakota would like to have a duty on tin so as to aid the tin mines of Dakota, which are said to be controlled by a British syndicate.

The funniest reason of all for favoring the bill is given by Senator Pierce of North Dakota. He likes it because he thinks it will protect his farmer constituents.

The few democrats interviewed condemn the measure in good set terms, but admit that it will be passed.

Senator Platt, republican, of Connecticut, with one initial wrong, appears in the Press among the New York senators, the interviewer evidently having confused him with Thomas C. Platt of this city, who once helped Roscoe Conkling to represent the state of New York in the United States senate.

## TWO REPUBLICAN PAPERS REBEL.

The St. Paul Pioneer-Press, one of the most influential republican papers in the west, quotes with approval Congressman Peters, republican, of Kansas, who says if the republican engineers of the McKinley bill are not careful they will put the republican party in the most embarrassing position it ever occupied. The Pioneer-Press adds that if the republican party is to be saved from humiliation and disaster, it will be through such republicans as Mr. Peters, who prove that the dominant party is not unanimously in love with "McKinley's ill-favored and ill-conditioned brat. The probability of President Harrison's succeeding himself," continues the Pioneer-Press, "will not be greatly enhanced by the failure of the McKinley bill." The Chicago Tribune, republican, quotes all this under the heading, "The cold truth."

## INTERESTING POLITICS IN NEBRASKA.

Ex-Senator Van Wyck of Nebraska has advised the Farmers' alliance of that state to put in the field a full state ticket in opposition to the republican ticket. The Omaha World-Herald suggests that the state ticket nominated by the alliance be endorsed by the democrats, the latter to name their candidates for congress, which shall in turn be accepted and endorsed by the alliance. When it is remembered that John M. Thurston, the prominent republican politician and attorney of the Union Pacific, stated in a recent interview that he stood almost alone in Nebraska for the retention of the present high protective tariff, the possibilities of such a combination in the next campaign are well calculated to excite republican alarm.

## ONE DISGUSTED REPUBLICAN.

Representative Niedringhaus, whose biography in the Congressional directory, presumably furnished by himself, affirms that "personal popularity and the issue of protection" brought about his election, has notified Mr. McKinley that he cannot stand the proposed increase of the tariff on borax. Mr. Niedringhaus manufactures "granite iron ware," and uses in the process a great deal

of borax. This borax comes chiefly from California and Nevada, and it is said that the output is controlled by a syndicate of which Senator Stewart and other prominent republicans form part. The effect of the increase of duty from three to five cents a pound will be to enrich the syndicate and greatly increase the cost of manufacturing Mr. Niedringhaus's "granite iron ware."

## PROTECTION A HUMBUG.

The Young men's democratic club of Brooklyn adopted resolutions on Monday night declaring the necessity for a reduction of the tariff and an extension of the free list. The club denounces as insincere the pretense of the republican party that the present duties are necessary for the protection of American labor.

## MR. SHEARMAN AT GREENFIELD.

Thomas G. Shearman talked on the tariff last week before the Franklin county tariff reform club at Greenfield, Mass. Several prominent republicans were in the audience. References to Mr. Cleveland were received with warm applause. Mr. Shearman told his hearers that what Massachusetts needed is the same free trade with all the rest of the world that she enjoys with the other states of the Union. Other speakers were J. H. Sanderson, Nathan Matthews, Jr., chairman of the state democratic committee, S. D. Bardwell, A. D. Flower, the Rev. P. V. Finch and L. S. Brigham. The last named brought greetings from the Vermont tariff reform club, a hopeful organization of 500 members.

## ANOTHER \$1,600,000 OUT OF THE FARMERS.

Mr. McKinley's pretense of being a special providence to the American farmer is shown in a fine light by his tax of one-quarter of a cent per pound on sulphuric acid. This acid is the most important constituent in manufactured fertilizers, and the proposed duty is about thirty per cent. The business of making sulphuric acid is a large one, and the raw materials entering into it are admitted free of duty, one of them, pyrites, having been placed on the free list by Mr. McKinley's bill. The duty may increase the cost of fertilizers \$2 per ton, and as the farmers of this country use 800,000 tons of manufactured fertilizers per year, this means a possible tax upon them of \$1,600,000 a year. Of course the reply of the protectionist is that the farmers, being numerous, can stand it.

## ONLY FOUR AMERICAN SHIPS.

Only four American ships are now engaged in carrying breadstuffs to foreign countries. They carried last year 571,169 bushels of grain while Great Britain's ships carried 24,954,719 bushels. Little Denmark carried 598,265 bushels. The grain shipments from New York have fallen from 113,343,163 bushels in 1880 to 37,906,269 in 1889. This ought to please those protectionists that bewail the evils of foreign trade, but curiously enough they are the very fellows who advocate bounties in aid of American shipping.

## A PRESENTATION BY MR. GLADSTONE.

To-day Mr. Gladstone presents to Mr. Thomas Bagley Porter, honorary secretary of the Cobden club, the address voted him at the annual meeting of the club in July last. The presentation takes place at the National liberal club.

## THIS IS WHAT WE MAY EXPECT.

Holland proposes to increase the duty on American petroleum imported into the Dutch Indies, in reprisal for the American increase of duty on raw tobacco. In Dutch commercial circles the advisability is being discussed of common European action against American protection.

## NOT DOGS—ONLY MEN.

Arbreath Herald (Scotland).

[Colonel North's dogs are provided with luxurious apartments, fed with the best of meat, and waited on by trained servants. His laborers are paid about sixteen shillings per week.]

Tho' now they eke their scanty wage,  
As far as it will go,  
And live from joyless youth to age,  
In poverty and woe;  
They might have dwelt in lordly hall  
And costly raiments worn,  
With servants to obey their call,  
If they'd but dogs been born.

Poor souls! they toil from day to day  
A ceaseless, restless round.  
The nobler thoughts they would obey  
In misery are drowned—  
But still they might have sleeker grown,  
Been plump instead of lean;  
And never want or sorrow known  
If they but dogs had been.

They might instead of misery  
Have known the joys of life,  
And lived in peace and luxury  
Instead of toil and strife;  
Well! let them learn when hopes all fade  
And callous hunger jogs,  
The terrible mistake they made  
In being men—not dogs.

## YES, THEY OUGHT TO HAVE ALL THESE.

From a Letter to the Kansas Farmers' Alliance.

The laboring classes ought to have better and more abundant clothing, better food and plenty of it, live in better houses, better furnished, feel that their children and old people are safe from want, and have leisure for rest, recreation, social enjoyment and mental improvement.

## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

## SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The single tax, therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## SINGLE TAX IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

ITS PRINCIPLES WERE CLEARLY ENUNCIATED TWELVE YEARS AGO WHEN THE FIGHT WITH THE PHOSPHATE MONOPOLISTS BEGAN, AND NOW THE FARMERS HAVE TAKEN UP THE QUESTION.

(Special Correspondence to The Standard.)

CHARLESTON, S. C., April 25.—The recent convention of farmers, called to suggest reform democratic candidates for governor and other state offices, unanimously adopted a highly significant resolution upon the subject of the phosphate beds. Here is the resolution:

We demand that there shall be a survey of the state's phosphate beds and their classification into three grades, and that a commission composed of the governor, comptroller-general and attorney-general shall control and direct the mining under rigid rules, each river or phosphate district being leased at public auction for a term of three years, after the commission has fixed a minimum royalty according to the value as shown by the survey.

The whole history of the phosphate beds of this state has been an object lesson in the principles advocated by THE STANDARD, and so plain is the lesson in the essential injustice of giving private individuals absolute control of natural opportunities, that thousands of persons in this state who never heard of the single tax, and would probably have a horror of the idea that land is not a proper object of private ownership, have been clamoring against the public injustice of granting a monopoly of the phosphate beds to capitalists.

In 1877 occurred what is known here as the "phosphate grab." In that year the legislature granted to a few favored individuals and corporations the right to dig phosphate rock from the beds of navigable streams. Before that time thousands of men had earned from \$4 to \$7 a day by simply lifting phosphate nodules from the beds of streams. Immediately after the passage of the act granting exclusive privileges, these people were thrown out of work, and later many of them were glad to dig for the monopolists, at ordinary laborers' wages, the very rock that they had previously dug for themselves at paying rates.

The iniquitous act was passed by the first democratic legislature after the days of carpet bag rule, but the act so outraged the public sense of justice that in May, 1878, a meeting of democrats was held in Charleston to protest against the measure and demand its repeal. The language of the speeches at the meeting and the tone of the memorial drawn up and sent to the legislature are highly refreshing to single tax men accustomed to hear their doctrines assailed by the unthinking. Mr. J. W. Verdier thus described the effect of the monopoly.

Right in the old town of Beaufort the old citizens of the place with hungry eyes looked on and greedily seized upon the poor privilege afforded them of working for these companies under their license. Our people invested their little money in flats, tongs and drags, and went to work for the Palmetto company and the Boatman's company, expecting that when the legislature met these exclusive charters would be abolished and the whole phosphate region thrown open to the people of the state. These people with their tongs and flats—getting, I will say, \$2.50 and afterward \$2 per ton for the rock—made money. How much more would they have made if they had been digging for themselves and not paying two royalties upon it.

Now, our democratic legislature has seen fit, instead of abrogating all that legislation which the accused republican party had foisted upon us, to confirm the rights already granted by the radicals, and to add a few more to the favored list. What is the condition now of the people of whom I have spoken? The Palmetto phosphate company is closed in the town of Beaufort under the order of that huge monopoly, and the "Beaufort mining company" is composed of people from everywhere except Beaufort. I saw only day before yesterday, these same people with their flats and tongs idle, going around and begging, suppliantly begging that they be allowed to dig for the Boatman's company for a little while.

All we ask is that we may have an equal chance in this case. We want nothing but what is in common with the people of the state. We have in our town men from the counties of Colleton, Barnwell and the upper portion of Beaufort, working with their own hands in their flats and piling up rock for these monopolists. We have young men from the city of Augusta down there with their little capital invested. All this must be thrown away unless we can address ourselves to the good will and favor of the monopolists.

Major George Lamb Buist feared that this legislation meant that the white man should work in this business at such prices and on such terms as shall be dictated by the monopolists; that the people should not participate on equal terms "with favored others in their common inheritance." He continued:

Five hundred white men in Charleston county alone are interested in this business, and with free competition I solemnly believe thousands will engage in it, and large revenues accrue to the state.

Give the people at least the privilege and opportunity to enjoy free competition and

general rights. If they do not then succeed, or the state should suffer detriment, then that policy may be abandoned.

After the grant of a general right to mine, and the employment of a large number of miners and laborers, Beaufort river, of great length, has been found to contain large and rich deposits; and, as has been found with Beaufort river with free competition, there will be similar results in other rivers.

Major Buist closed with the expression of his belief that free competition in mining phosphate is best for the state and for all the people of the state; that it is the wisdom and duty of the state to allow the largest possible number to participate in the benefits to be derived from these gifts of God.

The preamble and resolutions presented by Judge William M. Thomas, adopted by the convention, and afterward embodied in a memorial to the legislature, state the single tax doctrine with almost absolute accuracy. The most important of these resolutions are as follows:

Whereas, From the colonial period of this commonwealth until the late republican misrule, our navigable waters have been free to all classes of our citizens, and all have enjoyed a right in common to appropriate to their individual uses whatsoever they found unappropriated, by fishing or digging therein;

And whereas, During the late republican misrule, special privileges, to mine and dig phosphate from the navigable waters of this state, were granted to certain corporations, exclusive of and contrary to the common rights of all men;

And whereas, We had well hoped that with the restoration of good government these rights, in common, would have been restored and no more exclusive privileges would be granted;

And whereas, We have been sadly disappointed by the continuance and confirmation of these exclusive privileges by the last general assembly. Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the right to dig and mine phosphate rock in the navigable waters of this state is a prescriptive right, vested in common in all the citizens of this state, which cannot be taken away from them by any act of the legislature, and cannot be granted as an exclusive privilege to any company or individual monopoly.

That as a legislative action, such an exclusive privilege is contrary to the general interest and consonant only with the advantage of a special class who are thus authorized to reap the benefit which belongs to all men alike.

That we recommend the next legislature to repeal all exclusive charters, as granted at the last and previous legislature, and to leave claimants, if any there be, to litigate their pretensions in the courts.

That we recommend to the legislature a return to the rights which all citizens should enjoy in common, according to their ancient prerogative and the constitution of the state.

That we invite the general assembly, after the adoption of the system of general rights, to affix as much tax, impost or royalty, as is reasonable, upon the phosphate rock which may be mined in the navigable streams of the state, regard being had to the value of the same in the markets of the world, to the end that such amounts may be realized as will relieve the people from the burden of taxation, and may be just and proper.

The memorial also recited the constitutional law of the case in the most striking manner. At one point the memorial declares:

The gift of the state, in these phosphate beds, is incalculable in wealth. The royalty alone would be more than sufficient, if properly managed, to pay the current state expenses, and anticipate the payment of the whole state debt. Vesting such a property in a favored monopoly, and depriving the people from laboring in it, is a glaring iniquity.

Under the act passed at the last session of the legislature, all who desire to dig phosphates are obliged to take stock in some company, and thus subject themselves to the old-fashioned subordination, incident to our low country, of high salaries to officers and little or no dividends to stockholders. Many a man who could work profitably for himself and the state is thus thrown out of employment. All who desire to engage in this lucrative business must link their individuality, and personal superintendence of their investments, in one of these favored companies, and contribute to the fancy salaries of those whom the large stockholders place in position. Instead of fostering independent labor, and small capitalists who would superintend their own enterprises, the latter are thus excluded, and the privilege given to speculators, who have more money than they can invest in their regular business.

The memorialists submit that by common law the people of the state have always enjoyed the right in common to fish or dig in the public domain. They declare that: "The right to dig and carry away anything found unappropriated in the navigable waters, under the common law and statute, has become a prescriptive right vested in each citizen of the state, which cannot now be taken away from them, by act of the legislature," and that capital enjoys sufficient privileges over labor, not to require additional advantages by special legislation from the state. They finally submit that the granting of exclusive privileges to dig phosphate rock is void as contrary to the ancient prerogatives of the people and the constitution of the state.

The memorialists then gives this interesting bit of history:

In 1888 the fertilizer companies of the world were supplied with Navassa rock as

the base of their compounds at \$17.50 per ton. The first shipment of phosphate rock was an experiment. The shippers were to get the price of Navassa rock, if their shipment was as good. It proved better, and drove the Navassa rock out of the market. The Navassa rock contains forty-nine per cent of phosphate of lime, while the marine phosphates average sixty per cent. There is no known reason why the phosphate rocks to-day should not command as high a price as the Navassa rock did before their introduction.

By granting a monopoly, however, it can be readily perceived that the company may so arrange as to get the old price of \$17.50, and yet nobody else know they get more than \$7.50. It is to their interest to keep the known price down, so that they may get it dug as cheaply as possible, and pay the state as little royalty as is respectable. They have the monopoly in selling the rock as well as digging it, and this apparent price reduction can easily be managed.

The monopolies are believed to be interested in the large fertilizer companies of the world, and it makes little difference to them what the base is accredited at, \$7 or \$17, as long as the product commands from \$30 to \$50 per ton, from agricultural consumers.

A striking feature of the memorial is the enumeration of the evils arising from such monopolies as are conferred by the act:

1. To a special class of citizens of the state, in either depriving them of gaining an independent living in digging the rock, or subjecting them to the necessity of selling to the monopolists and thus giving half the value of their labor to the monopolists for no consideration.

2. To the state itself, in reducing the amount and value of the rock dug. If every one could dig, there would be certainly more rock to pay the royalty; and if the monopoly's apparent selling price was broken down, and a return made to Navassa prices, the rock could afford a higher royalty to the state.

3. Free competition in digging and selling would materially reduce the real price of the base in manufactured fertilizers, and enable the agricultural classes of the whole state to obtain their products at a less price than they do under the monopoly system. As the case now stands they have to pay for the monopolies their representatives have created.

This issue is now once more before the people, and the resolution of the March convention, cited in the opening of this letter, shows that the reformers of to-day are as good single taxers as were those democrats who made the memorable protest of May, 1878. The March convention was composed of representatives from nearly every county in the state. Captain B. R. Tillman was unanimously named as the candidate for governor to be presented to the democratic nominating convention in August next. The movement is one of reform within the democratic party, but it is a popular movement in which many others besides the farmers are represented. The farmers are the most numerous working class in this state, but many other workingmen as well as some professional men are included in this movement.

The charter of that huge phosphate monopoly, "the Coosa mining company," to which Mr. Verdier referred in his speech at the meeting in '78, expires next year, although their lawyer claims that it is perpetual. But this and all other monopolies created by the ring politics of the state since the accession of the democracy in '76 are to be looked after and repealed—in short, a vigorous policy of honesty and fairness, a government of the people, by the people, for the people, is to be adopted under the Tillman lead, if his adherents are successful in the fight.

#### MR. BROWN ON PROPERTY.

HE STATES THE ATTITUDE OF THE SINGLE TAXER TOWARD PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF WEALTH.

Edward Osgood Brown made a five minutes' speech on the single tax before the Sun-set club of Chicago on the night of April 24, the occasion being a discussion of taxation. Many persons present, unacquainted with the single tax theory, were interested to learn that it is not at war with the right of private property. Mr. Brown said:

A personal property tax is not only impolitic, because it cannot be collected and will always be evaded, but it is wrong in ethical principle, and this is the case with every other tax on the product of man's industry and energy applied to natural opportunities or upon the free exchange of such products. It is wrong because it interferes with the sacred right of property, which is a divine right, and can be no more justly interfered with by a king or an aristocracy, or a majority in a democracy than by any other superior force. That which a man produces or gets in exchange for what he produces is absolutely his own against all the world. It is wrong to take it by superior force for purposes which he does not approve.

But this does not entail anarchy or lack of government, because there are other things which the community collectively owns, and a revenue coming from them which the community has a right to dispose of by any properly authorized expression of its will. Just as a corporation has the moral right by the action of a majority of its stockholders to dispose of its corporate property, but no

right to dispose of the individual fortunes of its members, so the community or the state, by a majority vote in a democracy, has the right to settle the disposition of the revenues which belong to it.

And those revenues which do belong to it are sufficient to pay all the expenses of government without levying any tax upon what properly belongs to the individual. Those revenues are not only the profits of those things which, being in their nature monopolies and incapable therefore of being subject to free competition, should either be done by the state for its own account or be given as a franchise to the highest bidder for a yearly rental, but the price which should be paid to the state for all special privileges granted by it. Special privileges are sometimes necessary upon grounds of expediency, but the only just method of granting them is in exchange for a proper compensation to be paid to the community. The greatest of these special privileges is the individual possession and so-called ownership of land. It is necessary as a matter of expediency, but it is based upon no natural right of property. No such thing as absolute ownership of land is recognized by the human law or the divine law. By the human law land is held from the state in return for services rendered to it. That service in these days should be the payment of the economic rent of the land to the state. By the divine law the earth belongs to all men; every man has an interest in every piece of land. Therefore justice requires that the possession being parceled out to individuals should be paid for to the state according to the relative advantages enjoyed. Thus economic rent would go to the state.

From these sources of revenue which belong to it, the state will receive all that it needs. The true solution of the problem of taxation is not to tax at all, but to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's." "To render unto God the things that are God's," is to allow every man his natural, inalienable and divine right of individual property in those things which are the proper subject of individual property; "to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," is to pay to the state all that belongs to the community collectively—first and chief of which things is economic rent.

#### THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,  
12 UNION SQUARE,  
NEW YORK, APRIL 29, 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.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending April 29 are as follows:

|                                      |         |
|--------------------------------------|---------|
| Thro' G. B. Whaley (add.), San Diego | \$2 00  |
| Thro' F. W. Morton, Webster, Mass.   | 15 00   |
|                                      | \$17 00 |

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$3,340 10

Total . . . \$3,357 10

Cash contributions for the same period are as follows:

|                                        |        |
|----------------------------------------|--------|
| Dorchester S. T. club, Dorchester      | \$1 00 |
| Thro' G. L. Whitmore, Newburyport      | 1 05   |
| "Cash," Virginia City, Nev.            | 30     |
| F. C. Thompson (add) St. Augustine     | 50     |
| "Cash," Louisville, Ky.                | 1 00   |
| C. P. Knapp, M. D., Wyoming, Pa.       | 1 50   |
| R. Wilson, Wyoming, Pa.                | 1 50   |
| Rev. M. D. Fuller, Wyoming, Pa.        | 60     |
| C. G. Hersch, Wyoming, Pa.             | 60     |
| E. R. Van Auker, Wyoming, Pa.          | 60     |
| J. V. Mullen, Wyoming, Pa.             | 60     |
| Isabella B. Hancock, Wyoming, Pa.      | 60     |
| William Hancock, Wyoming, Pa.          | 2 00   |
| Sundry contributions in postage stamps | 69     |

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . \$11 64

Total . . . \$742 95

The enrolment now stands as follows:

|                                        |        |
|----------------------------------------|--------|
| Reported last week . . .               | 79,387 |
| Signatures received since last report. | 318    |
| Total . . .                            | 79,705 |

We call the attention of our friends to the fact that we have removed our office from 36 Clinton place to 12 Union square, G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

#### NEW YORK CITY.

MOVING, MOVING, EVERYWHERE—THE NEXT MEETING OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB TO BE HELD IN ITS NEW QUARTERS.

The Manhattan single tax club held no regular meeting last Thursday evening, but a large number of members were present. The subject was, Moving. The young men talked of what would be, and what ought to be, done when the club occupied its new quarters. They viewed the intended moving

with pleasant thoughts. The men of family, while thinking pleasantly of the new home of the club, compared notes as to the best and most economical plan of pulling up carpet tacks and the other incidence of change of abode. Their pleasant thoughts concerning the club's moving were slightly ruffled by the other May day moving they would have to do. The business men were also talking of moving—delighted that the club would soon be in its new home, wondering how much of their household furniture would be smashed and stolen in the process of the family removal to a new domicile, and damning the owners of stores whose rise of rent had made it impossible for the present occupants to continue business at the old stand. And it is on this point that the Manhattan club is getting members from the business community. One esteemed member of the club told of the worst case of "having to move" of the evening. He started in business in Albany. Three years ago he established a branch in this city, and moved his family here. He did fairly well. April, 1888, he was notified that his rent would be raised; he stood it. April, 1889, he was again notified that his rent would be raised; he stood it again. April, 1890, he was for the third time notified of a raise. This last raise is more than he can stand, so he has concluded to abandon his New York business, and has about concluded his arrangements for going back to his Albany business; and thus New York city loses a valuable citizen and the Manhattan club an esteemed member. But about his present "movements." He has had to engage another store in Albany, to which he has moved the stock from his old store; he has just finished moving his stock from his store in this city to his new store in Albany; and now he is packing up his household goods preparatory to moving into a house in the city in which his store is located. In view of all this moving, the members of the Manhattan single tax club have had little time to think of propaganda work in behalf of the single tax cause; and the only items of interest, so far as this city is concerned, may be found in the secretary's circular, which is here printed:

MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB,  
36 CLINTON PLACE.

NEW YORK, APRIL 25, 1890.

Next Thursday evening, May 1, 1890, the Manhattan single tax club will hold its regular monthly meeting in its new club house, No. 73 Lexington avenue, between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets. The secretary desires to congratulate his fellow members on this happy event. Our club has now really made its first great stride forward to the station which befits it, and toward its manifest destiny of becoming the home of the single tax men of the Union. It has now ample quarters for the accommodation and recreation of its members, the entertainment of the friends of the movement we all hold so dear, and the reception of such guests from distant states and cities as may visit New York and desire to meet the single tax workers of the metropolitan field. The strong bonds of union and fidelity to the principles of the single tax cause, which have enabled us so far to hold together and to advance our organization on the road to its full usefulness, will now have a wider scope.

It is the hope of the board of managers that each member will lay aside such other business as may interfere, and be on hand at the house-warming of the club, which will be held at the club house on the evening of May 8. On this evening the steward will provide a supper at a cost of fifty cents a plate, and music and recreation, of the sort which have enlivened our entertainments in the past, will be the order of the evening.

Now that we have at last the quarters so long and so earnestly desired, where members can enjoy quiet to read and to study, it is the duty of each member to bring in at least one additional member before the expiration of the month of May. It will be a falling behind what we may do, and what ought to be done by the leading single tax club of New York, if our roll does not carry the names of five hundred earnest and active men before the next annual meeting. To do this will need a strong and united, intelligent effort, but if done, it will place our organization where it ought to be and enable it to assist other weaker clubs and associations, and to lead, as it should lead, the advance of the single tax cause. Hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you in the new club house I remain, very truly,

A. J. STEERS Sec'y M. S. T. Club.

The campaign committee report a large and growing demand for their new tract. Its powerful illustration of the relation of landlord and tenant, reinforced by the poem of the Kansas farmer, and explained by Henry George's concise "single tax platform," furnishes a cheap and effective means of clinching an argument and awakening thought. Single tax clubs and individuals should show their appreciation of the Manhattan's enterprise by sending in their orders if only for one hundred copies. The price is \$2 per 1,000 in any quantity, which includes prepaid postage or expressage.

#### BROOKLYN.

FATHER HUNTINGTON LECTURES BEFORE THE SINGLE TAX CLUB.

Despite the inclement weather Avon hall was comfortably filled with a highly appreciative audience last Sunday evening to hear Father Huntington deliver an address on "The church and the single tax."

Mr. G. W. Thompson, who presided, in introducing the speaker, announced that the club had secured most attractive quarters at

198 Livingston street, which they intended to occupy after May 1, and where they would be pleased to welcome all their old friends as well as many new recruits to the cause.

In opening his address, Father Huntington alluded in glowing terms to the time, some years ago, when the single tax cause first came prominently before public notice, and said it was then that his enthusiasm became first aroused. This enthusiasm was largely due to the fact that he then, for the first time, saw clearly an adequate remedy for the dreadful social evils that oppress humanity. He thought that the time had now arrived when the harmony which unquestionably existed between the fundamental principles of this remedy and those of revealed religion should be brought clearly before the public mind; and to do this was his mission. The single tax, he said, was founded upon moral truth, and the recognition of moral truth involved the recognition of God, for without God we had to fall back on brute force. The religion of Christ, he said, was a religion for this earth and all Christ's teachings related to life here and now. So far from Christ having belittled the importance of this life in comparison with that beyond the grave, he several times brought back to this life those who had gone to the other. Mental and spiritual health depended upon bodily health, and no man could remain good long on an empty stomach. Material poverty caused spiritual poverty, and consequently an important part of every true spiritual teacher's work was that of showing the road to bodily comfort. Poverty was inimical to religion, as the slums of New York could testify.

Father Huntington then proceeded to show that individual freedom was also necessary to true religion, and that without access to the earth individual freedom was impossible. It was the duty of the nation to insure liberty to its members, and consequently to see that everyone had access to the land of the nation. The speaker then very aptly made use of a quotation from Emerson's essay on "The Conservative" to show that the law of private property in the earth is repugnant to natural conceptions of justice and liberty.

In his delivery of these lines from Emerson, Father Huntington showed mimetic powers of the highest order, and was heartily applauded. This was also the case toward the close of his address, when he related a German story to show that all other social wrongs were slight in comparison with land monopoly. It was told him by a western farmer who went out one morning and found one of his sheep lying dead and "all plotee." The farmer said to himself: "Something has killed my sheep," and ran into the house for his gun. Going to the forest, he saw a beast, and upon shooting it, found it to be a cub tiger. "Now," said he, "I will have no more sheep killed." But on going out the next morning, another lay dead. Another cub was shot, and the farmer thought surely now his sheep would be safe; but still another lay dead the morning after. The farmer was in despair till, on explaining the case to a friend who happened along, he was told that killing cubs was no use, he must kill the "mooter tiger."

When this was done there was no more trouble. Father Huntington closed with an earnest appeal for the single tax on the ground of justice, not charity, and after a hearty vote of thanks the audience dispersed.

#### NEW YORK STATE.

T. E. Lane, Flushing, Long Island.—Rev. J. O. S. Huntington lectured last evening (April 25) at the residence of Mrs. Dr. J. W. Barstow before a large audience composed of Episcopal and Congregational clergymen, physicians, lawyers, bankers, and others in the various professions of life. He spoke with wondrous power and undoubted effect of the tenement house system, and his burning words and thrilling earnestness made many a heart in that audience throb with a deep sympathy for the unfortunates. Then he told them of the remedy for all these miseries, and appealed to them to work for justice and restore to the disinherited their God-given inheritance—the land. It was a powerful sermon. What a wondrous effect it has on the mind and heart when you listen to a man preach Christianity!

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

A REPORT OF PROGRESS—CIRCULATING HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.

F. L. Childs, Hyde Park.—Our club has been holding a series of monthly public meetings throughout the winter and the interest awakened has been really remarkable. At first the audiences were composed of a few people interested in sociology, but gradually the attention of people who had hitherto been indifferent to the injustice of our present system of taxation has been attracted, so that at the last meeting the hall was too small to accommodate the crowd. On March 13, Rev. James Hextath, pastor of the Unitarian society, an ardent believer in the nationalization of land, lectured on "What is the Single Tax?" Early in April he read a paper treating of the same subject before the Unitarian club, and one may say that since then the pros and cons of the single tax are being discussed on every street corner. On April 16, James A. Herne delivered his remarkable lecture and read Professor Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw." The interest awakened has been so great that a number

of citizens have requested the club to invite Mr. Herne to repeat his lecture.

W. S. B. Stoneham.—Mr. W. W. Grey of the Lynn Item lectured in the Lasters' hall on Sunday, April 13, on the single tax as a method of making work plenty. Mr. Grey is a workingman, and his address was all the more effective on that account. The members of our league are circulating Henry George's books and distributing tracts through the shoe shops.

F. Berry, Haverhill.—Single tax men of Haverhill are requested to meet at my residence, 23 Cedar street, Sunday, May 4, at 1 o'clock p. m., for the purpose of forming a single tax league.

S. T., Boston.—The members of the Boston executive business association met at a dinner last week and adopted, among other resolutions, the following:

That the time has arrived to consider and devise plans for the abolition of all taxes upon personal property.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

TALKING OF THE SINGLE TAX IN LEGISLATIVE HALLS.

S. T., Providence.—The single tax has reared its head in our state legislature. There is a bill pending in that body to create a permanent board of state valuation. It was being discussed the other day, and the section was before the house. It is as follows:

Said board shall, continuing the work of and following the plan established by said committee, prepare a revaluation of all the ratable property of the several towns and cities of the state, and shall report the same to the general treasurer on or before the 1st day of February, A. D., 1891; the same to be used by him as the basis for the apportionment of the state tax among said towns and cities.

Senator Garvin moved that the following words be added to the section:

Provided that said board shall report a separate valuation of all the land, exclusive of improvements of the several towns and cities of the state.

To this amendment Senator Garvin spoke, "expounding," says the Providence Telegram, "the single tax theories of Henry George."

Now was the time, said the senator, to consider the important matter of taxation. A radical reform was needed, and should be had in view in the creation of a board of state valuation. Some senators were desirous of making greater efforts to find and tax personal property; but in the opinion of the speaker fewer rather than more things should be subject to assessment. He divided taxable property into three distinct classes: first, intangible personal property; secondly, tangible personal property and improvements upon land, and, thirdly, the land, exclusive of all improvements whatsoever. The first class, he said, should be exempt from taxation, if for no other reason, because the assessment of such property was the merest guess work and utterly unfair.

The second class, including all the products of labor, should also be exempted from direct taxation, because the payment of such taxes fall finally upon the consumer, and most heavily upon the poor.

The third class, comprising the bare land, ought to bear the entire weight of taxation, as levied for state and municipal purposes. Such a tax could be assessed with accuracy and would not fall upon the poor. The senator farther argued that the farming lands of the state were overvalued, and that the farmers' taxes should and would be lessened by the reform he was advocating.

As indirect benefits of the single tax, the speaker specified the abolition of speculation in land, the cheapening of land to such a degree as to give homes to our now almost homeless people; and, finally, an increased return to capital invested in manufacturing. In conclusion, the speaker said that it would be very easy to inaugurate a reform in which bitter antagonism between capitalist and laborer would be engendered. The single tax, however, was in the interest of both capital and labor. Its good effects would be so far reaching for good as to make unnecessary many of the minor reforms, restrictive in their character, which had elsewhere been sought through legislation.

At the conclusion of his speech Senator Garvin answered questions propounded by Senators Richmond and Church.

Of course Senator Garvin's amendment was lost; but the senator's speech has attracted general attention, and people are now talking about the single tax who never heard of it before.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

THE PHILADELPHIA LEDGER CHANGES ITS OPINION.

J. J. Shoemaker, Philadelphia.—As one of the evidences that the light is spreading, the editorial below, from the Public Ledger, calling the income tax a tax on conscience, is good:

Surely the state revenue commission will not attempt to revive the graded income tax! As a matter of fine-spun theory nothing can be fairer than to tax every one according to his income, but when it comes to administration there is probably no more inequitable

and offensive tax in any system that has ever been tried. The tax is, in effect, one upon conscience. The man who is most conscientious pays the most tax in proportion to his income; the man with the least conscience pays the least tax. The only way to make an income tax work approximately right would be to assess it in the ordinary way, and then, without previous notice, transpose the names in the several classes, thus rewarding the good and punishing the wicked.

Last February, when the single tax men argued before the same revenue commission that any tax except a tax on land values was a tax on conscience, or on industry and thrift, the Ledger asserted that the commission were told how not to raise the state revenues.

#### ILLINOIS.

AN INTERESTING BATCH OF SINGLE TAX NEWS FROM CHICAGO.

Chicago, April 25.—Our meeting last night was devoted wholly to business matters, the question of the national conference coming up for final action. A motion that such a conference should be held, and naming Chicago as the place, was defeated. After some remarks a motion prevailed in favor of New York, but the matter was subsequently recommitted for the purpose of giving the committee a chance to ascertain the number of delegates who can attend. Mr. Edward Osgood Brown, Secretary Frank W. Irwin and W. W. Bailey have already declared that they will be in attendance, and others will no doubt be heard from in due time. I think you can safely count on a good delegation from Chicago.

Miss Leonora Beck, one of our vice-presidents and a very bright and forcible speaker, will present the single tax from the standpoint of a teacher next Thursday evening. She will spend her summer vacation in California.

On Thursday evening, May 8, Mr. Crowell, a protectionist, who has been a constant attendant at our club for two years, and who seems completely wedded to his idol, will speak in favor of the tariff. The discussion that will follow is likely to be highly entertaining and instructive.

The judiciary committee of the council will probably take final action to-morrow on the resolution offered by Alderman McEnerney authorizing the appointment of a special committee of the council to investigate the subject of local taxation. This resolution was offered in connection with the petition of our club for such an investigation, and I am led to believe that it will be reported favorably. The judiciary committee has invited our committee to be present to-morrow to explain what we seek, and Mr. Brown, Judge Bangs and Jonathan B. Taylor will state our case in a formal manner. If we get this special committee I believe we shall be able to excite more interest in the question of taxation than has ever before been felt, and perhaps some immediate good may result in an equalization of assessments. The Morning and the Evening News, the Times and the Herald are all strongly urging a reform in local assessments, thus tremendously aiding us in our fight. That we shall win ultimately I have no sort of doubt.

Edward H. Bailey, known to single tax men throughout the country, has removed from Chicago to Bloomington, Ill., where he has taken the managing editorship of the Daily Leader.

The membership of our club steadily increases and the attendance continues to be very good. I hope it will grow better from now forth, and I want to urge upon all single tax men in the city the importance of lending their presence and their active efforts to the work which the organization is doing.

The Sunset club discussed taxation at its fortnightly dinner last night. A. M. Pence, a prominent lawyer, denouncing the personal property tax, and Clinton Forbish and Edward O. Brown speaking for the single tax. Both these gentlemen were particularly happy in their remarks.

S. T., Waterloo.—The Farmers' mutual benevolent association of Monroe county, Ill., has adopted resolutions condemning frauds on the ballot box; declaring public lands the heritage of the people; demanding that not another acre be given to railroads, speculators or alien landlords, and that lands held for speculative purposes should be taxed to their full value.

#### MINNESOTA.

AN INTERESTING MEETING, IN WHICH CLERGYMEN TOOK THE PRINCIPAL PARTS.

C. J. Baell, Minneapolis.—Last evening, April 22, our league had a remarkably successful meeting. Rev. H. M. Simmons, pastor of the First Unitarian church, read a paper on the "Land Question," taking for his subject "The natural relation of man to the earth." He traced the development of systems of land tenure from the savage state to civilization, from no ownership by anyone, through tribal and family ownership, to the present system of individual ownership, quoting freely from Spencer, Taylor, Maine, De Laveleye and others in support of his position. He reached the conclusion that "private possession and use of land is the best system yet developed," but that there are many evils that have always attended the system, and declared that the abuses that have always gone along with private property in

land must be corrected or our own civilization was doomed, as Rome was before us.

The discussion which followed brought out many good points. Rev. S. W. Sample, Rev. Father Egan, Rev. Kristofer Jansen, the famous Norwegian, all laid stress on the single tax as the method that would preserve to us all the benefits of both common ownership and private possession and use while removing the dangers and evils of both. Many others followed in the same strain, all ardently advocating the single tax as the practical remedy for existing evils, and not the least among these was Mr. S. H. Bartlett of Minnetonka, a venerable single tax farmer, eighty years of age, who told how the reform would benefit him and his brother farmers.

Our large room at the West hotel was packed and many who could not find seats stood in the aisles, the doorways, and out in the hotel lobby listening to the discussion. It was one of our most successful meetings.

Our membership is rapidly increasing and now numbers nearly two hundred. About fifty of these have joined within the last three weeks.

You need not be surprised to hear something drop up here soon.

W. A. Carpenter, Minneapolis.—We had a good meeting of our single tax league last night, April 22. Rev. H. M. Simmons read a paper on "The Natural Relation of Man to the Earth," which was followed by remarks from Rev. S. W. Sample, Rev. Kristofer Jansen, Rev. Father Egan, and others.

#### MARYLAND.

A LECTURE BEFORE THE STUDENTS OF HANNAH MORE ACADEMY—OTHER NEWS.

N. S., Baltimore.—April 17 a lecture was given to the students of Hannah More academy, Reisterstown, by Rev. R. Whittingham, a member of the Baltimore single tax league, upon the single tax movement. It was especially designed for the older students of the class in political economy, but was adjusted to the comprehension of the youngest present. When the speaker, in illustration of the point he was making, that taxation decreased and limited consumption, he asked: "If your principal, in his worthy care for your digestion, concluded it best to tax you two cents for each piece of pie eaten, would you eat less or more?" The hearty laughter accompanying the shout "less," showed that they "caught on," even the little ones.

L. T. Jones, Baltimore.—At a regular meeting of the Baltimore single tax society held at Industrial hall Sunday afternoon, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, It has been determined that our city government is to be asked to appropriate \$3,000 to entertain the officers and men of the cruiser Baltimore and others; and

Whereas, Our city government refused to appropriate a like sum to furnish music in the parks for the benefit of the taxpaying voters and their families during the summer months; therefore be it

Resolved, by the Baltimore single tax society, That we are opposed to any such misappropriation of public money; and

Resolved, That we regard our "navy" as a relic of barbarism, and, therefore, utterly condemn the spirit in which this appropriation is to be asked.

#### MISSOURI.

A NEW SINGLE TAX PAPER IN ST. LOUIS—THE QUINCY, ILL., RESOLUTIONS APPROVED—RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE ILLINOIS MINE WORKERS.

Percy Peppon, St. Louis.—The last meeting of the single tax league was well attended. E. F. Fellows made a stirring address, and then rushed for the Kansas City train. F. E. Marlow distributed copies of his new paper, Freedom, which he designs shall become the local single tax organ. The league adopted the resolutions originated by the Quincy single tax club [printed in THE STANDARD last week] requesting Labor Commissioner Carroll D. Wright to make an official investigation of the question of taxation. We also expect the Knights of Labor of the city to adopt them.

M. J. Goings, St. Louis.—The convention of the miners of southern Illinois, under the auspices of the United mine workers of America, held in East St. Louis, Ill., April 23 and 24, unanimously adopted the following resolutions and directed that they be sent to THE STANDARD for publication:

Resolved, first—That while urging earnestly the co-operation of all in favor of shortening the working day, and of doing whatever lies nearest at hand to alleviate the condition of the toiling masses, we in no wise regard the eight-hour movement, or the institution of an arbitrary scale of prices, or the artificial control of markets as final aims, but as temporary expedients until the fuller measures of justice can be secured; and

Resolved, second—That we hereby call attention to the fundamental principles, the larger measures of justice above referred to, contained in the platform of the Knights of Labor and endorsed by the United mine workers of America—the principles relating to finance, transportation, and last but not least, the taking for public purposes of the "unearned increment," the aim of which is the opening and equalizing of natural opportunities—the setting of labor free.

Resolved, third—That we hereby proclaim our faith in the soundness and justice of those principles, first, because the issue of



## 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, 1-06 4th st.

**OAKLAND.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1050 1/2 Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

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

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

**BLACK DIAMOND.**—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, 2951 Marion st.

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

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

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

## CONNECTICUT.

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

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

## DAKOTA.

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

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

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

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

## FLORIDA.

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

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

## GEORGIA.

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

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

## ILLINOIS.

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

**SPRINGFIELD.**—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 633 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 afternoon, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; 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. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 915 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 318 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 920 Hedge ave.

**DES MOINES.**—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballance.

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—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, 388 W. Broadway.

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

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

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

## KANSAS.

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

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

## LOUISIANA.

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

## MAINE.

**AUBURN.**—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 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. in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John Salmon, 415 N. Eutaw st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st. Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

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

## MASSACHUSETTS.

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

Neponset single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 339 1/2 Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. 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., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

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

**LYNN.**—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libby 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. Pres., Rufus Spaulding; sec., Thomas Harding.

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

## MINNESOTA.

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

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

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

## MISSOURI.

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

"Beaton School of Social Science." Saturday, 8 p. m., 6339 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. Meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 at headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every night. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

**BERMANS.**—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. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

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

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

## NEBRASKA.

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

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

## NEW JERSEY.

**JERSEY CITY.**—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the National assembly rooms, 642 Newark ave. Pres., John W. Jakeway; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 497 Grove st.

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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.

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