

THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men, and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

The Pennsylvania democratic state convention, which met at Harrisburg on the 4th, nominated for state treasurer, the highest officer to be elected this year, E. A. Bigler, of Clearfield county, a democrat of the better sort, and adopted a platform which unequivocally declares against protection and definitely demands the Australian ballot.

The resolutions relating to the tariff question are as follows:

1. That all powers not expressly granted to the general government are withheld, and a sacred observance of the rule of construction contained in the tenth amendment to the constitution itself is essential to the preservation of the principles of home rule and of pure, honest, and economical government, to the end that labor may not be robbed of the bread it has earned.

2. We applaud the action of President Cleveland, and our democratic representatives in congress, looking to tariff tax reform, and we reaffirm the declaration of principles made by the democracy of the union at St. Louis, in 1888, especially that demanding a revision and reduction of tariff taxes for the relief at once of American labor, American industries, and American taxpayers, by the repeal of such tariff taxes as now invite and protect monopoly, a greed that lessens production, lessens employment of labor, decreases wages, and increases cost to consumers, and by the admission of raw material free of duty in all cases where it will enlarge our product, multiply our markets and increase demand for labor.

3. We regard trusts, in whatever form organized, as the result of the existing monopoly tariff, and we demand the repeal of such tariff taxes as enable them to control domestic production by unlawful combination and to extort from the people exorbitant prices for their products.

These resolutions show a great advance, not merely over all previous platforms of the Pennsylvania democracy, but over all previous democratic platforms for many years. There is a most gratifying difference between asking for such a reduction in the tariff as "will not reduce the wages of American labor," and demanding a reduction of tariff taxes for the relief of American labor. The declaration that trusts, "in whatever form organized," are the result of the existing monopoly tariff, shows a like advance.

The first resolution is perhaps even more significant. The tenth amendment referred to is last of the ten amendments of the nature of a bill of rights, which were proposed by the first congress that met under the federal constitution and immediately adopted. It is as follows:

Article 10. The powers not granted to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people.

The effect of this amendment is to deny to congress the power of levying any protective tax. The supreme court has already decided that congress has no such power, and were it not for the subterfuge

that gives to acts intended for protection the title of acts for the collection of revenue, all the acts of congress by which our monstrous system of protection has been instituted would have been declared unconstitutional. In calling for the sacred observance of this rule of construction the Pennsylvania democrats are virtually calling for the repeal of every protective duty.

The truth is that the platform of the Pennsylvania democracy, though couched in the diplomatic language in which political platforms are usually framed, really takes ground against all protection, and indeed goes pretty nearly to the length of taking ground against all tariffs. For the effect of abolishing all tariff taxes that rob labor of the bread it has earned, that invite and protect monopoly, that lessen production and employment, decrease wages and increase cost to consumers, would not leave even revenue tariff enough for any tariff-for-revenue-only man to find.

Whoever drew these resolutions—and it is a pretty good guess that Chauncey F. Black, the president of the democratic society of Pennsylvania, and the last candidate of the democracy of that state for governor had a hand in them—is a free trader, pretty well along towards the single tax. It is of course not to be presumed that the majority of the convention really understood their full significance. But they did understand that they were radically against protection. And that this is now the attitude of the democracy of Pennsylvania—the state in which until recently Randall has represented the democracy, the state in which until recently an avowed free trader was an actual curiosity—is perhaps the most cheering proof of the advance of the democratic party that could be given.

The resolution in favor of the Australian ballot is equally gratifying and even more outspoken. It is:

8. We favor the Australian ballot system as adapted to meet the requirements of our constitution and the special wants of our people, in order to secure the freedom and purity of elections menaced by the combined power of monopoly and the corruption of republican rings and bosses.

That the freedom and purity of elections is menaced by the combined power of monopoly and the corruption of republican rings and bosses is true in Pennsylvania, and as was shown in the last presidential election is generally true. But it is not to be forgotten that in the state of New York it is the corruption of democratic rings and bosses, acting through Governor Hill, that has twice prevented the adoption of the Australian system.

The Saturday Globe, which is ably assuming the place of "a weekly democratic review," speaks in the warmest terms of the ringing free trade speech of the president of the recent democratic convention of Ohio, and adds:

Mr. Harter, however, struck into the marrow of the matter when he declared, with unusual fervor and emphasis, for the Australian ballot. Until the ballot box is secure against the assaults of intimidation and corruption; until the workingman is made safe in depositing a ballot which is not such as his employer desires, and until the venal elector is furnished with the means of deceiving those who buy him "in blocks of five" there will be no certain safeguards against monopoly and boodle. Ballot reform is almost a condition precedent to tariff reform.

The general adoption of the Australian ballot is now only a question of time. It

is winning such way that in all the states which have not yet adopted it, the northern states at least, not excepting New York, both parties will soon be compelled to declare for it.

The executive committee of the democratic society of Pennsylvania have called a general assembly of the democratic societies of Pennsylvania for Philadelphia on October 15. They propose to make this assemblage an important event in the Pennsylvania campaign and a rally of the anti-protection element of the party. They have invited Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Mills, Mr. Wilson of West Virginia, and a number of other distinguished democrats to address them on "the great and enduring principles of democracy as expressed by Thomas Jefferson." But strangely enough they have also invited Governor Hill of New York, who could much more fitly address them upon the great and enduring principles of democracy as exemplified in the buying of votes. If he goes, however, Governor Hill will probably mark by his declarations the advance on the tariff question, for he is a keen enough politician to see the set of the tide in this matter.

But he does not seem to be a keen enough politician to see that he has no possible chance of the presidential nomination. Politicians who were at the annual gathering at Saratoga say that it seems as if he really thought he might be nominated. The truth is that there is only one New Yorker who stands any chance of nomination by the next democratic national convention, and that is Grover Cleveland. If he is not the candidate, the irresistible feeling will be for the nomination of a candidate outside of New York. But beyond this, Governor Hill is the one man in the United States that the lightning of a presidential nomination, capricious as it is, could not possibly strike. The south and west would laugh to scorn the idea of nominating a man in behalf of whose candidacy for a governorship the presidency was traded off.

The rising tide of democratic opinion on the tariff question is also marked by a ringing speech by Allen W. Thurman at the ratification meeting in Columbus, Ohio, last week. Mr. Thurman did not mince his words. He declared that the scheme of protection was conceived in iniquity and born in sin; that the slightest tax laid for protective purposes was simply legalized robbery, and utterly opposed to the democratic principle, and that if he had written the Dayton platform it would simply have been, "We are in favor of a tariff for revenue only." The claim that protection can enrich the people he declared to be a lie, and that it can benefit workmen a still more impudent lie.

The Columbus single tax man who sends this speech to THE STANDARD says it was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and that Mr. Thurman was more heartily applauded than was even the appearance of the candidate for governor.

It will be a pretty hard thing, even in Ohio, this year to claim that the democratic party is not against protection, but is only in favor of such a reduction in protective duties as will not reduce wages!

Tariff for revenue only is a good enough

position for the democratic party just now, but by-and-by they will have to face the question why there should be any tariff at all.

Here is a suggestive letter:

AUSTIN, TEXAS, August 29, 1889.

Dear Sir: I am rather surprised at the easy manner in which I have become a single land tax advocate. I have been the writing editor of a number of leading daily democratic newspapers, among them the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer and the Baltimore Sun, and I have always attributed the condition of our working classes to the protective tariff. I have also believed with Grosvenor that protection does not protect, and with the ostensible Bombay merchant who wrote the series of letters to Greeley I have doubted our ability to sell manufactured articles of any kind to any other country. And I have written a great deal and worked very earnestly to bring the democratic party up to a free trade plank and square issue in every canvass.

About three months since a neighboring attorney brought a copy of THE STANDARD into my office and read me an article. We had considerable discussion about it. However, I borrowed the paper, and remember of thinking when my friend left that I feared he had gone crazy over the Henry George single land tax idea. I read the paper through carefully, I bought two other numbers, and concluded to read "Progress and Poverty," which one of the students got for me out of the University library. I read it and was surprised to find myself introducing the subject in social circles and maintaining an argument in behalf of the ideas suggested by you. In fact I found myself, without any violent political revolution, a full fledged single tax man. I found that I began to regard a reform in the tariff a halfway measure unworthy of earnest effort, for I recognized that the whole evil must be cut up by the roots, and the single land tax was the only way to do it.

Now I have been for many years a representative democrat, opposing the policy of Gorman of Maryland and Randall of Pennsylvania in avoiding the square issue in our national campaigns, and I take it that all that class of democrats who like myself have regarded high tariff as the bane of the country and the means of keeping the poor man poor and making him poorer, would come to my conclusions on the subject if they could investigate it. I know several gentlemen here who hold office believe with me, and I write to suggest to you to inaugurate some means by which THE STANDARD and other publications on this subject should be more generally circulated among democrats.

It is becoming very necessary now in the south where capital is invested in manufacturing and where the people are urged to favor protection as the only means of obtaining manufacturing establishments in the south.

I say it with humility, I have long regarded you as a political crank, and I thought I was greatly enlightened on all these subjects. But now I wonder at my stupidity and admit that I think you have solved the problem by which the poor of the country shall be emancipated and made happy. In fact I believe the establishment of your policy will be the forerunner and basis upon which God's kingdom on the earth shall be established.

I said to a gentleman, "God never intended His children to live in such poverty and misery." He answered with the interrogatory, "Why does He permit it then?" I said, "When His kingdom is established upon earth it will not be possible."

Yours, etc.,
JOEL H. B. MILLER.

It is because free trade leads so easily and naturally to the single tax that I have attached and do still attach so much importance to the bringing up of the tariff question and the drawing of party lines upon it, and that I feel so much gratified with the present tendencies of our politics, and the advance which the democratic party has been making ever since Mr. Cleveland's message of December, 1887, and especially since the last election. As I wrote in "Protection or Free Trade" some time before the tariff question so happily came up in the United States:

Whether we have a protective tariff or a revenue tariff is in itself of small importance, for, though the abolition of protection would increase production, the tendency to unequal distribution would be unaffected and would

soon neutralize the gain. Yet, what is thus unimportant as an end is all important as a means. Protection is a little robber it is true; but it is the sentinel and outpost of the great robber—the little robber who cannot be routed without carrying the struggle into the very stronghold of the great robber. . . . The making of the tariff question a national political issue must now mean the discussion in every newspaper, on every stump, and at every cross-roads where two men meet, of questions of work and wages, of capital and labor, of the incidence of taxation, of the nature and rights of property, and of the question to which all these questions lead—the question of the relation of men to the planet on which they live. The great robber is so well entrenched, and people have so long been used to his exactions, that it is hard to arouse them to assail him directly. But to help those engaged in a conflict with this little robber will be to open the easiest way to attack his master, and to arouse a spirit that must push on.

Therefore it is that I would urge earnest men who aim at the emancipation of labor and the establishment of social justice, to throw themselves into the free trade movement with might and main, and to force the tariff question to the front. It is not merely that the free trade side of the tariff controversy best comports with the interests of labor; it is not merely that until workingmen get over thinking of labor as a poor thing that needs to be "protected," and of work as a dole from gracious capitalists or paternal governments, they cannot rise to a sense of their rights; but it is that the movement for free trade is in reality the van of the struggle for the emancipation of labor. *This is the way the bull must go to untwist his rope.*

I make these extracts because there are some who seem to think that in devoting so much attention to the tariff question and endeavoring to support a movement that has for its avowed object no more than the reduction or at most the abolition of protective duties, *THE STANDARD* has been losing sight of what I have always regarded as the only aim in itself worth struggling for. Such men are like those short-sighted abolitionists who opposed the republican party because instead of proposing the abolition of slavery it only proposed at first to resist the extension of the evil institution.

The result, even in this short time, has shown that those of us who felt it to be our clear, unmistakable duty to give our heartiest support to Mr. Cleveland in the last election did the very best thing that could have been done to advance our principles. If we chose to adopt such a simile, and to many of them in their present frame of mind it would not seem inappropriate, the more thoughtful men of the democratic party, and it is the more thoughtful that in times when thought is aroused must lead, are even now in the swirl of the rapids that lead to the single tax Niagara. As they get hotter and hotter against protection they will come on faster and faster, and will find themselves, as Mr. Miller found himself, advocating the single tax before they fairly realize it.

For between opposition to protection and the virtual abolition of private property in land by the taxation of land values, there is no logical stopping place. Men may stop when held back by private interests, or they may stop for awhile because there is an intermediate position yet to be carried, and they do not look beyond. But just as certain as opposition to the extension of slavery led on resistlessly to the abolition of slavery, so must opposition to protection lead on to the single tax. Free trade really means free production, for trade is only one of the methods or steps in production. And to make trade fully free we must not only abolish all taxes on production, but what is practically the same thing—since the two things can only be attained by the same means—we must do away with all the restrictions that prevent the use of land by labor.

The result of the discussion of the tariff question and of the part which we single tax men have taken in it has been largely to open the minds of the members

of one of the great parties to our doctrines and predispose them in their favor. It is not merely that thoughtful individual democrats like Mr. Miller find themselves in favor of the single tax as soon as the matter is fairly presented to them, it is that our ideas find ready access to the masses and are propagated by diffusion—often by men who do not fully understand them. And pressed in their controversies with protectionists, those who in public or in private take the anti-protection side find themselves more and more driven to adopt our arguments and open the way for our doctrines.

Although in the last campaign the timidity of the democratic managers made them fear radical utterances from their platforms, yet all over the country single tax men entered the democratic canvass, and from democratic stumps led to our fundamental principles—which are in fact nothing more than the principles of real democracy. And with the intensification of the anti-protectionist feeling in the democratic ranks that has been going on since the election, and that must continue to go on, there is every indication that these opportunities will greatly increase.

The Crescent democratic society of Baltimore, until lately the Crescent democratic club, is a powerful association, possessing a splendid club house and a large hall that will comfortably seat nearly a thousand persons—a real factor in the practical politics of city and state. Since the election it resolved to turn itself into one of those Jeffersonian societies which are forming on the same lines as the Pennsylvania societies of which Governor Black is president, and to push the educational campaign against protection on radical lines. Some months ago President Morrison of the Crescent society came to the Baltimore single tax club and said substantially, "Why are you flocking all by yourselves? We are working in the same direction as you, even if we don't yet go so far. If there is any difference between us it is only that you are better democrats than we. But we have no quarrel with you on that account. Come into our society and you can work for the single tax all the better. You will have a chance there not only to convert us but to convert other people."

A number of the most active of the Baltimore single tax men responded to this invitation, and joined the Crescent society, and the result, they tell me, has been most gratifying. They say, indeed, that from being one of the most backward cities on the single tax, Baltimore now will soon be in the front. And from my reception by the Crescent society last Friday night, and from the hearty applause, which punctuated my speech—the more hearty as it became more evident what I was driving toward—it seemed as if the whole Crescent society had become a single tax club.

I would like to urge on our friends, as I have before, the policy of joining these democratic societies, which owe their initiative to the desire of reviving Jeffersonian principles in the democratic ranks, or of taking part in their formation where they do not exist, and can be well started. A letter to the president of the Pennsylvania society, Hon. Chauncey F. Black, York, Pa., will secure any necessary information. As for membership in them involving any obligation to vote the straight ticket through thick and thin, it is evident that the Crescent society of Baltimore do not recognize that, for no part of my speech was more warmly applauded than that in which I spoke of the necessity of democrats scratching the straight ticket in the interests of democratic principle.

But what our Texas friend's letter directly suggests is how much may be done by such personal effort as is within the power of everyone. The gentleman who brought the copy of *THE STANDARD* into Mr. Miller's office and roused him to thought, did in that half hour a greater work than he could possibly have known. And how many others Mr. Miller shall in his turn rouse to thought who shall say? To get one mind to recognize a fundamental truth for which the time is ripe, is to give an impulse that will perpetuate itself in ever-widening circles; is to strike a spark from which other torches will be lit. Eloquence, influence, a position which commands the public ear, are useful agencies, but they are not indispensable for effective work. The weakest, the most unimportant, the most halting of speech, can do something—they cannot tell how much it may really prove to be. A word, a tract, a paper, a question may strike a spark that will grow to a wide illumination.

And that so many men and women are engaged in quietly doing what they may to thus spread the light, is to my mind the real strength of the movement. Do not forget the women. They have no votes as yet, but whoever thinks that they are the least influential half of human kind does not look below the surface.

As for Mr. Miller's suggestion for the inauguration of some means by which *THE STANDARD* and other publications should be more generally circulated among democrats, I do not, in the absence of financial means, know how to do that. I can only call attention to the recruit subscription plan by which *THE STANDARD* may be sent for six weeks for twenty-five cents, and to urge the sending or giving of tracts and books where they will be read, and it is possible.

But while I fully recognize as Mr. Miller points out, how easy it is to get earnest free trade democrats to come a step further into the full free trade involved in the single tax position, I would not have effort of this kind exclusively, or even particularly, directed toward democrats. The present division of parties is not a true one—the true line of party division on economic issues is only beginning to be drawn. There are many protectionists in the democratic party; many anti-protectionists in the republican party. It is only the small minority of either party that is there from reason or conviction. With most men at present the party they act with is a mere matter of habit, prejudice or association. And where we can get an earnest, honest man to think, we can bring him to our side from the republican party as certainly as from the democratic party. The stronger protectionist he is, the more thorough single tax free trader is he likely to prove. For, having overcome prejudices and prepossessions in order to come to us at all, he is not likely to come without such a thorough examination as will firmly ground him in our principles and give him a firm and abiding faith.

And we can make absolute free traders out of protectionists where the half-way free traders, the tariff-for-revenue men, could make no impression. At least half, and I am inclined to think more than half, of the single tax men who are most active to-day were republicans before they became single tax men, and a larger proportion still were protectionists.

Since the publication of "Protection or Free Trade?" I have several times been offered large orders for the circulation of that book if I would consent to print an edition in which the parts showing the

connection between the tariff question and the land question should be omitted. These offers I have always refused, because I believe that to omit these parts of the book would be to shear it of the power to make free traders out of protectionists which it has abundantly shown.

The death of the real executive head of the greatest municipality in the world is merely incidentally referred to in the cable dispatches to the daily papers, in connection with the vacancy it makes in the parliamentary representation of Dundee. Besides representing Dundee in the present house of commons, Mr. Firth was the vice chairman or paid executive—the chairmanship, held by Earl Rosebury, being honorary—of the London county council. Mr. Firth had for years given great attention to the municipal affairs of London, and to him more than to any other man is due the partial union of the various municipalities into one county which went into effect last November. Mr. Firth's loss is a serious one to the county council, and will be especially felt by Mr. Saunders, Mr. Torr and the other single tax men in that body. A barrister by profession, Mr. Firth was a man of fine powers and of considerable parliamentary experience, having served through the two preceding parliaments as well as in this one. He was in politics a radical liberal, and though not an avowed single tax man was sufficiently so to answer all present practical purposes. He accompanied the party that went over to the land conference in Paris and made a fine speech at the banquet in the Continental hotel. When I left London he seemed in the very prime of health.

Another sudden death, of which notice was accidentally omitted in *THE STANDARD* of last week, was that of J. J. Barnard of Passaic, N. J., on August 28. Mr. Barnard was one of the most earnest and indefatigable of New Jersey single tax men. He was a druggist by profession and was employed in one of the large drug houses of this city. His death was especially sudden. Arising in the morning he was about to come to New York, but not feeling well lay down again, and in little more than an hour breathed his last. Mr. Barnard left a wife and three children.

Thomas G. Shearman's Forum article on "Henry George's Mistakes" is exciting more attention from the press than has any magazine article for a long time, and the startling figures with which he shows the rapid concentration of wealth are being quoted in all sorts of papers, generally accompanied in the leading journals with editorials bearing such headings as "Mistakes of Thomas G. Shearman," "Mistakes of a Single Tax Theorist," etc. But the most unique defense of things as they are is that made by the Sun. That journal says:

But what would it prove if it were true that half of the wealth of the United States is held by 25,000 persons? Go back to the age of William the Conqueror, and we find that all the wealth of England was practically held by one man, the personage who stood as the representative of the state. During the reign of King John a few score more of the inhabitants of the realm succeeded in making themselves property holders and the struggle for possession has been going on ever since. If we have finally reached a condition in this country where it takes 25,000 men to own one half of the national wealth, and 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 of men to own the other half, we are making good progress. We might do better, yet we are getting ahead as fast as human stupidity will permit.

To comment would be to paint the lily. If it were shown that a hundred men owned the United States the Sun would probably congratulate us on being much better off than we were in the time of Pharaoh!

HENRY GEORGE.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND PRIVATE OPERATION.

No one who, under the pressure of seeming necessity, has advocated the ownership and operation of railways by the federal government, could have remained blind to the difficulties that must be surmounted before such a system can even be started, much less established. The first of these difficulties is the constitutional one. Many men who fully accept the idea that the power conferred in the federal government to establish and maintain a postal service carries with it the power to establish a postal telegraph, shake their heads at the proposal that the federal government can constitutionally engage in the business of carrying persons and merchandise. This is not merely a renewal of the old-time fight against the constitutional power of the federal government to build a national road, but involves the new question of running vehicles on such a road after it has once been built. It is unquestionably a serious question, and however opinions may differ on it, no sensible man can doubt that it throws a serious obstacle in the way of any attempt to establish the Australian or German system of government railways in this country.

Again, the objection raised by the civil service reformers, that the creation of a vast new horde of governmental officials and employees would intrench the vicious spoils system more firmly than ever is not without force. It is true that such objectors forget that railway officers and employees are now an organized political force in all matters affecting the interests of railway proprietors, and that undue influence and intimidation are as common under the existing system as they would be under that proposed, but despite all this, it cannot be denied that the head of a national railway system would have enormous political power through the continuance of the spoils system.

The old question of state rights also enters into the consideration of a project to nationalize the railways. The notion entertained by some that the result of the civil war was to deprive the states of all the rights claimed for them by the ultra state rights advocates is happily not well founded. It is perhaps the chief merit of the constitution of the United States that it did formulate and embody in our fundamental law a permanent guarantee of the right of local self-government, and any needless weakening of that guarantee would be a calamity. It is therefore not unnatural that thoughtful men, alive to this danger, should look with jealousy and distrust on any proposal to make so vast an addition to the legitimate powers of the federal government as would be involved in giving the business of inland transportation into its hands.

Back of, and to some extent underlying, these objections is another that goes even deeper and is more serious than all the others combined, and that is the distinctively socialistic tendency of the proposal that the government shall engage in business at all, unless to do so is necessarily incident to the exercise of some of its essential powers. I have myself advocated the very proposal I am now criticizing. I saw clearly that public highways ought not to be owned and controlled by private parties. I accepted the usual idea that a railway could only be safely and properly operated by the owner of the road bed, and if I believed this still I should cheerfully face the difficulties and possible dangers involved in such a scheme rather than assent to a continuance of the certain danger and wrong of the private ownership of public highways. I am convinced, however, that no such necessity exists, and gladly turn away from a scheme that savors of paternalism, and which could only be honestly established through an amendment of the federal constitution that would be essentially antagonistic to the general tenor and spirit of that instrument.

It seems to me that such will not really be the tendency of single tax men and all other free traders. The single tax men seek liberty through the abolition of re-

striction and the repeal of unwise laws that contravene the natural order, instead of through the construction of new systems and the enactment of new laws. The free traders certainly occupy the same attitude so far as the question of trade or exchange is concerned. The disposition of both is toward less government rather than toward an augmentation of governmental powers. The protective tariff, which they are both fighting, is the consummate flower of paternalism, and is upheld on the open plea that it is the business of congress to use governmental powers belonging to the whole, to foster and "protect" the private business operations of a number of people who, be they few or numerous, are undeniably less than all. A recognition of this evil must logically lead free traders to object to the farming out of other governmental powers to the comparatively small number of men who own our principal public highways, yet a recollection of the evil results that have sprung from the partnership between a political party and the protected monopolists should be sufficient to prevent free traders from jumping to the other extreme and seeking to engage the government in a business that can be conducted without its assistance by private parties.

The proposal that the public shall own all public highways and open them, either with or without tolls, to all who wish to run vehicles over them, while asserting the just and necessary powers of "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," nevertheless avoids every one of the difficulties I have considered in this article.

In the first place, the constitutional question disappears. Beyond an assertion of its power to regulate interstate commerce such as would be necessary to prevent the establishment of a modified protective system by unfair discrimination in tolls, nothing would be required of congress. There is no question as to the right of any state to construct and maintain public highways, nor as to its power, through the right of eminent domain, to acquire any land or other property within its limits for public use, provided due compensation is made. If the state of New York needs a highway from New York to Buffalo, it has just as much right, through condemnation, to acquire the road bed of the New York Central and Hudson River railway for that purpose as it has to authorize the municipality of New York to condemn land for public streets or parks. Should this plan be adopted the "state rights" objection would at the same time disappear, and that of the civil service reformers, so far as it relates to federal patronage would go with the other two.

The deeper objection—that against engaging the government in business operations—would also cease to have any weight. The right of the state to own and maintain public highways is too well established to need any further consideration. So is the right of individuals to carry on every traffic on such highways that does not interfere with the equal right of every other individual to their use under conditions consistent with general safety. The maintenance of such conditions and regulations is simply a part of the universally conceded police power of the state. I say universally conceded, for, now that the rational advocates of the single tax have entered that stage which prepares the way for the practical application of a great reform, they can afford to make a habit of forgetting the utterances of the cranks who deny police powers and all other powers to government.

All that is necessary for the safe operation of trains by private individuals, firms or associations on publicly owned railways can be accomplished by an equally simple exercise of the police power of the state. It is thus accomplished now by what might well be called the police department of a railroad company. One set of officials is bound to inspect each locomotive and car from time to time, to see if it is in fit condition for admission to the roadway without in-

volving a danger of break down that would incommode all other travel and transportation. This is a police power exercised for the preservation of life and property and which could easily and properly be exercised by a police official. After properly inspected vehicles are once on a railroad and made up into trains the absolute regulation of such trains in motion falls into the hand of another department of the railway police, the chief official of which is usually known as the train dispatcher. This official has no other duty than to see that all trains entitled to the right of way have a clear track and that no two of them get on the same piece of track at the same time. He orders freight trains sidetracked to make way for passenger trains and sees to it that each train is kept moving as nearly as may be on its schedule time.

It does not concern this official to know who own the cars making up these trains. They may belong to the company he serves, to another railway company, to an express company, to the United States government, or to the Pullman palace car company. It is enough for him to know that they are to go upon the tracks at a certain hour, move at a certain rate of speed, and arrive at their destination at a given time. If there are more cars than can be pulled by one locomotive, the trains are made up into "sections," and the train dispatcher manages these and extras in this fashion with equal ease.

It is simple nonsense to say that such power as this could not be easily exercised on a publicly owned railroad by competent state officials, and such being the case every advantage that could be claimed for governmental operation is obtainable without establishing a governmental or any other monopoly; and we shall at last have the transportation business conducted on business principles, with freight and passenger charges regulated by the law of competition. We can trust to individuals and associations to arrange the necessary details. Some may furnish motive power while others keep cars to hire. Again, some may run through trains at high rates of speed (paying higher tolls), and owning both cars and motive power. This can be left to men to settle for themselves, just as it can be left to private parties to settle whether they will run drays, vans or passenger carriages in the streets of New York.

Furthermore, the long and short haul, local traffic and similar problems would disappear. If a county chose to build a branch road for the benefit of its own people it would have to pay a fair freight for transporting a small quantity of freight a short distance. If the owner of the train charged too much there would be numerous other train owners looking for opportunities, and if combination were attempted the people could organize a local transportation company to carry their goods for them. Similar business considerations would settle the long and short haul question with exact justice. In short, in the carrying, as in all other trades free competition would settle all questions of price on the basis of cost and reasonable compensation for the labor and capital thus employed, and such free competition can best be obtained through the private operation of publicly owned railways. So at least it seems to me, and my purpose in writing these articles has been largely to call out the views of others on this question.

I have not given much attention to the possibility of obtaining practical public ownership through the direct operation of the single tax, first, because I believe that so many outside our own ranks are interested in the railway problem that the plan I urge is the easier to recommend to general public favor, and secondly, because public ownership of railways once established, all that would be necessary in order to apply the single tax to them would be the abolition of tolls. I am therefore seeking in this matter to gratify our desires with the least exertion. If other single tax men agree with

me we can be sure of plenty of outside help in doing this part of our work.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

FREE TRADE IN MEN AND IN GOODS.

A correspondent who says that he learned political economy from Horace Greeley, sends two or three questions from San Francisco. They bear the impress of good old Horace's political economy. He was an amiable and thoroughly sincere man, whose life was a summary of his economics. A Fourierite socialist, a protectionist, a hard-money greenbacker, a soft hearted man with a violent temper, with no judgment whatever in the investment of his hard earnings, ambitious for office, yet always liable, just as office fell within his grasp, to do something from extremely conscientious motives which put it out of his reach, he was a bundle of contradictions, the true explanation of which was given in a most melancholy manner in his closing days by the total collapse of his mental powers. I can perfectly understand the impression which his crude, erratic ideas on the subject of economics have made upon the minds of multitudes of men, because they misled me in my early days. Seeing the absolute sincerity and earnestness of the man, sympathizing most heartily with him in his opposition to slavery and to offensive wars, I read the Tribune, when a boy, with implicit faith, and accepted his protectionism upon the strength of his general honesty and genuine philanthropy. Fortunately for my own common sense, the absurdity of his arguments finally opened my eyes; and, without having read a single line of free trade books or papers, I became a thoroughgoing free trader, through a clear perception of the monstrous contradictions involved in all the arguments in favor of protection. But Horace Greeley influenced hundreds of thousands of men in the same manner, who have never been able to think the matter out for themselves; and, therefore, in answering one of his disciples, we may meet views which are held by multitudes who do not express them.

The first question is:

Would it be consistent, while excluding cheap laborers, say Chinese, to admit, free of duty, the products of such laborers, made in their own countries? Does not free trade logically involve Chinese or other immigration?

Our correspondent adds that he has never yet found any free trader capable of answering these questions. This is a delightful bit of Horace Greeleyism. Good old Horace never found any one capable of answering any of his questions, on any subject whatever. No thoroughgoing protectionist ever does; for the simple reason that no man can remain a protectionist, from disinterested motives, whose mind is clear enough to understand a plain answer to a simple proposition. Not in the expectation of satisfying our correspondent, but for the purpose of clearing up ideas in the minds of others, let us dispose of this question.

In the first place we will not discuss the question whether it is or is not a good thing to admit cheap laborers. We will assume that it is not. Certainly I am willing to say frankly that I do not favor the immigration of Chinese or of any other race totally different from our own.

I would not favor the immigration of negroes, if they were not here. I do not think that the immigration of such races is good either for us or for them. Now that they are here, I believe in treating them with absolute fairness and justice. I think that both Chinese and Africans may, with equal justice, object to the admission of white men into their territories, except in very limited numbers. I do not think that the cheapness of labor has anything to do with the question. Nevertheless, for the sake of the argument, let us concede, for the time, that it is desirable to exclude cheap laborers.

Assuming still further that it is a bad thing to introduce cheap labor in such a form as will throw more American laborers out of employment than it furnishes with employment, still, any one who believes this and who is, therefore, on this

ground, opposed to the introduction of cheap laborers like the Chinese, may very consistently favor the admission of Chinese products, made in China, to the largest possible extent. For the admission of a million Chinese laborers might possibly throw out of employment a million American laborers. But the admission of all the goods which those million Chinese could make in their own country would only result in demand in this country for the production of a sufficient number of American laborers to pay the Chinese for what they send here. Every penny's worth of goods which is sent here from abroad must be paid for in purely American products, in something raised upon American soil and prepared by the labor of American laborers, who will receive the usual rates of American wages. The articles which would be imported would be necessarily such articles as American laborers either could not make or did not like to make. Those articles must be paid for and could only be paid for by exporting such things as American laborers could make. Nothing is ever imported on a large scale, in the production of which American workmen could get the best wages. The things which are imported are those which, if made by Americans, would only produce a smaller amount of wages, in proportion to the time and labor expended upon them, than the things which are exported to pay for them.

Free trade, therefore, does not logically involve unlimited immigration or any immigration. On the contrary, the most enthusiastic free trader may be, if he chooses, the most resolute opponent of all immigration.

Look at it from the side of the family. Every family wants the products of the farmer, the baker, the tailor and the shoemaker, and each of these wants the products of the others. But it does not at all follow that the farmer wants the baker, the tailor and the shoemaker to visit at his house, or even to come upon his farm. And the baker, in his turn, may be a very high-minded person, who considers himself and his family far superior to the farmer or the shoemaker. The farmer may be a devout Calvinist, and the shoemaker may be an atheist, so that the farmer would be afraid to have him call at the house, lest the children should become infidels. Just so it is among nations. They may suspect or dislike each other, but that is no reason why they should not buy each other's goods.

Looked at from the standpoint of the laborer alone, no doubt American laborers feel that the influx of Chinese laborers tends to cut down wages; because Chinese can afford to work for less than Americans, and will offer to do so in order to gain employment. But when Chinese goods come here, that is a totally different question. The employer of American laborers cannot get the Chinese goods without paying for them; and he cannot pay for them without employing more American laborers, rather than fewer. The importation of laborers may tend to cut down wages; but the importation of goods necessarily tends to raise wages.

Of course, our protectionist friends will say that the imported goods might just as well have been made at home. But there is the mistake. Nothing is ever imported which could just as well be made at home. The very reason why it is imported is that, if made at home, it will not produce the standard domestic rate of wages; while that which is exported in payment for it does produce the standard rate of wages. And so, no matter how it may be looked at, the conclusion is always the same: the more goods are imported, the higher wages will tend to become.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

He Was One of the "Original" S. T. Men.
Denver Capital, September 1, 1950.

John Johns, a native of Ohio, died at the age of 101 years one day last week. He claimed to be one of the "original single tax men." At a moderate calculation, some ten thousand of this numerous "original band" of men have left us within the last ten years. Most great reformers could count their original adherents on their fingers, but if the great founder of the world's present method of taxation, Henry George, could call the roll at the foot of his own monument in our city a good sized army would still respond. Go to John! L. P. MIXER.
Los Angeles Junction, Cal.

NOTES FROM AUSTRALIA.

SYDNEY, N. S. W.—We have now before parliament a bill to resume certain city land which will be advantaged by a contemplated improvement to the general post office, at its present value, so that it may be sold at the increased value accruing, and the state thus benefited to that extent. This is not much of a matter, but it is a step in our direction, and has been received as such by the press and the public with strong favor. Many vigorous speeches, recognizing and opposing of the principle of taking unearned increment of value to the state, were made in the legislative assembly, and if the bill is thrown out by the upper house (which is not an elective one) a measure not dealing with this particular case, but with all similar cases, will be introduced, and, I feel sure, carried.

At the annual municipal conference of delegates from the various borough councils to be held next month, a motion to change the basis of municipal assessment from improvements to land values will be submitted, and is certain to be carried. It was only defeated by three votes last year.

Altogether we are more than satisfied. The free traders (revenue tariffists) are coming over to us one by one. JOHN FARRELL.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., Aug. 5.—Such men as Frank Cotton, John Farrell and E. W. Foxall are men to be proud of. They have borne the heat and burden of the day, and are in the fore-front of every fight. They have instructed the people of the colony what the single tax means. Five years ago it was as Choctaw to Australians. Now it is the most prominent topic of conversation and debate. The press of this colony is alive with it, and hardly a day passes without a letter or leader on the question. But though our doctrine has made great strides, it is equally clear that protection has gained ground considerably.

This colony has been regarded as the free trade colony of the group, but the only justification for this reputation lies in the fact that it has approached nearer to real free trade than the other colonies. Seeing that its tariff embraces 132 articles, it will be admitted that the fiscal policy of New South Wales may be described as a mongrel protection. But in spite of this, we have the name of being "free traders," and consequently the "unemployed" difficulty which protectionists inform their dupes exists in no other part of the world, is attributed to our fiscal policy. Hence, many of the people seem to evince a desire to "try protection." The colony is in the case of a man who has tried a partly qualified physician with but partial benefit, and, in desperation, is about to call in a quack. As parties in our legislative assembly are about equal it is possible that at the next general election the protectionists will be returned in a majority.

We single taxers have learned from Henry George the real cause of depression and want of employment wherever they may be found, and we repeat it over and over again, but our feeble voices are drowned amid the stupid clamor for "protection."

At this critical point in the career of the colony we desire to make the voice of our teacher heard throughout all Australia, and we fervently hope that Henry George will be able to arrange his affairs so as to pay us a visit within the next six months. He may count on a welcome sincere and full of enthusiasm. JOHN RAMSAY.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., Aug. 7.—Some months ago it was cabled that Henry George was coming here in October of this year, and the effect of that report was electrical. I happen to be on good terms with some of the leading protectionists of New South Wales, and I know they are dismayed at the bare thought. The sins and shortcomings and half-heartedness of our present free trade party have enabled the protectionists to get a firm grip of the country, and they reckon—not without cause—that they will be successful in the near future in obtaining a majority of representatives. The advent of Henry George, which would mean the practical alliance of the single taxers and free traders, and certainly would infuse the new life into the free trade doctrine which the protectionists fear—would dash their hopes to the ground.

And besides the new converts Henry George would make, his visit would hearten many of those who are fighting like demons against tremendous odds. The amount of individual proselytizing that has been going on is simply incalculable, and his presence would rally all the Nicodemuses around the standard. E. W. FOXALL.

PORT PHINE, South Africa, July 10.—We are fighting away in this colony and the force of the truth is telling. The leading paper of the colony, the South Australia Register, is on our side; though having at the same time to make its living it is not as strong-hearted as we would like.

Albert Spicer, the prominent Congregational layman of London, who presided at one or two of Mr. George's meetings in England, and was present at others, was in this port last year. Then he was not one of us, but I think he was set to thinking in this spot. W. G. WILSON.

THE SON OF THE PRESIDENT ATTENDS.

Russell Harrison Goes to a Meeting of the Newark Single Tax Club and Listens to Free Trade and Single Tax Talk.

NEWARK, Sept. 7.—The Newark single tax club had a public meeting at their rooms Friday evening. The members were surprised and delighted at the large attendance, which far exceeded the capacity of their rooms, so much so that the republican club kindly offered the single tax men the use of their spacious rooms, which offer was gratefully accepted. Our doctrine is becoming attractive, for among those who attended the meeting were ex-Senator F. S. Fish, Congressman Lehlbach, Hon. George A. Halsey, and last, though not least, Russell Harrison, the son of the president of the United States. Earnest speeches were made in favor of lifting some of the burdens now pressing on the poor; and even the Hon. George A. Halsey, though a republican and a protectionist, made an able plea for free trade—in hides. The meeting was a great success, and has inspired our single tax friends to renewed exertions for the advancement of the cause.

The Newark single tax club has seventy members. The club room is in the Chester row, Halsey street, and is open every evening except Thursday and Sunday. Meetings for discussion are held every Friday evening. S. T.

The Chicago Club.

CHICAGO, Sept. 6.—Several new members were added to our rapidly increasing rolls at the single tax meeting last night, and the evening was given over to a general discussion that covered a pretty wide field.

Miss Leonora Beck, our vice-president, read a short poem written in honor of Mr. George's fiftieth birthday by Mrs. Marshall Beck, formerly of Chicago and now of Dayton, Ohio.

Following Miss Beck, Mr. Cowdrey took the floor to answer questions, and for an hour or more the interest was maintained, Clarence Moeller, Mr. Furbish, Mr. Bonesteel, Mr. Van Ornum, Miss Huston, Mr. Wittler, Mr. Place, and others reinforcing the points brought out by the leader of the discussion.

Among the numerous visitors was Mr. Robert Nelson, the man who made the famous race for mayor on the united labor ticket two years ago. He came as an inquirer, and stated that he was deeply interested. He has not yet seen the cat, but he is looking hard at the puzzle picture, and has made out some of the outlines of the hidden animal.

A resolution is now pending in council which looks to the establishment of a municipal gas plant. It was prepared by one of our single tax leaders, and introduced by an alderman who believes in the municipal administration of natural monopolies. The democratic administration is committed in its platform to this measure, and we therefore hope to see it adopted. To help along the movement in that direction the club last night unanimously adopted a series of resolutions, clearly setting forth the principles involved, and urging the council to favorable action in the premises.

A telegram from Judge Maguire informed me on Saturday that he had been unexpectedly detained in San Francisco, and that on that account he would be unable to visit Chicago en route to the east. He said he would stop on his return from New York, which will probably be some time near October 1. This will be better for us, as the weather will be cooler and we will have more time for working up an interest already very lively.

The Chicago Daily Globe is now printing weekly a column of matter relating to the single tax movement. It is thus we grow and extend our influence. W. W. BAILEY.

An Explanation from the Roxbury Club.

ROXBURY, Mass., Sept. 3.—Mr. Henry George with good reason criticises the action of the Roxbury single tax club in regard to a notice inserted in one of the Boston dailies. I am instructed by the club to explain matters. The notice should have read: "All single tax men are invited to join our club, and all others who are interested in the cause of the abolition of industrial slavery to attend our meetings." The notice was cut short and not published as written.

The club is making arrangements to have public meetings in the surrounding villages as soon as the warm season is over.

H. C. ROMAINE, Secretary.

Straws Which Show the Wind.

The great Texas Federation of labor, which includes farmers, mechanics, merchants and professional men, as well as laborers, adopted a straight out single tax platform.—[Chicago Globe.]

The sentiment in favor of state ownership, or at least state management, of the railways is growing.—[Eagle Pass, Texas, Guide.]

Thomas G. Shearman, who is lecturing on the single tax theory, estimates that there are in the United States eleven thousand millionaires. The Herald is willing to wager something handsome that the assessment lists they return will not show any such number. When it comes to paying taxes millionaires suddenly vanish.—[St. Joseph, Mo., Herald.]

District assembly No. 16, Knights of Labor, has formally indorsed the single tax.—[Chicago Globe.]

A CART TAIL CAMPAIGN.

The Manhattan Single Tax Club Starts Out on a Truck for Out Door Work and Holds Two Vigorous Meetings on the East Side.

The Manhattan single tax club has commenced its fall work. Last Saturday evening a truck was started out from the club house loaded with speakers, tracts, STANDARDS and torchlights. First avenue and First street was the first stopping place, where Morris Van Veen opened the meeting and introduced the speakers. A large crowd gathered in a few moments. At first the audience evinced a disposition to gey the whole affair, but as soon as the speakers succeeded in making themselves heard, the geying was changed to respectful attention, and the audience became very deeply interested. The truck stayed there half an hour, and was then sent to its next stopping place, while members of the club stayed behind and distributed literature, which the crowd—men and women, especially the women—seemed to be eager to get. At the corner of Fourth street and First avenue a still larger crowd was gathered. The news of what was going on had gone along the avenue, and crowds flocked in. But before the proceedings had gone very far the cart tail preachers were stopped by the police, through a misunderstanding at police headquarters, and at ten o'clock the truck was sent home. This was a disappointment, for along the avenue, where the truck was expected, crowds had gathered. All the literature was used up, notwithstanding the interruption.

This coming Saturday night the truck will go out again, and next week it will go out Wednesday as well as Saturday evening. The committee having the matter in charge want to send out one truck, and more if possible, every evening; but there have not as yet enough speakers offered their services to make the thing practicable. In order that the club funds may not be burdened with the expense this cart tail campaign is being conducted on the subscription plan. The expenses attending each truck, each evening, will be about five dollars—which includes the cost of the truck, tracts and kerosene oil. The committee, which consists of A. P. Wolf, Morris Van Veen and Benjamin Doblin, say they want to shake up this town before winter. All single tax men who will volunteer to speak are requested to communicate with the committee, 36 Clinton place, and to designate the evenings they will be at the committee's service. Those who cannot speak but who wish to assist in paying the trucking expenses, can send their mites to the same address.

Great Oaks From Little Acorns Grow.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Verily, the world doth move! The echo of the great strike in London is heard in this sleepy Dutch town. The spectacle of 100,000 peaceful but determined men, working together as a unit to obtain some small share of the product of their labor is having a profound effect even here. When the pastor of the most exclusive church in Albany takes for his text, "Give us this day our daily bread," and then proceeds to divide the bread under three heads: The bread obtained by the blood of the producer, and which to the recipient is poison; the bread obtained by tears; and the bread which alone is nourishing, that which is the reward of the honest toil of hand or brain—we may indeed think the world is moving. It was very evident from the whole tone of his discourse that he has begun to think. In fact, so near did he approach to the great central truth—the right of all men to own themselves, which necessarily involves the right of equal opportunity to apply to nature's bounties—that it seemed as though he must stumble over the truth that to many men seems hidden, that all men are created equal and that it needs but the carrying out of this principle to solve all labor troubles.

We will endeavor to give direction to his thoughts upon labor problems by supplying him with the modern manna—single tax literature. RONT. BAKER.

A Single Tax Man With a Paint Pot.

Last Sunday was dark and threatening, and our grove meeting was not the success it might have been. Mr. J. T. Altamus presided, and Mr. J. R. Abarbanell expounded the Australian ballot system and detailed the plan of the organization formed in Jersey City two weeks ago to bring the matter more fully before the people of this section.

Somebody has been around with a paint pot and brush, for the rocks and hills and fences hereabout are decorated with nicely lettered legends, to wit: "Single Tax," "Free Trade," "Protection 4,000 taxes; try the Single Tax." And below an advertisement, which reads: "Hood's Sarsaparilla; try it," the artist has written "Single Tax; try that." The Journal of Jersey City has intimated that a new crank is abroad. Whoever he is, he letters well, and he has chosen his sign places with such judgment that thousands of people must ere this have seen and remarked them. Success to the new preacher of "sermons in stones." J. D. M.,
Corresponding Secretary.

A Blow at Dunn and Randall.
Ex-Postmaster General Dickinson.
No protectionist can be a democrat.

THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLE.

Address of Henry George Before the Crescent Democratic Society of Baltimore.

On Friday night, September 6, Henry George addressed the Crescent democratic society of Baltimore in the large assembly room attached to their club house. Over a thousand were present, many being obliged to stand. The platform was occupied by President Morrison of the society, Mayor Latrobe and Mr. Thornton Rollins. President Morrison briefly introduced Mr. George, who spoke as follows:

Mr. President and fellow citizens of the Crescent Democratic Society of Baltimore: I thank you for your greeting. Let me return it. I am glad to be here at the invitation of your society—one of the societies now forming all over the country for the revival of principles that in Thomas Jefferson's days were known as republican. Men pass, parties change their names, and on varying issues new lines are drawn, but the principles for which Thomas Jefferson stands as the foremost representative in American political history are eternal. To them we owe the birth of the republic; to our forgetfulness of them are due the dangers that now menace her, and to their reassertion we must look for her safety, her prosperity, for the fulfillment of her high destiny.

I greet with joy and hope the new life and fresh spirit that are coming into the ranks of the democratic party of the nation and of which the organization of these societies is one of the indications. This new democracy which is the old; this democracy that is sick of the policy of "Man-afraid-of-his-horses;" that has a belief in something more than in the cohesive power of public plunder; that has an aim and a hope which are something more than the aim of gaining power and the hope of holding office; this democracy that would raise again the banner of Thomas Jefferson's republicanism, and to the issues of our time apply his principles, is, I trust, destined to revivify the democratic party, to draw in our politics the line of a clear issue, and to cast out from the strong places it now holds the spirit which Jefferson fought—to cast it out as decisively and overwhelmingly as it was cast out by his election to the presidency in what was long known to our fathers as the civil revolution of 1800.

Between this democracy which, within the lines of the democratic party, represents the republicanism of Thomas Jefferson—the essential principle of all real democracy—and the men whom I peculiarly represent, there should be fraternity, and I am glad that in the ranks of your society are our representatives. For what are we single tax men, as in this country we call ourselves, but republicans of republicans, in the original meaning of the word—democrats of democrats! If you would follow the Jeffersonian standard, even, as you may think now, but so far; if you would proclaim the Jeffersonian principles, even but a little, then so far as you go in this direction count us with you first, last and all the time. We are with you and of you. For our belief is that of Thomas Jefferson; our aim is his aim and our hope his hope.

We believe with Thomas Jefferson that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with certain natural, unalienable, God-given rights; that the only legitimate end of government is to preserve and secure these rights, and that when any government becomes subversive of this end it is the duty of the people to alter or amend it. Our aim, as was his aim, is to make the government of this republic a government that will attain this end. Our hope, as was his hope, is not merely for national peace and prosperity, for national strength and true glory, but that the American republic shall by her example enlighten the nations and lead the world to freedom and to peace.

And because you are a democratic society—your very title suggestive and designedly suggestive of the republican societies of the early days of the republic, which gathered around Thomas Jefferson as their foremost leader, did battle against the monarchical and protective spirit in the guise of federalism—because as a democratic society you seek to revive the old principles, to light the old fires, to awake again in our day the zeal and enthusiasm that was jealous for freedom, I am glad to be here to-night.

I have for years ceased to call myself a democrat in the party sense. Nor have democrats in the mere party sense cared to claim such men as me. But I know that in inviting me here to-night you have not expected me to preach the duty of voting the straight ticket, no matter what boss dictated it, what little yellow dog is put upon it, what league of corporate interests lies behind it; that you have not expected to hear from me partisan praise of one party and denunciation of the other. I care little for men, little for organization, much for principle. The only usefulness of parties to my mind is as they represent ideas and advance policies. And your adherence to democratic principle may often call on you to scratch democratic candidates as the best means of advancing principles. If you are really and truly a democrat and have no choice but between two protection-

ists, vote for the republican protectionist—you will get the simon-pure article. If you have no choice but between two tools of leagued corporations, vote for the republican tool—you will quicker break such influence in the party you prefer.

I have been invited to address you, without any intimation or stipulation as to what I should say. And I know from this that you expect me to speak of principles, for that is all I care to speak of. My presence here to-night at your invitation and as your guest, shows that you are democratic enough not to fear to have a free trader speak from your platform; that you are Jeffersonian enough not to be afraid of a man who really believes in what Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence. And so, disclaiming any pretense of speaking for you, I will speak freely on what I believe to be the essential principles of democratic republicanism.

Next year we take the census. It will show in our league of states not less than sixty-five millions of people. A people speaking one language, with hardly a variation, living under the same institutions and possessed of an assimilative power that quickly blends into the fiber and substance of their nationality the great immigration from Europe that continues to pour on our shores. A people, all things considered, more intelligent, more alert, more enterprising, than any people of equal numbers on earth. A people having, on the whole, the highest standard of comfort. A people who have for their heritage the temperate zone of a vast continent, with practically illimitable natural resources—a territory that even in the present stage of the arts would support easily more than ten times their number.

Cast your eyes over Europe with its kings, its privileged classes, its dynastic jealousies, its smoldering traditions of national hatred, and its huge standing armies facing each other in a peace that is little less exhausting than war. Consider this young giant of the west, with its schools and colleges, its thousands of miles of railway, its mesh of telegraph wire, its vast tracts of fertile land which plow has never turned. Consider its freedom from dangerous neighbors, its superlative strength on its own continent, its wide separation from all the causes of quarrel that make Europe even in peace but a vast camp.

Consider the great fact that among us all law reposes, as its acknowledged, source on the popular will; that every male citizen has an equal vote; that any male child born may aspire to be president; and that, in all its forms, our government is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Ought not the heart of every American beat with joy and pride as he thinks of his country? Ought not the eyes of all the world be turned in hope and for example to the great republic beyond the western sea?

Great the American republic is, greater still she must be—great in numbers, great in wealth, great in arts, in arms, in power of all kinds; so surpassingly great in the century that little more than one decade will now bring us to, that to find a parallel for the promise of her relative importance ere it close we must go back to the time when the Roman eagles marked the boundaries of the civilized world.

But there is another side to the picture. The republic! Ah, that word should suggest more than great cities and large populations, more than material wealth and material power. And while we think of how great in all these things our nation already is, how greater still it must be, it is well that we should soberly ask ourselves how much in all that constitutes a true democratic republic we are in advance of Europe.

It was a belief of the enthusiastic republicans of Thomas Jefferson's day that by this time the example of the American republic would have proved contagious, and that the effect of the rise on this side of the Atlantic of a great nation which exemplified the strength and the benignity of democratic principles would have shattered every throne in Europe and cast down every aristocracy. This is not the case. And why? Because we have not been true to democratic principles; because to Europe to-day the American republic is not an example of the beauties and benefits of democratic government; but is rather a warning.

No American who mixes with our kindred on the other side of the Atlantic but must feel this, and feel it bitterly. Let him but venture to sneer at the empty forms and expensive pageantry of royalty, let him but venture to scoff at hereditary legislators and the still existing relics of class rule, and see how quickly he will be reminded of the corruption of American politics, of the bosses who bear sway in our cities, of the rings that rule our states, of the corporation attorneys represented in our senate, of the simple citizens who in wealth and power are greater than any British duke, of the buying and selling and intimidating of voters at our elections, of the organized lobbies of our legislatures, of judges placed on the bench for their services to powerful interests, of our strikes and paupers and tramps.

I am far from thinking that in material things is to be found the only measure of the aim and grandeur of human life. Yet true progress gives command over material things and in the commerce of a country is

to be found an index of her progress in civilization. And in the ease with which the masses of the people can get a living—in the equality of distribution even more than in the aggregate of wealth, is to be found the primary condition of popular independence, popular intelligence, and popular virtue—of all the things that make firm and sure the basis of a republic; of all the things that distinguish a nation of freemen from a nation of slaves.

What of the world's commerce goes on beneath the American flag? Relatively it is smaller to-day than when we had not half our present population; relatively it is smaller than it was at the beginning of this century.

Our exports are mainly the crude exports of new countries and the less advanced peoples—the rude products of our fields and mines. We have lost the trade that naturally belonged to us, the trade with Mexico, with Central America, with the large areas and increasing populations of South America. We have lost not merely relatively, but even positively, in the trade we once had with other countries. And the foreign trade we have mostly goes on in foreign ships.

Where are our ships—our winged racers, our flying clouds, that once whitened the blue ocean? Where are the swift steamers that would have succeeded them had we held our place? The older men among you will remember the Baltimore clippers, once renowned on every sea. Where are your Baltimore clippers now? If any of them are left they are in the coasting trade, and in the coasting trade only because a restrictive law forbids a foreign built vessel from engaging in the coasting trade. Where are the American shipyards that once turned out the finest and the fleetest vessels that plowed the ocean; that not only built the ships that made the American flag a familiar thing in all the world's seaports, but built ships for foreign nations as well? American trade still supports ships, and in the trade between this country and Europe it supports the largest, the finest and the fastest ships that float. But they sail under foreign flags and are liable, in case of war, to be called into the service of foreign nations and to be used against the very country whose people support them. American capital still builds ships, but they are not built by American mechanics, and are not manned by American seamen or commanded by American officers. The fastest ocean steamer in the world to-day was built with American capital, is owned by Americans, and her passengers are mostly Americans. Yet she was built in England, is officered and manned by Englishmen, carries the English flag, and is liable to be called into the English service in case of war. American capitalists own or charter some twenty-four steamers running out of this port of Baltimore, engaged in carrying coal to the West Indies and bringing back iron ore, yet they are built in England, fly the British flag, and are officered and manned by British subjects.

The only American that I know of to-day who commands a transatlantic steamer is an American, who, in order to continue the pursuit of his profession and command such a steamer, has had to give up his American citizenship and swear allegiance to her gracious majesty. You remember that fine young fellow, Captain Murrell of the steamer Missouri, who, in the early part of this year, brought into Baltimore the crew and passengers rescued from the sinking steamer Danmark. The only reason he is not an American citizen to-day is that to become an American citizen he would have to give up going to sea. The steamer that he commands is largely owned by American capitalists, but she was built in England, sails under the British flag, and must be commanded by a British subject.

Boast of our advance, why, on the high seas, we have almost sunk to the status of the Chinese.

What about the distribution of wealth? Fortunes such as the world never saw since the days when "great estates ruined Italy" are growing up in the American republic. We have four or five men who are worth from one hundred millions to two hundred millions apiece, we have sixty or seventy whose fortunes are estimated at from twenty millions to a hundred millions, while as for simple millionaires, they are far too numerous to be counted. Consider what the possession of a single million means. Consider how long it would take an American mechanic or American laborer—I will not say such protected American laborers as the coal miners of Illinois or Pennsylvania—after supporting himself and his family, to save a million dollars. How many lifetimes? For though he were to live to the age of Methuselah he could not save a million dollars. If you would get any intelligible idea of what these fortunes of millions, tens of millions, scores of millions and hundreds of millions really mean, figure up how many working-men's incomes—deducting of course the necessary subsistence of man and family, for even the slave owner had to allow that to the slave—it would take to make such incomes as these fortunes represent.

And look again. While these monstrous fortunes are gathering in the hands of a few, one has but to read our daily papers to see how familiar we are becoming with condi-

tions that we once thought possible only in effete monarchies of the old world, and could not exist in the free air of our democratic republic—with tramps and paupers and beggars; with charities that show the need of charity, with destitution and starvation, with crimes and suicides caused by want, or fear of want; with a struggle for existence on the part of great classes of people that makes life hard, bitter, and oftentimes imbruting—a struggle which grows not less, but more intense as these great fortunes go rolling up.

The gulf stream of European immigration still sets upon our shores, but in large sections of the country our natural increase is slackening. There are more and more men who are afraid to marry—more and more who fear that they cannot support children. The gulf stream of European immigration still flows on, for social discontent is rife in Europe, and the conditions that are increasing social pressure here are being felt all over the civilized world. But what is most significant is the change in feeling toward this immigration. We have prohibited Chinese immigration, and though that was done in a way of which we should feel anything but proud, it was still a wise measure, for all national experience shows the evils which, under existing conditions, result from the admixture of races which do not assimilate. But we have not merely prohibited Chinese immigration, the European immigrant is met when he lands by officials, who, if he brings nothing but the power for labor, send him back again. Chronic paupers, criminals, the weak in mind and body, are not desirable elements, but time was when we boasted that this was the country of countries for any one willing to work, and when we welcomed the man who brought nothing but a pair of willing hands as an addition to national strength, a new recruit for the great army that was to overrun the continent and make the wilderness bloom. But now if the immigrant shows, or, rather if it can be shown, that he has made arrangements to go to work, and has secured employment before coming here, then is he not merely sent back, but the American who made the bargain with him is liable to fine or imprisonment. The trustees of a New York church are even now under sentence of the law for having imported a contract laborer in the shape of an Episcopal minister. It is only one step further to prohibit all immigration of men likely to work for their living. And this is the logical outcome of the system we have adopted. By elaborate laws we strive to keep goods out of the country in order, we have been told, to give Americans more work to do. It is but logical, then, to keep out workmen in order that there shall be fewer to do it.

We despise the Chinese, and many American missionaries have been sent to China. But we are certainly following Chinese example faster than they are following ours. It does not seem long since an American fleet, at the muzzle of shotted guns, broke down the protective isolation of Japan. These heathen Mongolians had no right to shut themselves up from the world, we said. But since that time we have piled up a tariff on our foreign trade which is more than equivalent to filling up every one of our harbors with a sand bar and building a higher than a Chinese wall along our coast and boundary lines. By our own laws we have driven our commerce off the ocean as Chinese laws did, and made an American ship almost as much of a rarity on the high seas as a Chinese junk. And like the Chinese we now hire foreigners to build ships for us and run them for us under foreign flags. We are beginning to still further follow Chinese example in taking the first step to prohibit immigration. And now, forsooth, like the Chinese, we must have a little new navy for which we have no more real use than a dog has for two tails.

But what I wish to call attention to is the significance of this changed feeling toward European immigration. It tells, more forcibly than figures could, that with large classes it is becoming harder to make a living. It tells of the pressure of an unnatural competition which is forcing men to bid against each other for employment—a competition in which they are learning to look upon work as desirable in itself—upon employment as a boon doled out from some superior class, if not as an absolute charity.

Why, there died in New York week before last a rich man named Higgins. His fellow directors in one of the national banks passed resolutions of respect, which were inserted in the daily papers, in which they intimated that his furnishing of employment, as they styled it, to some thousands of workingmen was equivalent to so much charity.

I cannot fill in all the dark shades, but I have said enough to suggest them. This is certain, that, if present tendencies continue the democratic republic which the men of Jefferson's day thought they had founded cannot be preserved in anything worthy of the name. A king can never come—not, at least, until we have run the cycle; as a king never came in Rome after the Tarquins had been expelled. But just as under the simple name of emperor there came in Rome tyrants to wield a more than kingly power, so in America may the ring and the boss come to rule through democratic forms as no European king of our time has dared to rule.

But the great thing in any country is not the character of the government but the con-

ditions of the people. Democratic institutions are but a mockery to the man who must crouch and slave to live, and democrat of democrats though I am, I would rather be the subject of king, emperor or czar, and be able to make an independent living than as a citizen of a so called democratic republic to be oppressed with want and harassed with care; to be forced to feel that the fellow creature who gave me the chance of making a poor living by hard work was my benefactor and my master. "The greatest glory of America," said Carlyle, "is that there every peasant can have a turkey in his pot." Alas, that glory is passing away and we are rapidly tending towards conditions in which the lot of the masses will be harder than it is in Europe.

What is the cause of all this—of this political corruption, of this rule of bosses and rings and corporate influences, of the widespread purchase and intimidation of voters, of the decay of our commerce, of the increasing intensity of the struggle for existence, of the growth on the one side of the millionaire, and on the other side of the tramp.

In Europe there are those who point to these things and say, "These are the results of your democracy. Popular government is with you a failure for the reason that it has always been a failure. The masses must work and cannot therefore think. They cannot rule and must always be ruled. Which is better, the rule of the aristocrat or the rule of the demagogue? Which is safer, the king by blood or the king by corruption?" And there are those in our own country who think the same thought, even if they do not utter the words.

It is not true! Thomas Jefferson was not a dreamer of dreams; a mere doctrinaire imbued with the impracticable vagaries of Rousseau and the French revolution, as some Americans now style him, and many more think him. He is the greatest of philosophic statesmen this country has produced; a man far in advance of his own time and yet in advance of our times. Nothing that the finger of scorn can be pointed to in this country; nothing that we may lament in our conditions, is due to an excess of democracy, but to a want of it. If we would preserve the republic in anything more than a name, if we would have it fulfill its high promise, we must be, not less democratic, but more.

What shall we do?

Before going to deeper matters let me speak of some things which, for want of a better word at the moment, I will call the mechanics of our institutions.

One of our besetting sins has been a vanity which has led us to think that we have solved all political problems and that our institutions in all respects are the best that can be devised. The government when formed was a great advance upon what then existed in Europe. But with that advance we stopped, though changing conditions have made devices which worked well enough in our earlier days, unsuitable for the present time. In essential respects the constitution of Great Britain is to-day more democratic than is ours. We have retained our copy of king, lords and commons, in president, senate and house of representatives, in full force and vitality—not only in the federal but in our state governments, whereas the slow but steady democratic advance in Great Britain has virtually done away with the king by making the occupant of the throne little more than a society leader and political dummy, and has all but done away with the house of lords. We have a supreme court, which, by interpreting a written constitution, can check for a while at least the popular will. In Great Britain one representative body is all that need be secured to change any law or work any reform. Our type is not as quickly responsive to the popular will and does not as readily lend itself to the bringing of important questions before the people as does the type into which the existing British government has been slowly modified.

More important still is it that by the method of voting known as the Australian system, the corruption and intimidation of voters practiced in this country are impossible in Great Britain, and the party machine, with its tyranny of rings and bosses, as we know it here, cannot exist. But this great reform is coming in the United States. A number of our states have already adopted it, Massachusetts—all honor to the old commonwealth for it—leading the way. That honor ought to have belonged to New York, and would have belonged to New York but for the fact that the democratic governor—a democrat of the sort who have degraded and besmirched the very name of democrat—vetoed the bill, and has again vetoed it this year; while to the republicans in the New York legislature, and to a few democrats who refused to obey the behests of democratic rings, belongs the honor of having twice passed it. But so many states have now adopted the principle that its general adoption is but a question of time. And simple though it is, this is the greatest political reform we can make in the United States.

Nor have we been true to the principle of local self government—the principle that alone makes possible this great league of states—this nation that may cover a continent. I speak not of the reconstruction acts and carpet bag rule in the south. That is

gone. Nor do I speak of our conduct towards the Mormons, where we have really been carrying on a religious persecution. But this fashion of governing cities by commissions and boards, and special laws passed by legislatures is utterly violative of the democratic principle.

But beneath everything of this kind there lies as the vital danger to the republic the increasing inequality in the distribution of wealth. Let the forms and adjustments be what they may, democratic government worthy of the name is only possible where the personal independence of the masses gives root for the civic virtues, and every citizen has an interest in the well being of the state. But where some are so rich that they need have no care how public affairs go unless in something that immediately concerns them, and when to get more or to defend what they have they can throw thousands and thousands of dollars into politics; and where others are so poor that a few dollars, a petty office, a week's work, even a free lunch and a few drinks are more to them than any public question, then democratic government rots at its very foundations—then democratic government becomes not the best, but the worst of governments.

Look at the misgovernment and corruption of our great cities, at the robbery and jobbery of their administration, at their rings and their bosses. Bad political adjustments, the failure to regard the principle of local self government, may have hastened this demoralization, but its deepest cause exists in the social condition of the people.

What sort of government would you have expected to Rome when emperors and pretors and tribunes and consuls and the absolute command of provinces, and the license to despoil great kingdoms, were being bought of the Roman voters with feasts and games and gladiatorial shows. I will not speak of Baltimore, for I am not familiar enough with your city, but go to New York and see the Billy Muldoon associations, the Pat Divver clambakes; note the gang of retainers that each ward and precinct leader rallies around him, and see if you cannot find a suggestion of Rome. It is nothing yet as compared to Rome. But the republic is young yet.

Make no mistake. Democratic government becomes the worst government when the voting power is in the hands of proletarians, and the patriot may soon sigh for constitutional monarchy, or even an intelligent despotism. Make no mistake. A property qualification of the suffrage is not entirely devoid of reason. Every voter ought to have "a stake in the country."

Is this to condemn democracy? No; it is to say that in a true democratic republic every citizen would have an interest in the state.

Here, at last, we see that the problem of democratic government rests on something that we usually consider beneath our politics; that the social problem underlies all that we think of as political problems.

If mankind must be divided into the very rich and the very poor; if it is in the nature of social growth, of material advance, to increase the gulf between the rich and the poor, then indeed Jefferson was a dreamer; then indeed democracy can only really exist in new and poor countries; then indeed the poets have been right who have sung of liberty as loving the rocks and the mountains, and as shunning the great city and the crowded mart.

But consider. What is the cause of the growing disparity in the distribution of wealth that we see in this country.

First and foremost, the power of government has been deliberately and continuously prostituted to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Government has no purse of Fortunatus. It cannot give to one man without taking away from some other. Look how our "generous government" has made men rich by donations. Look at the subsidies from nations, states, counties, cities and towns. Look at Stanford and Huntington with their hundred millions apiece. Look at the franchise which have built up so many great fortunes, at the surrender of the iron highways that have become the common roads of our time to private interests and corporate greed. Look at the Standard oil company, with its private fortunes of a hundred millions each; look at the dressed beef combination, at the rings and monopolies that have their efficient cause in the control of a public function given to private citizens, and the discriminations they have been allowed to make.

Look at our tariff. Here we see the power of the government applied directly, purposely, continuously and unconstitutionally, to give some citizens an advantage over other citizens—to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Look at Mr. Carnegie, with his income of millions and his castle in Scotland; look at the men of whom he is the type; and then at their workmen, the poor, deluded creatures, who have been told that it is *they* who are protected; that this precious system of robbery is all for *them*.

No man, if he thinks of it can be a democrat really and truly, and be also a protectionist. I know that Jefferson himself was not quite clear on this point; I know that there are expressions of his which protectionists quote with something like comfort.

But the Jeffersonian philosophy is clear; the Declaration of Independence is clear. Jefferson was a great man, but still only a man. He grasped great truths and saw their relations clearly, as far as the conditions of his time called on him to look. But no man probably ever sees all the relations of a fundamental truth. It is in the nature of fundamental truth to grow and grow upon us, and, like all men who build on truth, Jefferson builded better than he knew.

In his time protection in the United States had only made its first small insidious advances and his attention had never fairly been called to the question of protection, just as there are to-day numbers of intelligent men in the United States who have not even yet fairly begun to think of it. But what was the little tender shoot of Jefferson's time has become the giant poison tree ours. Instead of a modest entreaty for a little aid to infant industries, we have now the brazen demand of great rings and monster combinations. The little beggars have become sturdy vagrants.

That protection is utterly inconsistent with the democratic principle, we have but to think a moment to see. Government of the people, for the people, by the people. What does that mean? Not government for manufacturers nor for farmers nor for coal miners nor for factory hands, not for employers nor working men, but government for the *whole* people without favor or distinction. Now what is the protective system? It is simply an indirect form of the subsidy system. It has for its object the enrichment of certain citizens by compelling other citizens to buy of them at higher prices. This is the primary end and aim of protection. If a protective duty does not raise prices it has no protective effect. It can only protect, as it is called, by enabling certain sellers to demand of buyers higher prices than the free market would give them.

Can anything be more clearly opposed to the democratic principle than this governmental favoritism—this use of the law making power to enrich the few at the expense of the many? This is the system that has driven American ships off the ocean; that is so handicapping our manufacturers that they cannot export. This is the system that has placed a great nation of 65,000,000 people—a people so intelligent, so active, so inventive, so prompt to use all labor saving devices, that all they need ask anywhere is a fair field and no favor—in the pitiful attitude of crying for a baby act, and actually believing that if a paternal government did not keep its officers at every port to levy blackmail upon goods brought into the country, the wicked foreigners would swoop down and American industry go to the bow-wows.

Look at the indirect effects of this system. It has corrupted our politics from the primary to the senate. It has given to enormous moneyed combinations a selfish interest in our politics. It has been the fruitful cause of extravagance and waste and demoralization. The depreciation of our currency during the war resulting from the repudiation of the greenback by the government which issued it, the gold speculations, the strangling contraction, the whole fiscal system worked as a potent engine for enriching the few at the expense of the many—springs from the protective idea. The monstrous surplus wrung from poor people by most onerous taxation, to be piled up in treasury vaults, is another of its results. The spectacle of the American people being taxed two millions of dollars per month to dig silver out of certain holes in the ground in Nevada and Arizona in order to plant it in other holes in the ground in New York and Washington, is another of its results. And so in every direction has it brought reckless expenditure and profligate waste. Thanks to the protective system, the difficulty with us in a so-called democratic republic has not been to impose taxes upon the people, but to abolish taxes upon the people. Whenever any motion has been made to abolish or reduce one of these protective taxes, congress has been surrounded by a clamorous lobby ready to beg, to buy, to cajole, to log roll, to bulldoze, to do anything to prevent the repeal of that tax; and when, as in the last congress, a democratic house did succeed in passing a poor little reduction bill, a republican senate stood firm against taking off one penny of the taxes of the people. What has been, and is to-day, the effort of the party in power, aided unfortunately by many so-called democrats, but to keep up expenses and to make profligate appropriations in order to prevent any reduction of this taxation?

The whole system which has, and is costing so dearly, is diametrically opposed to the democratic principle, is diametrically opposed to the Declaration of Independence. The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Does it not clearly include the right of every man to freely exchange his own productions—to sell where he can sell best, to buy where he can buy cheapest?

But it will be said public revenues must be raised, and taxes must be levied. Very well. But the democratic principle requires at least that the public revenue shall be raised without unduly and disproportionately burdening any citizen. Protective duties do unduly and disproportionately burden some citizens and do so for the avowed purpose of enriching others.

And though not so wantonly and not so outrageously, all tariff taxes have this effect. These taxes finally fall on the consumer—they fall on men not in proportion to their means but in proportion to what they use, on the poor far more heavily than on the rich. And being passed from hand to hand, increasing as they go, they cost the ultimate payers far more than they yield to the treasury.

Thanks to that clause in the constitution which prevents the levying of tariff duties by our states, we do enjoy free trade within the limits of the Union, and it is unquestionably the greatest of the blessings which the Union has given us. But the taxation of our states also tends in the same bad direction. The attempt to tax capital and personal property everywhere results in putting the heaviest burden upon the poor and letting the rich escape.

And all this taxation is in great degree taxation against prosperity—taxation which punishes enterprise and fines industry and thrift. In any of our states let a man improve a farm or build a house or erect a factory or do any other thing that adds to the real wealth of the community, and down comes the tax assessor and fines him for adding to the wealth of the state.

Is that wise? Is it just? Is it in accordance with the equal right of men to pursue happiness?

Now public revenues can be raised without punishing industry, without repressing thrift, without employing hordes of taxgatherers, and without the fraud and corruption and injustice that attends our present system of taxation. There is one tax by means of which all the revenues needed for our federal, state, county, and municipal governments could be raised without any of these disadvantages—a tax that instead of repressing industry and promoting inequality in the distribution of wealth, would foster industry and promote natural equality—a tax that is only a tax in form, and that in essence is not a tax, but a taking by the community of values arising not from individual effort, but from social growth, and therefore belonging to the whole community. That is the tax on land values. A tax not on land, be it remembered, but a tax upon land values, irrespective of improvements. That is the tax in favor of which we single tax men would abolish all other taxes.

One of the members of the Crescent democratic society, Mr. William J. Ogden, in an address which he proposes to deliver before the Landlords' protective association in this city on next Tuesday, will show that in this city of Baltimore all of your taxes might be abolished, and yet a sufficient revenue for all the departments of the city government be raised by a tax on the value of city lots wholly irrespective of the value of the buildings and other improvements upon them, that would not take more than one-half of the present annual value of these lots. And Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has shown by more ample statistics of other cities that all expenses, federal, state and municipal, might be met by a tax of not more than sixty-five per cent.

Now consider what would be the effect upon the growth and prosperity of Baltimore if you were to abolish all taxes on capital, all taxes on business, all taxes on buildings and machinery and improvements of any kind, and substitute for them a tax which would fall as heavily upon the man who was holding a vacant lot as upon the man who upon a lot of similar value had put up a fine house? And consider what would be the effect upon the growth and prosperity of the country if this system were adopted throughout the whole country. What simplicity it would introduce into government, what economy in the assessment and collection of taxes, what fresh incentives it would give to production and improvement and enterprise and thrift, and how, most important of all, it would compel men who are holding natural opportunities without using them; the men who are sitting down on coal lands and timber tracts and city lots and farming lands in order to grow rich by their increasing value, to either use them themselves or make way quickly for those who would use them.

I have not time to go over this subject tonight. I can only briefly present it and leave it to your thought, being certain that no matter what objections may arise in your mind on first statement, if you examine it you will find this proposition consistent with every wise maxim of public policy, with every requirement of the democratic principle. It would put all citizens on an equal plane so far as taxation went, for it would only take from each in proportion to the special privilege which he enjoyed from the community.

Let me in a few words point out how this would conform to the ideal of true democracy:

In this sentence of the Declaration of Independence is the basis and touchstone of true democracy:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

There is more in this sentence than they realized who adopted it in the birth act of the American republic; more in it, perhaps,

than even he saw whose pen traced it, man of the future that he was, and still is. Though they tore from the draft of the Declaration the clause in which Jefferson stigmatized the crime of human slavery, yet in this sentence it stood. In that respect our national declaration of the rights of man has been vindicated at last. But it ought to be ours to carry it still further.

The equal rights, the God-given and unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—do they not involve, as their very first article and condition, the equal right of men to land?

For since land is the indispensable element to all human life and all human labor, it is but mockery to declare men's equal right to life and liberty and deny their equal right to land.

There, clearly and plainly, is the mistake we of the American republic have made. We have ignored the most fundamental application of the truth we have declared self-evident. We have given men equal rights to vote and to hold office. We have denied them the equal right to make a living. While prating of equality before the law, we have made the land of the republic, the land on which and from which the whole people of the republic must live, the legal property of some of their number.

Is it any wonder that our democratic republic is such a poor apology for what a democratic republic ought to be? We are trying to build up a democratic republic with equal political rights and manhood suffrage on a basis that must necessarily bring forth aristocracy, that must necessarily develop slavery, as our population increases and material progress goes on.

Whence comes the old world distinction between lord and serf; between the noble who is as a god and the peasant who is as a worm? Everywhere it comes from the ownership by one of the land on which the other must live, if he is to live at all.

Look over the republic to-day. See great estates growing and multiplying, while an increasing proportion of so-called free and independent American citizens are destitute of all legal right to use the soil of their country, can only work on it, can only live on it, by paying tribute to some other human creature, and he often a resident of Europe, for permission to do so. Is it any wonder that faith in democratic republicanism is weakening, that all the evils that our fathers thought of as belonging only to "the effete monarchies of the old world" are appearing here?

Make no mistake! Half way democracy cannot stand. If we would not have such democracy as we now possess taken from us by a process as sure as the flow of a glacier, we must rise to a higher democracy—we must carry Jefferson's principles to their logical end.

Now how shall we secure to all men, here and hereafter to come, that equal right to land which is involved in the equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?

We cannot divide land up equally. That is impossible. We cannot make possession common. That would be to destroy civilization. The security of the individual possession of land is necessary.

But possession is one thing. Ownership is another. We can secure individual possession and common ownership by simply following out what we have seen is the democratic principle of taxation. By abolishing all taxes on labor, or the products of labor, and taking for the public revenues that value which attaches to land, not by reason of what any individual does, but by reason of the growth and improvement of the whole community.

This is the culmination of the democratic principle—this is the single tax! I leave it to your thought.

Mr. George throughout was listened to with great attention, and frequent applause, and at the close was warmly congratulated.

A Concise and Cogent Answer.

Dr. J. G. Malcolm of Hutchinson, Kansas, writes: "A gentleman asked me why I was a single tax man. I replied, 'If you will explain to me why it is that the price of everything but one thing is raised by being taxed and the price of that one thing—land—is lowered by being taxed, I will explain to you why I am a single tax man.' He went off in a brown study."

Yes! A Very Sensible Way!

Pittsburg Chronicle Telegraph. The anthracite coal men are determined that the market shall not be overstocked, and will cut down the September output from the mines 1,000,000 tons as compared with the production for the corresponding month last year. This is a sensible way to keep up prices.

It Makes a Difference Where Ox is Tied. Providence Journal.

According to an interview in the Boston Traveller, Gov. Ames is in favor of protection as a politician but opposed to it as a manufacturer. He is not altogether singular in his position.

That Is Correct.

Nashville American. The New York Sun's cause of quarrel with the Ohio democracy is that it is democratic.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Sept. 10.

The enrollment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	64,142
Received during week ending Sept. 10	738
Total	64,880
Contributions received during the past week have been as follows:	
S. Mendelson, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.	10 00
S. D. T. Manning, Portsmouth, Va.	75
S. Van Veen, New York,	25
C. A. Potwin, Zanesville, Ohio	5 00
Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud, Ill.	1 00
D. Stuart, Oakland, Cal.	1 00
Sundry stamps	56
Total	\$18 56

Contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD 1,665 47

Total \$1,674 03
WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

The following are some extracts from letters received by the committee during the week:

J. Dennis Wolf, Pensacola, Fla.—I was born and reared a free trader in the days when "free trade and sailors' rights" was the battle cry of democrats and inscribed on all their banners, while Thomas Jefferson was their model and mentor. It is, therefore, not strange that I was in favor of free trade always, and the stale crudities of these latter days, as rehearsed by such men as McKim, Edmunds, Blaine and Harrison should fall harmless on ears that had heard Adams, Clay and Benton on the platform and read with the enthusiasm of youth the messages of that great disciple of Jefferson, Andrew Jackson. The source from which the money necessary for the public administration of the government could be obtained in the absence of any tariff on imports or any impost on all home production always puzzled me until about eight years ago a copy of "Progress and Poverty" solved my puzzle for me and made the crooked ways straight and the rough places smooth. Since then it has been plain sailing. I was, as you see, fully prepared to see the cat, and I saw her at the first glance. She has been in plain sight ever since. At eventide light came. Although I know there are a considerable number of persons here more or less interested in free trade and the single tax, yet I have been unable to secure their names or perfect an organization in such a way as to accomplish any perceptible results. The petition has been circulated by two or three persons and a considerable number of signatures obtained. The Knights of Labor appear to be coming to their senses, but here where they once had a strong, influential organization, there seems to have been a dissolution and an entire stoppage of work. I think the south has been somewhat overlooked, and that even here on the extreme southern border there is work to be done which can be made effective.

Victor Burnet, Massillon, Ohio.—The indications here are of the most encouraging nature. The people generally are beginning to realize there is such a thing as the single tax system and that it has come to stay, and is worth at least a fair consideration. I have recently had two articles published in the city papers, both of them republican organs. This week I circulated a subscription paper and have secured enough to defray the expenses of a speech by Mr. George. The people are becoming anxious to find out something more about the single tax, and I am pretty sure we can organize a single tax club here this fall. I feel very much encouraged and feel safe in saying an organization will be formed.

E. Herrick, Tipton, Cal.—I am working for the cause under adverse circumstances, and often get laughed at by the thoughtless. This is a farming community, and the great trouble is to get men to read and think. There is a local grange here that has several members with advanced ideas who are reading up and informing themselves on economic subjects. Some of them are sound on the single tax question, and others are single tax men without knowing it. The state grange will debate the question of large land holding by foreign and other capitalists on October 3 at Sacramento. This means progress.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.—It will not be long before four or five good men will be associated with me in a single tax committee for this city and a single tax club will not be slow to follow. It takes a little time for seed to sprout, but that sown here has taken firm root. There are a host of people in this section who are ready and willing to grasp at something tangible in the way of tax reform, and proper work will make single tax men of them all. I have read two papers on the subject with good results. One before the local assembly K. of L., whose delegate to the late state assembly was enthusiastic in the support of the resolution endorsing the single tax, and another before the advisory council, K. of L., representing the assemblies in Lenawee county. The next state assembly meets in this city in August of next year, and it would be a grand time to set the ball rolling in earnest in this state. Delegates and visitors will be here from every section, and they will be better prepared to listen than at any other time. If Henry George could be with us for a day on such an occasion he could accomplish wonderful results.

It would be the means of drawing together a great crowd and give an opportunity for the sowing of seed among just that class which is the most difficult to reach—the agricultural. The farmers are writhing under the stress of the present system, but do not seem to be able to locate the seat of the trouble, and even up to the last election voted overwhelmingly for continued protection. They are now organizing lodges of "patrons of industry," and have a membership in the state of over twenty-five thousand. Their plan of action is to contract with retailers in different localities for the purchase of all kinds of goods at a discount, and they hope thus to retain more nearly their share of what they produce. Their method is bungling and superficial, but it certainly offers substantial evidence that they are beginning to feel the burden upon them.

A PROGRESSIVE PRINTERS' UNION.

The Craft in Boston Vote to Continue the Work of the Lecture Committee.

BOSTON, Mass.—At the August meeting of Boston typographical union it was unanimously voted to continue the work of the lecture committee. This action shows that No. 13 is desirous of carrying out the object of the following resolution, which was introduced by F. W. Stevens of St. Paul, Minn., and adopted at the annual session of the International typographical union at Denver, Col., last June:

Whereas, It is a universally conceded fact that labor does not receive an adequate portion of the products of its toil; and,

Whereas, The condition of labor in all civilized countries, under all forms of political government, is much the same, and the constant tendency is for it to reach a common level; and,

Whereas, The experience of the past score of years has amply demonstrated that organized labor cannot secure the products of its toil by confining its efforts merely to maintaining a scale of wages; and,

Whereas, The failure in a large degree of the strike and boycott has shown the futility of the hope of any permanent betterment by means of these agencies; and,

Whereas, The poverty and dependence of labor being world-wide, it follows that the cause or causes producing its condition must be equal in extent and likewise operative in all civilized countries; and,

Whereas, It is plainly evident that the time has now come when the trade union, if it desires to continue an effective factor in ameliorating the lot of the workers, must come to an intelligent understanding of the fundamental principles underlying the industrial regulations of society; and,

Whereas, It is desirable that the International typographical union maintain its stand as a progressive element in the army of organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the president who shall solicit and receive correspondence from the members of the craft throughout the jurisdiction as to the causes of labor's degradation, and as to what action is demanded by the trade union in order to further increase its usefulness. The communications and suggestions received by said committee to be by it compiled and published in the official organ of the International typographical union.

Resolved, further, That it is the sense of the International typographical union that it would be the part of wisdom and good policy on the part of subordinate unions to hold discussions and invite essays and lectures on political economy and the labor question in its varied aspects.

W. L. CROSMAN.

The Canadian Workmen Indorse the Single Tax.

MONTREAL, Sept. 7.—The labor congress, composed of delegates from all parts of the Dominion of Canada, closed their session yesterday. Among their final acts was the unanimous adoption of the following, which was offered by Delegate A. F. Jury, of D. A. 125, of Toronto, and seconded by Delegate Kelt:

Whereas, Land is necessary to life and to the exercise of labor; and

Whereas, No generation of men have a right to sell forever the land that must needs be used by all succeeding generations; and

Whereas, The immense land grants of recent years by which vast tracts of the public heritage have been ceded to railway and other corporations is very injurious to the common weal; and

Whereas, Land speculation, so rapidly developing in our cities, is enormously increasing the rents paid by all who require to use land; and

Whereas, The value of land, which is created, not by individual labor, but by the growth of population—that is, by the whole community—belongs to the people in the same manner as the product of the labor of each individual belongs to him; and

Whereas, The withholding of land from use causes a perpetual congestion of the labor market; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this congress representative of Canadian workmen, does hereby express its approval of the Henry George land reform, and resolves to take all lawful measures for the promotion of land nationalization by means of the taxation of land to its full annual rental value irrespective of improvements.

And further, that we call upon the farmers of this country—our co-workers—to aid us in our endeavors to thus lighten the taxation of labor and place public burdens upon the almost untaxed fruits of the land speculator.

Following are the organizations which participated in the congress, and the names of the delegates: Builders' laborers' union, Toronto, H. T. Benson, G. T. Beales, Charles Chapman, Thomas Rynn, Alfred Roberts, Henry Poffley, H. Tucker and Robert Lamb;

Toronto trades and labor council, R. Glocking, R. J. O. Donoghue and G. W. Dower; Montreal trades and labor council, Urbain Lafontaine, J. A. Brault and P. J. Ryan; St. Catharines trades and labor council, L. K. Simmons, F. Keefer; Hamilton trades and labor council, F. Keefer, D. M. Gibson; D. A. No. 1, K. of L., Montreal, J. P. Coutlee, Thomas Flood and G. Oumet; D. A. No. 2, K. of L., Montreal, B. Freeny, P. Duffy and J. P. Clark; D. A. No. 125, Toronto, A. W. Holmes, Emma Witt and A. F. Jury; D. A. No. 236, Uxbridge, William Hogan, J. P. Johnston and John Edgar; D. A. No. 207, St. Catharines, Joseph F. Keefer; Toronto typographical union, W. B. Prescott, John Armstrong and W. H. Parr; Jacques Cartier typographical union, Montreal, Cyrille Moreau, T. St. Pierre; Montreal typographical union, Louis Z. Boudreau, Silas W. Reed; Operative plasterers' society, Toronto, Fred. Hodgkins, Fred. Leech; Cigar makers' union, Montreal, Alphonse Lafrance, Arthur Pepin; Bricklayers' union, Toronto, John Aldridge; Montreal plasterers' society, Cyrien Malhot; London typographical union, F. Plant; Hamilton typographical union, John Burns; Bricklayers' and masons' union, Ottawa, Alex. R. McDonald, W. St. George; Hackmen's union, Ottawa, John Regan; L. A. 4003, Quebec, H. S. Langevin, Patrick Fitzgerald; L. A. 5421, Montreal, Edward Lauer; L. A. 6583, Cornwall, John Brooks; L. A. 2633, Toronto, Hugh McCaffry; L. A. 2705, Toronto, Charles Marsh; L. A. 3484, Montreal, A. T. Lepine; L. A. 1007, Silery Cove, J. B. St. Laurent; L. A. 2436, Montreal, William Dartington; L. A. 10061, Quebec, Patrick J. Jobin; L. A. 6023, Montreal, Alfred Patrie; L. A. 3305, Montreal, Joshua E. Falle; L. A. 5580, Montreal, Edward Farrell; L. A. 10581, Quebec, O. Brunet; L. A. 7814, Toronto, A. W. Wright; L. A. 4528, Montreal, Oscar Guyon; L. A. 7628, Montreal, Peter Foster, Peter Carrigan and Michael H. Brennan.

The Customs Curse.

W. M. Ineson of Melbourne, Australia, in Sydney Bulletin.

A simple immigrant was he whose luggage it appeared,

They'd entered on the "manifest"—he tried to get it "cleared"

Without an "agent's" aid (and fees)—he wished to spare his purse,

And tried to "clear" those goods himself, nor knew the customs curse.

To Spencer street, some railway shed, with eager steps he hied,

And to some customs officer his case did then confide,

Who sent him on to custom house, with hints and tips the best—

"Declaration," "Bill of Lading," "Entry Form," and "Manifest."

Alas! these clear instructions placed him in a dreadful fix—

(A kindly agent said "held 'clear' for seven bob and six),

He stood and looked bewildered like—ah! soon he'd look far worse;

The C. O. smiled a customs smile—he knew the customs curse.

The victim thought—all victims do—he'd soon get cleared somehow;

Off to the custom house he went (ye fates have pity now!)

And this was what he asked of scores of clerks—an awful text—

"Declaration," "Form of Lading," "Entry Bill of Manifest."

Those clerks desecrated a victim, whom a merry dance they led,

From railway shed to custom house, from custom house to shed.

'Twas bills and forms, and forms and bills until the victim feared,

His understanding—like his chest—was far from being cleared.

A month he passed in weary tramp those fatal spots between

Then—passed those forms—a certain chance of getting cleared was seen;

But no, one form was incorrect. "Which one?" he vainly pressed—

"Declaration," "Bill of Lading," "Entry Form," or "Manifest."

A year has passed—he's cleared at last—yes; cleared of all his brass;

The Customs curse he thinks removed—poor simpleton, alas!

His box the C. O. peeped inside, and found to his dismay

A cigar stump in the bottom, causing many years' delay.

All hope was fled—his reason, too—he badly fared nor worse

Than scores who suffer 'neath the crushing, cruel Customs curse,

Who stand dismayed when first to them these warnings are addressed—

"Declaration," "Bill of Lading," "Entry Form," and "Manifest."

Years passed, all things have changed—the Customs curse remains the same,

Save that a generation new of C. O.'s play the game.

In railway shed (say No. 9) a rotting chest is reared,

A standing institution, fated never to be "cleared."

And round the shed and customs house, while to himself he talks,

A wild, gray headed, haggard looking man forever walks,

Who mutters in sepulchral tones, while seeming sore distressed—

"Lading Form and Declaration, Entry Bill of Manifest."

THE STANDARD.

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Professor J. B. Clark of Smith college writes a letter to the Christian Union on the land question which suggests a suspicion that the professor first began thinking on the question when he took his pen in hand to write this particular article. He starts out with the declaration that "God made all land for the benefit of collective humanity," and insists that "collective humanity" thereupon, under the supposition that it was thereby serving its own interests, proceeded to establish private ownership—that is, to transfer the common heritage to a smaller number than it was created for. Having done this through governmental action, in due form, the professor insists that not only the men who enacted this system, but their successors, heirs and assigns forever, are bound to respect the right of property thus created, even if the present generation should conclude that the original action was a violation of the Creator's intent and directly adverse to the interests of "collective humanity."

It is doubtful if the professor would in his professional capacity like to assume the task of showing that the English system of land tenure blindly copied by our forefathers had its origin in a desire on the part of those who established it to benefit the whole people. A careful reading of history at least suggests a suspicion that the establishers in question were chiefly intent on benefiting themselves. Passing this by, however, the professor's assumption that if one generation makes a mistake all subsequent generations are bound to continue it unless they consent to pay damages to its beneficiaries is one that will lead him to some awkward conclusions. The direct ownership of men by their fellows is probably older than the indirect system by which the possession of the products of another's labor is secured to a man through the ownership of the natural resources to which such labor must be applied. Does the professor think that the abolition of chattel slavery, without compensation to the despoiled masters, was a violation of ethics?

The Christian Union, in commenting with approval on Professor Clark's article, anticipates this very objection, and declares that no such parallel can justly be drawn. "Private ownership of man," it says, "so violates the inherent sense of right and wrong, is so monstrous a sin against the universal conscience, that no so-called owner possesses any right, by any deed of sale which can be given him; but there is no such inherent and absolute iniquity in the ownership of land, so that the buyer of a lot or a farm is like the purchaser of stolen goods, buying at his own risk."

The mere fact that the Christian Union feels bound to volunteer such a disclaimer shows an uneasy consciousness of the tendency of its own argument. Of course there is not now any such inherent and absolute iniquity in the ownership of

land as there would be in the ownership of human beings, but this is simply because the ethical objections to such ownership have not yet become a part of the "universal consciousness" that makes the holding of one's fellow men in bondage a "monstrous sin" consciously committed. The time was, and that too within the memory of living men, when in this country chattel slavery was not the "monstrous sin against the universal conscience" that it now would be. Happily for humanity the "universal conscience" becomes more exacting with the progress of the ages.

No reasonable advocate of the restoration of those alienated heritage to the world's workers ever loses consciousness of this fact. Sensible single tax men, for instance, are not prone to denounce individuals for accepting the only conditions under which they can now live on this earth, but they propose to do all they can to alleviate the unfortunate results of these conditions and at the same time to endeavor to educate the "universal conscience" to regard the enslavement of men through the monopolization of natural opportunities as much a "monstrous sin" as their direct enslavement. When this has once been accomplished what will become of the Christian Union's disclaimer?

The sentence quoted from the Christian Union shows a confusion of thought that probably accounts for its failure to get at the very heart of the land question, and its consequent inability to see the parallel between its own arguments in support of land monopoly and those formerly urged in defense of chattel slavery. There never will be a time when "the buyer of a lot or farm" can be justly compared to the purchaser of stolen goods. Men need lots and farms and they ought to have them. In order to get them they must meet the conditions instituted by society as essential to continued possession of these necessities of existence. No one objects to such continued possession. We single tax men insist that the system we advocate will enable a much larger number of people to obtain such possession. There is really no analogy between the "ownership" of a building lot or a farm, in this sense, and the ownership of a human being. The advocates of the single tax propose eventually to simplify and render less difficult the conditions instituted by society as essential to the continuous possession of lots and farms by those using them, or desiring to use them. They agree with the Christian Union that "the community owning the land," it "has a right to make such use of the land as it thinks best for the common welfare;" but they insist that the best thing for the common welfare is to exact from each holder of the land the annual rental value of that share of the common heritage that he holds, and to guarantee continuous possession to him, his heirs and assigns, so long as he or they continue to meet their obligation to the public.

But far more than this will be accomplished by such a system. As soon as it is impossible for any man to hold any land for the possession of which he does not render to "the community owning the land" a just equivalent, all inducement to monopolize land in order to secure control of the products of the labor of others will cease. This discussion in the columns of the Christian Union arose out of an inquiry by that paper as to the right of the Standard oil company to lands it holds. Of course, the disposition to denounce that monopoly has caused some of those participating to lose sight of the abstract question involved. Even Professor Clark, while insisting that the rights of the Standard oil company are as well founded as those of any other land owner, makes the preposterous declaration that "the illegitimate gains of this company are made independently of the fact that they own a quantity of oil land" and goes on to say that it may "at some future time be the

pleasure of the people, in granting titles to land, to reserve for the public such uses of it as consist in extracting oil or gas from hidden reservoirs beneath the surface," as though it made any difference what men get out of the ground so long as it has value, since according to Professor Clark himself "the duty of government in respect to property is that of protecting, not concrete things, but values."

Let the Christian Union consider the advantage that the Standard oil company enjoys through its practical control of all the available oil land in the country; let it extend its vision so as to include the coal fields and other great natural opportunities similarly monopolized; let it bring home to its own mind and conscience the condition to which laborers are reduced by just such monopoly of the Creator's bounty to our whole people, and then let it say if it dare that the condition of these men is any better than that of the negroes held in slavery in this country before the civil war. The men who protest against the existing system of land tenure, believe that this method of enslaving men and seizing all of the products of their labor over the fraction of such products left them to maintain a mere existence, can be ended by the proper use of the taxing power of the government. If they are mistaken in this the Christian Union can render them a service by showing them that they are mistaken, but until it does so it is useless for it to contend that because our fathers ate sour grapes their children's teeth shall remain forever set on edge, or to deny the right of this or succeeding generations to undo a wrong however hoary it may be with age or however honest the intention of its original perpetrators. So long as it defends private ownership of land in such fashion it may well fear that its arguments will have an unpleasantly familiar sound to those old enough to remember the clerical apologies for negro slavery, and it will protest in vain against the justice of the parallel thus drawn.

Under the title, "Facts About Trusts," Charles F. Beach, jr., publishes in the Forum of September a carefully prepared defense of this phase of business development. Mr. Beach observes a three-fold misconception in the popular mind regarding trusts: First, the mistaking an effect of hard times for a principal cause of them; second, a misunderstanding of the nature and essential character and characteristics of the trust scheme; and, third, a confusion of the trust itself with its abuses. To correct this misconception he insists that a trust, instead of being a cause, is "a result of lower prices, overproduction and lower profits," and allowing for differences in detail as between one trust and another, he defines a trust to be "essentially an agreement among the producers and venders of a certain sort of merchantable commodity for their mutual protection and profit in business." It is entered into, he says, "because the parties to the agreement believe that they can in that way largely or entirely eliminate or control competition, maintain the prices of their wares, check overproduction and make money more easily than they can without the trust." The method of organization he describes as follows:

It is usually effected by the incorporation of the several individuals whose property is to enter into the trust, if they are not already incorporated, into as many distinct corporations as there are separate enterprises. The stock in these corporations is allotted to the stockholders, as usual, in proportion to their interests in the property, and is by them as stockholders, transferred to trustees, who themselves or in connection with others, constitute the trust. These trustees issue to the several stockholders entering into the arrangement trust certificates to represent the stock transferred to them, in proportion to the amount so transferred. The corporations are thus kept distinct from the trust, and are not, as corporations, parties to the trust arrangement. The property, however, of each of the corporations is subjected to the control of the trust, and is managed as one enterprise, by it or at its pleasure and in its interest. Dividends are paid from earnings either on the stock to the trust and accounted for by the trustees, or more usually upon the trust

certificates directly to the holders thereof. This is in general the trust scheme. It is a device to unite corporations and to manage them by a single board of trustees for their common benefit, by means of a contract between the stockholders of the several corporations whose property is affected by the trust; the corporations themselves preserving their organization and their formal organic autonomy, each doing for itself its own business, and thus conforming to all the rules of law affecting corporate existence and management.

The genesis of the institution, Mr. Beach traces to the fall in price of staple articles since 1880, followed by "aggressive combinations of laboring men." These first led to the incorporation of business houses, then to agreements to maintain prices which proved futile, and finally to trusts, which are "the nineteenth century offspring of overproduction, small profits, competition rampant, and labor organizations."

Having thus explained the character and origin of trusts, Mr. Beach considers them from the legal point of view. He regards General Prior's argument against trusts in the sugar refineries cases as unanswerable from the standpoint of the law reports, but contends that the legal questions involved are new, and should be determined, "not by reference to ancient statutes and the learning of what Bentham contemptuously called 'the report books,' but rather on more general considerations of equity, expediency, utility, and public policy." Following this line of examination, Mr. Beach refers to trusts as a natural evolution in business, just as corporations were when in their origin they were as violently opposed as trusts are now. Trusts, he says, "are a product of universal peace," under which men form great commercial "unions for the conservation and increase of material wealth instead of equipping armies and building navies to destroy it." He finds manifestations of the same tendency in the creation of the German empire out of a score of half feudal principalities, in the consolidation of railways into trunk lines, in the postal union, in the agitation for the annexation of Canada, Mexico and Cuba, and in the fight for international copyright, all of which he attributes to the "same centripetal force that a century ago gave us our federal union of states, against the gravitating force of which, a quarter of a century ago, the great armies of the confederacy marched to defeat."

Confronted on his chosen line of legal inquiry, with the objection that trusts tend to a monopoly which suppresses competition and curtails production, Mr. Beach falls back upon the proposition that unrestricted competition works a public injury, through waste of energy, in support of which he quotes from a judge of the New York court of appeals, who in a late opinion said he did not think "competition is invariably a public benefaction, for it may be carried on to such a degree as to become a general evil." The burden of Mr. Beach's argument is that unrestricted competition being injurious to public interest, the trust, in limiting it, performs a public service. And yet he claims that no combination of business men "not protected by government patents, by an iniquitous tariff, or by unholy alliances with railways, can, by never so stringent a compact between themselves, prevent any other set of men from going into their business whenever the condition of the trade promises more than an average profit."

If Mr. Beach had thought a little more closely of the relation to unrestricted competition of the kind of combinations suggested by his exceptions, he might have written an article in defense of trusts that would have been beyond criticism. Against a trust unprotected by legalized monopoly, but operating in conditions of unrestricted competition, nothing can be said, and much can be said in its favor. To the extent that a trust conserves human energy, it is a labor saving device, and as such a blessing to all; but under conditions of restricted competition, like any other labor saving device, it is likely to be a curse.

Nor is it the trust itself that really calls

forth so much opposition. Under conditions of restricted competition the trust draws to its beneficiaries the advantages that restricted competition gives to some at the expense of many; and this evil is attributed to the trust because the trust is the active and visible factor in the process. But the same people who indiscriminately denounce trusts would laugh at the idea of a farmers' trust. The reason is that competition in farming is comparatively so free that a trust, however extensive, would be powerless to artificially regulate production for any considerable time.

Mr. Beach goes almost to the heart of the matter when he says that "no combination of manufacturers, not protected by government patents, by an iniquitous tariff, or by unholy alliances with railways," can maintain a monopoly. His error lies in limiting his exceptions to patents, the tariff and railway alliances. The exceptions should include legalized monopoly in every form. A trust for the manufacture of a patented article can control the production and consumption of that article, not by the power of combination, but by the power of its patents. A trust for the manufacture of a commodity the foreign producers of which are excluded from our markets by a protective tariff, can control the production and consumption of that commodity and reap exorbitant profits without fear of competition, not by its own limitations upon competition but by the limitations of the tariff. A trust allied with a railway by some unholy agreement can control the production and consumption of its product, not by the unholiness of its agreement, but because the railway is a legalized monopoly which confers its advantages upon its allies. A trust that controls land to which resort must be had for the raw material of a product can control the production and consumption of that product not by its compact but by its title deeds. And so on, wherever the law secures an exclusive privilege, a trust can operate to consolidate interests in that privilege, and thus be a public curse. But wherever the law withholds its heavy hand from free competition, a trust is as powerless for harm and as potent for good as any other form of partnership or industrial co-operation.

Why it is that a trust is powerless for harm under unrestricted competition, is explained by Mr. Beach himself, notwithstanding his idea that the trust serves a public purpose in restraining competition. He says the trust "cannot with safety to itself raise the price to the consumer to a point where other capital will be tempted to embark in its business, that is, to a point beyond the normal profits," and that it is, "equally with the individual trader, subject to the competition of product with product," as, for example, a wheat flour trust would, "if it raised too much the selling price of its products, find a check in the increased consumption of other farinaceous foods." This is true, but it is true only as competition is free.

An illustration may be found in the sugar trust. Businesses are hampered today by the control this trust maintains over the price of sugar, which to them is a raw material. Should the trust lower the price, or itself go to pieces, any large amount of production carried on now by these dependent businesses would involve disaster. Any article in the manufacture of which sugar largely enters, if made in quantities now, must be sold at a loss should the price of sugar fall, because then it would go into the market in competition with goods manufactured while the price of sugar was low. Hence, the managers of businesses like these keep their production down, to the detriment both of themselves and of the consumers of their products. They would very likely, if asked, attribute their trouble to the sugar trust; but if led on by intelligent inquiry, no doubt they would admit that if it were not for the protective tariff on sugar the stability or disintegration of the sugar trust would give them no concern. As they would be free to go into the markets of the world, both to buy and sell, the sugar

trust would be compelled at once to lower its prices to the point of normal profit.

It is the legal monopoly created by the tariff that makes the sugar trust an obstacle in the path of industry, and it is some form of legal monopoly that makes all other trusts objectionable. A trust not so protected is a harmless, and may be a beneficial institution; and when Judge Gray says, and Mr. Beach affirms, that competition may be carried on to such a degree as to become a general evil, they are thinking of the disabilities under which men labor whose competitors are in some way protected by a legalized monopoly.

It is his neglect to consider that competition is not allowed full play that mars Mr. Beach's otherwise excellent article, and underlies nearly every well-meant but fallacious proposition for the remedy of industrial wrongs. Mr. Beach would hardly call himself a socialist, nor perhaps like it if called one by others; but by assuming that competition is an evil to be corrected, he adopts the postulate of socialism and leaves himself little to say against its programme, for if competition is to be restricted it is better that it be restricted by the people in their law making capacity than by irresponsible combinations of wealthy men.

PERSONAL.

John W. Ettel, of St. Michael, Austria, recently contributed an admirable article entitled "Die Einzige Steuer" (the single tax) to a paper published in Vienna. The paper is called "Gasterea," and is the organ of the associated restaurant and hotel keepers of Austria.

William Saunders is getting strong again, and has much profited by the rest he has been taking in Italy. He will soon be back to take up his work in the London county council. The Democrat will not be discontinued, but will keep right along in its good work. In a private letter from Italy Mr. Saunders writes: "We are spending a few days in an 'old ducal palace,' which is now the Grand hotel, at Varese. The cool colonnades within the palace, and the walks in the gardens shaded by an infinite variety of beautiful trees built and laid out regardless of cost, gave pleasure in former times to five or six persons. The enjoyment is now extended to two hundred instead of five or six. The change has come because royalty has gone down and the people have gone up. This is merely one illustration of what might happen if the people would look after the interest of themselves and their families instead of giving everlastingly to the rich, or rather allowing themselves to be continually robbed by royalties, landlords, and speculating capitalists. All the advantages of this delightful place are now obtained for \$2.50 per day, and the business of the locality is so stimulated by the change that the population has recently doubled. Let us try to realize the comfort and happiness all might enjoy if men were left in possession of the fruits of their own industry."

Count Hardegg, who recently died at Vienna, bequeathed to the university of that city \$300,000 on condition that the money shall be left to accumulate for a hundred years. Well done, Hardegg.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe lives a peculiar existence at present. She eats very little, confining her diet almost altogether to bread and butter and fruit. She sleeps well in the daytime, but is apt to be wakeful at night. At times she seems to have a momentary return of her old brilliancy, but as a general thing is mentally apathetic. She is fond of being in the open air and can walk about a little with a cane. Her tenure of life is considered remarkable by her physicians, who say she has the strongest vitality of any woman they have ever known.

The duke of Portland has been influenced by his wife to devote all his past and future earnings on the turf to the erection and endowment of almshouses.

Alexander McKinnon of the Manhattan single tax club, is on his way to Portland, Oregon, where he goes to take a position in a large business house.

Matthew Kirsch of Bath-on-the-Hudson, writes that he has had the good fortune to open another avenue for the spread of the single tax doctrine, upon which the ear of progress can advance in the future. The Hon. M. F. Collins, editor of the Troy Observer, a widely circulated Sunday paper, will publish his articles on the subject and Mr. Kirsch says he will avail himself of the opportunity as often as time permits.

John G. Hummel of St. Louis was in New York lately for a week. He was here on business, but managed to spare time to take in the sights and get acquainted with a great many single tax people.

REMINISCENCES OF AN EPISCOPAL CLERGYMAN.

Some fifteen years ago, while visiting a friend and college classmate, the late Governor Haight of California, I took up from the table in his library a San Francisco daily containing a Fourth of July oration by Henry George. I had never heard the name before. But as I read I soon found my attention riveted, both by the style and the subject matter of the oration. It dealt with matters of special interest to the people of California, and as I had myself been a resident of that state for some years, I was struck with the truth and the wisdom of its contents. I brought the oration home with me, and kept it a long time among my papers. But for years I heard nothing of the man who delivered it. At length, in a number of the New York Herald, I read a long and able review of a book called "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George. I recognized the name, and at once purchased the volume. I read it with great interest and delight, captivated by the freshness and vigor of its style, and struck with what then seemed to me the originality of its theory concerning land and its taxation. While persuaded of the truth of much that I read, and convinced of the justice of throwing the burden of taxation upon the rental value of land, I was not prepared at once to accept the theory to the extent of taking the entire unearned increment for the benefit of the people. Lord Bacon's aphorism: "Read, not to believe, or to contradict, but to weigh and consider," saved me from a too sudden conversion. Possibly I was the more inclined to heed this caution, because of a certain interest of my own in lands near San Francisco, then rapidly increasing in value. It was vacant land that I was renting, and afterward sold, not knowing at the time what has just been taught me by Mr. Pentecost that "he who sells or rents vacant land must be made to feel that society abhors him as an enemy and a parasite." Naturally enough I was willing to make a profit on my purchase. I bought the land for that purpose, as my father before me had bought other lands for the like purpose, and had made a good use of the gains that had come to him in that way. The iniquity of the transaction did not then occur to me, and society was not yet prepared to "abhor" me. It is not strange, therefore, that I was a little slow in seeing the wisdom of taking away from everyone who had invested his savings in land, the entire increment of its original cost. Nevertheless, it was plain that this increase ought to bear its just share of the burden of taxation. I began to "see the cat" in dim outline. By and by the evil of holding land unimproved for a rise, and thus seeking to profit by the industry of others became more and more apparent, though I am not sure but the process was more rapid after I had sold my land and pocketed about 150 per cent profit, allowing for interest and taxes. I write thus frankly of my own experience, to show the need of being somewhat considerate in our judgment of others who have invested their little capital in land trusting to the safety of their investment and hoping for some good return; showing also the need of patience with those who are slow to see the resulting evils to society of this method of speculation.

Not to make too long a story I will only add that when I heard that Henry George had come to New York to publish THE STANDARD I at once became a reader and have continued to be until now, accepting his theory of land and taxation to its fullest extent. Knowing, however, that so sweeping a change as it contemplates cannot be made at once, but must come by gradual approaches, it would seem to be wise to accept any measure of reform that is practicable, in the direction of free trade and land taxation, contending for the principle that the product of human industry should be entirely exempt, with the single exception, perhaps, that I will presently name; uniting, nevertheless with all who are willing to go with us in the same direction, (though unprepared to follow to the like extent) or desiring a change still more radical toward state socialism. It is probable that the American people will soon come to see the folly of protection. Free trade must speedily follow with taxes upon land values, with possibly improvements included. Gradually they will be educated to see the wisdom of the single tax upon the rental value of the land alone; at first, however,

in its limited form. Whether there may be good reasons for stopping there can only be determined by experience. Controversy on this point that may lead to division or distrust, seems to me in the last degree unwise. Honest differences of opinion there may be. But they should be held kindly and without the risk of hindering, by intemperate speech, a great social reform.

The possible exception above referred to relates to large inherited estates. The state may justly claim a percentage of these proportioned to their magnitude, in the interest of the higher education and culture of the people. I simply throw this out now, that others may some time take it up for discussion. JAMES BUSH.

Ithaca, N. Y.

Lines.

Thou slave in the Siberian mines,

Thou holy priest in India far,
And thou, Iceland, where the star
Of Polar night so coldly shines;
Rivers and oceans roll between,
And human lives are widely set,
But He who tangled so the skein,
The snarl He shall unravel yet.

Buddha upon his mountain height,
Christ in the desert, Socrates,
And all the humbler hearts like these
Flame with a universal light.

The separated flames that beam,
The glowing thoughts and radiant deeds,
Shall merge in gathered light to gleam
Through darkened temples of the creeds.

And when the hand of Time shall point
The final hour on the dial,
The souls who faced the fiery trial
Love's blessed angel shall anoint.
Let us who read the mystic scroll
Through the long vista now revealed,
Gird armor on the trenchant soul
Till every social hurt be healed.

And whether to eternal sleep,
Or streets of Jasper, goes the soul,
We know somewhere, complete and whole,
God the eternal plan doth keep.
Now, now and here! and that is all
The soul can know or needs to know;
And Love and Truth, somehow in all,
Remain with us, though all things go.

Love, which is other self of Truth
As soul and body make, conjoined,
The perfect man, the even mind,
Through time eternal holds her youth.
Though err we may by bitter want
Of strength we may not rise above,
The Law shall fullest pardon grant
To him who loves—and follows Love!
JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

"Ouch!" Says Randall, and Dunn, and Hill.
From Platform of the Pennsylvania Democratic State
Convention held at Harrisburg, Sept. 4.

We applaud the action of President Cleveland and our democratic representatives in congress looking to tariff tax reform, and we reaffirm the declaration of principles made by the democracy of the Union at St. Louis in 1888, especially that demanding a revision and reduction of tariff taxes for the relief at once of American labor, American industries, and American taxpayers, by the repeal of such tariff taxes as now invite and protect monopoly, that lessen production, lessen employment of labor, decrease wages, and increase cost to consumers, and by the admission of raw material free of duty in all cases where it will enlarge our product, multiply our markets, and increase demand for labor.

We regard trusts, in whatever form organized, as the result of the existing monopoly tariff, and we demand the repeal of such tariff taxes as enable them to control domestic production by unlawful combination and to extort from the people exorbitant prices for their products.

We favor the Australian ballot system, as adopted, to meet the requirements of our constitution and the special wants of our people in order to secure the freedom and purity of elections, menaced by the combined power of monopoly and the corruption of republican rings and bosses.

England's Landlord System is What Crushes the Masses.

Boston Globe.

Some of our esteemed republican contemporaries are trying to make a point for the high tariff out of the fact that there is a big strike in England, and England has no high tariff. But England has something else, which is even worse. She has a pernicious landlordism. It doesn't make much difference which form of robbery a country has. Either will grind down the workingmen and make strikes a necessity.

And He Wasn't a Protectionist, Either.

New York Sun.

Jefferson was not only a true patriot, but the greatest of all democrats.

"We Are Three!"—Sullivan, Hill, Dunn.

John L. Sullivan in New York Sun.

I am a democrat.

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FOR MINISTERS TO THINK ABOUT.

In my youth it was the slavery question that seemed to be the especial dividing line between ministers. Slavery was the great national sin. Did a man and a minister remember "those in bonds as bound with them?" Did he recognize the test that Jesus gave when the lawyer asked him: "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?"—and the whole duty of man was summed up in the command to love God with all the heart and our neighbor as ourself? "This do, and thou shalt live," said Jesus.

Not a bit of creed about that—nothing but love! Such love for God, or eternal goodness, as necessarily includes the seeking first of the kingdom of God—social and political righteousness as well as personal holiness; and such love for "the neighbor" as means regard for the golden rule in all our human associations.

There is to-day the same dividing line clearly drawn in the sight of those who have eyes to see; the same trumpet call: "Who is on the Lord's side?" It is an interesting sight—now joyful, now painful—to watch the spiritual sheep and goats taking their places—rising to their privilege or settling to their doom—if these latter remain blind and obdurate of heart till there is no longer space for repentance.

Thirty or forty years ago the minister usually excused himself from dealing with the slavery question—or "meddling with politics," as he called it—declaring that his whole duty was to know nothing as a minister but "Christ, and him crucified;" his only mission, to save souls from everlasting perdition. I was a Methodist, and to hear Garrison and Phillips and Emerson I had to go a long distance and sit among the "infidels" of that day in a Unitarian church. The poems of Lowell and Whittier, "unorthodox" and unpopular then, took strong hold of my mind, and many stirring passages became fixed in my memory and now repeat themselves to me with new emphasis.

So, when the orderly evolution of the human mind had brought to the surface of human thought the great question of the equal right of all the inhabitants of the earth to the use of the natural bounties of the earth—I expected that ministers of the same denomination whose best representatives dared speak

"for the slave
When to look but a protest in silence was
brave."

would again take the part of the poor and oppressed and preach freedom and equality of rights. "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man" was an expression not unfamiliar to their thought. "Freedom, fellowship, and character in religion" was their motto; and they talked of religion as including all human duties and aspirations, and pertaining especially to the conduct of this life.

But alas! with most of them, the religion they preach, demanded perhaps by the patrons who pay the high salaries, seems to be but a later form of the same old self-seeking of Christianity—an egoism. Not, as formerly among older sects, to save my only little private soul from its Creator's vengeance in the next world, but to make my own little personal character as perfect as possible in this world.

Theodore Parker said that the priest who was passing by on the other side, in his day, unheeding the slave robbed and bleeding by the wayside, was no doubt in a hurry lest he should be late at his prayer meeting. To-day he is hastening to the church club where culture is taught as the chief end of man, by that branch of the church once foremost in reforms, but now in some danger of becoming a "mere school of good manners." He seems to get no time to consider the poor, beyond the claims of individuals, and to do his part in the charity organizations. His

"Eyes

Grow tender over drowning flies,"

and he expends the natural pity of his big warm heart chiefly in crusading against cruelty to animals. Concerning the prisoners of poverty, the millions of his fellow men whose weary toil yields them but a bare hard living, the many who can get no work at any price, the crowded, festering tenements where children gravitate almost inevitably to vice and crime, and babies die daily by the hundred—more than one of them says the most heartless things unconsciously, because he is so ignorant of the real situation and the ancient wrong.

Ministers used to preach that masters should be kind to their slaves, and that slaves should be obedient and patient. They showed us how slavery had gone

hand in hand with general progress; how it had opened up and developed the resources of the south; how it had brought the heathen of Africa under Christian influences that their souls might be saved. They told us that the slaves were ignorant, thievish and shiftless—incapable of making a good use of freedom.

Many of the successors of those proslavery preachers, though worshipping as heroes the old abolitionists, seem unconscious of the great wrong and cruel robbery that forces poverty upon millions of their fellow men, as temperate, industrious and economical as they are themselves. One of the best of them said the other day:

"We believe that the keynote to the labor problem is largely in 'self-help,' and that while social amelioration of the wage man's condition is what we all desire, his permanent betterment does not rest upon condition, but intelligence. Until the wage man knows how to make the most of his resources, to expend wisely and economically his earnings, he will never reach a worthier manhood or feel satisfaction and happiness, no matter what may be the outward condition of his life."

Oh, my friend! I wish my imagination did not catch a glimpse of a broad phylactery and seem to overhear the pharisee praying in the temple, "Lord, I thank Thee that I am not as other men." Though there may be nothing really bad or untrue in the above quotation I could have cried when I read it, so plainly did it show what books, now stirring deeply a nation's heart, my friend has not thought it worth his while to read with attention.

Some of these modern ministers, if they had been preaching thirty years ago would have said: "Of course slavery is ideally wrong and in the course of ages, when personal character has become sufficiently evolved, no one will consent to be an ignorant slave and no man will hold another in bondage. But character is the great thing. If the lot is good, be thankful. Keep your contrast but use it for the benefit of others. If the lot is bad, still be thankful. Do not vex others with it; bear it patiently; keep the peace; the lesson of endurance will not be lost." In these words, good as far as they go, but very insufficient, one of the "liberal" ministers settles the labor question, the social agitation.

Not a word did the proslavery preacher say about the unrighteous laws that then gave the slave into the master's power. Not a word now does the propoverty preacher say about the unjust laws that rob the millions of wage workers for the enriching of the comparatively few favored by those laws. Only a critical, unsympathetic toying with the problem of private ownership of land, which makes homes for the poor more and more difficult of attainment, and enables others to reap where they have not sown. No examination of the working of that "protection" which makes a millionaire of the manufacturer and reduces his workmen to the condition of virtual slavery. No sympathetic conception of that fellowship among workmen which causes them to combine to save their whole "class" from deeper injustice and oppression. Such complacent ignorance of the real condition of humanity! Such misunderstanding of the full meaning of the labor problem! It is no wonder that the "common people" do not hear their egoistic gospel gladly, when brotherhood, fellowship, mutual helpfulness is the gospel which makes them cheer the name of Jesus while they hiss the church. These ministers seem to think that the individual laborer is calling for personal help, that he gets up a strike on his own individual behalf.

What is all this vaunted evolution of individual character good for if its subjects become too aesthetic to consider the deep, wide-spread, involuntary and unavoidable deprivation and consequent outward degradation of the great mass of their fellow men; unable to detect very plain social and political injustice; so bound by the authority of great names that they do not take the trouble to judge for themselves what is truth, what is justice? What is the particular use of "high souls," serene and satisfied each in its own little ego, if these "high souls" will not help to remove the organized, vested, ancient wrongs whereby man oppresses man? There are many ways of crying Lord! Lord! instead of visiting the son of man when sick, hungry and in prison; of binding heavy burdens of moral obligation upon the fainting soul while not lifting a finger to remove those heavy social and

legal disabilities that render the practice of virtue extremely difficult.

Suppose you should get your churches filled with gentle-mannered, cultured, respectable, self-satisfied "saints" who care nothing for the systematic legal robbery of the poor; who congratulate themselves on the virtues their environment of good society and education has wrought, and aim to perfect their characters still farther by systematic charity and fashionable good works, generously allowing their poorer brothers and sisters glimpses of their own superfluity, and cutting aesthetic capers in the presence of the poor for the improvement of the taste and manners of the lowly—while the gulf of actual condition widens between rich and poor, an increasing proportion of humanity on poverty's side—is that your idea of the promotion of peace on earth and good will among men?

Suppose the workmen should begin to investigate as to whether high salaried ministers make the best use of their resources and "expend wisely their earnings." Suppose they should inquire whether all that the minister gets is honestly earned and righteously invested; whether all that he spends is "for Christ's sake." How coolly these servants of One who had not where to lay his head; who, by example and precept taught us not to hoard, not to take thought for the morrow—how coolly they assume that they need and deserve soft clothing, fine furniture, rich living, education and accomplishments for their children, leisure, culture, vacations, medical attendance, travel, sanitary surroundings and social recreation. As for the great mass of mankind who can have none of these things except as charity, let them strive for a nobler manhood, a sweet content with what is! Especially let them study economy.

Now let the "choir invisible" sing in the hearing of each attentive soul, Lowell's poem entitled "The Parable."

FRANCES E. RUSSELL.

At Dartford (Phoenix Mill).

One of the first acts of Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. on taking possession was to plant additional trees, to place comfortable benches in all convenient places, and to set out under the charge of a skillful gardener 5,000 rose bushes and flowering shrubs. The people of the factory will have some chance to enjoy the garden thus provided, for Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. have of their own motion introduced the eight hour system. And while paying the highest current wages, they set apart a percentage of profits, which are divided between all employees of two years' standing at the close of each year.—[STANDARD, Aug. 10.]

As thro' the heavy-clouded sky
Some rift will show the blue,
And starry gleam, and sunlight high,
Earth's faith and hope renew;
So, thro' the turmoil, sin and shame,
That cloud our spirits' view,
Some heavenly glimpse will break and flame
Immortal glory thro'.

"To others even as ye would
That they to you should prove;"
Not all a dream of future good,
That golden rule of love.

For even now, and even here,
We catch the radiant glow
That makes of earth another sphere
Than wrong and sorrow know.

Our thought o'erleaps the heaving tide,
And, under English skies—
No more a dream to taunt or chide—
We see the vision rise.

Oh, happy Dartford! scene how fair
Of brotherhood and peace!
A pledge to comfort wan despair,
And prisoned hope release.

Not there do little children moan,
Nor woman faint with dread;
Not there does age, unseemly, own
The daily strife for bread.

But labor's bright and busy day
Has tranquil evening's close;
The babbling joy of childhood's play—
Home's cheer and sweet repose.

Come, Shylock of the west! behold
This Phoenix rise to shame
The hoarded millions of thy gold,
That mock a brother's claim.

A purer flame than fables feign
The dross of self consumes;
And, risen from ashes of its pain,
Life's perfect beauty blooms.

Oh, more than ancient dreams of good,
In mystic type foretold,
The glorious day of brotherhood
That Time shall yet unfold.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, California.

Renewed Activity in Buffalo.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 4.—Despite the discomforts of a hot dusty day, several thousand people participated in the festivities of Labor Day's picnic at Germania park. The

morning's parade was large and imposing, and the day's programme was carried out without a hitch.

On the picnic grounds a close observer might have noticed two classes of busy workers. The one—those whom we find at almost every labor demonstration—the politician. And on this occasion he was particularly numerous, his work for the day seeming to consist in making himself "solid" with the workingmen. The other class were not so numerous, but what they lacked in numbers was made up in activity. They were our friends in the single tax cause, and in every corner, crook, or turn, you would meet them laboring quietly and earnestly, and apparently with effect.

At 3 p. m., E. F. Latham called to order all those within sound of his voice. Mr. Latham is an old single taxer and ex-member of Buffalo's one time anti-poverty society. Mr. Latham opened the meeting by introducing Samuel Gompers, president of the National Federation of Labor. In his speech Mr. Gompers said: "Nobody would dispute the necessity of Labor Day—or labor organizations." That "governments themselves were nothing but organizations of the masses." He denied the statement that our forefathers were more self-sacrificing, more patriotic, or in any way better men than we.

His special hobby, the eight-hour movement, was trotted out for an airing. All the political economists and all the editorial writers could not shake the workingman's belief that as the hours of labor are reduced the day's wages are increased, and employment is made more general and more permanent. Through the reduction in the hours of labor there has been a decrease in crime and pauperism. The rest of his speech was much in the same strain, but he failed to explain how we were to accomplish this eight-hour system.

Mr. A. W. Wright of Toronto, member of the executive board K. of L. was the next speaker. He said that there were many theories held by the thinking men, relative to the great labor problem. "Mr. Gompers had already ably presented one of these," he said. "There are others which demand our attention, such as the single tax, and currency reform, and many other schemes held by such men as Henry George, Dr. McMillan, Hugh Pentecost and others. The United States," he continued, "has produced many great men but there is one whose name I have never seen mentioned in Fourth of July orations." (A voice: "George Washington.") "No." (Another voice: "Lincoln.") "No. A man whom I think a little greater than Washington, or who, at all events, made a greater remark than Washington ever did. It was Judge Harrington of Vermont. When some southern slave holders went to him in the slave days to get a runaway slave, and showed him the brands on the negro and the bill of sale, Judge Harrington said, 'When you can show me the original bill of sale from God Almighty to you, then, and not until then, can you have this man.' This is applicable to many American employers. The miners of Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois are in a more miserably degraded condition than any laborers on the face of the earth—infinately worse than in England and Wales. Go to these mine owners and ask by what right they lock out their men, and they say, 'We own these mines, employ these men, and want no dictation.' What they want is a judge who will ask them for the bill of sale from God Almighty."

Mr. Wright explained the injustice of the monopolization of natural opportunities and pointed out there was but one way to destroy it; namely by taxing land values, thus compelling the use or the relinquishment of such land. Mr. Wright's speech was loudly applauded. The Buffalo K. of L. were delighted with the speech of their able brother, Mr. Wright, and will arrange for a lecture from him in the near future.

The tax reform club is doing good work in labor circles and will start a paid organizer on our streets in a few days. We hope for big results from this move and will no doubt show to THE STANDARD's readers that if we have seemed to be tardy in coming to the front, we have not actually been in the rear in actual work.

H. B. Buddenburg has resigned the chair to take the secretaryship of the club, Vice-president S. C. Rogers succeeding him.

J. K. McGuire of Syracuse will address the club on Saturday evening next on the tariff. H. B. B., Sec'y Tax Reform Club.

They Have Hung Out a Transparency.

The Albany single tax club on Saturday evening last swung out an illuminated transparency before their club rooms. It reaches the full width of the building and bears in large, artistic letters the legend, "The single tax club," and in smaller letters the mottoes, "Wages to labor," "Interest to capital," "Ground rent to the public treasury."

The Albany club is enjoying the utmost prosperity.

Dorchester Single Tax League.

THE Dorchester, Mass., single tax league was organized Sept. 4 at Field's block, Field's corner, by fifteen residents of that part of Ward 24. Edward Frost was chosen president and J. C. Lavis secretary. The league meets every Wednesday evening.

NOTES HERE AND THERE.

It is reported from Washington that the commission appointed to negotiate with the Cherokees for the sale of certain of their lands have met with a decided snub at the hands of Chief Mayes. The New York Sun's correspondent thinks that perhaps the Cherokee chief has only sought to increase the price that might be offered, by a show of reluctance to part with the land, thus endeavoring to create the impression that the chief is governed by a desire to make money. But Chief Mayes makes his intentions plain in a letter to William Wolf, a member of the Manhattan single tax club. It is in answer to a question addressed by Mr. Wolf, regarding the action of the Sioux Indians, who have sold their tribal lands to the United States government; in which letter Mr. Wolf expressed the opinion that all would be benefited by incorporating the single tax in the law of the land. Here is the chief's answer:

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
CHEROKEE NATION, IND. TER.,
TAHLEQUAH, August 23, 1889.

William Wolf, 423 E. Ninth st., New York.
DEAR SIR: Yours of the 14th inst., received. I feel proud to know that there are other sensible people in this world who think, like the Indian, that the land should remain common property. The Cherokees will remain as they are—a free people with a home for its citizens; no paupers. I have read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." I am a great admirer of Henry George.

Very respectfully,
J. B. MAYES, Chief Cherokees.

South Dakota now has an out-and-out single tax paper. The Dakota Signal made its first appearance on Saturday September 7. It is printed at Deadwood, and Frank Greene is its editor. In an article entitled "Our Politics" it thus announces its position:

Believing that democracy means freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of trade, and that the rank and file of the democratic party, by a large majority, are something more than mere tariff reformers, the Signal will urge upon democrats the necessity of ridding the party of these disguised republicans calling themselves tariff reformers, and insist that the party go before the people in the next campaign on an absolute free trade platform. Upon questions of finance the Signal favors a monetary system such as is suggested by the Knights of Labor. But above all this, and all these, the Signal will first, last, and all the time, advocate the adoption of what is known as the Henry George system of taxation, and at all times stand ready to identify itself, and affiliate with whichever political party promises to go the farthest in that direction.

The bulk of its space is taken up with a lecture, "The Labor Problem of To-day," delivered by the editor at Lead City, S. D., on Labor day, September 2. The Signal is a welcome addition to the single tax forces.

The United machinists' union of New York city have sent out a circular letter asking the machinists of the United States to consider the advisability of calling a convention of the representatives of machinists with a view of organizing a national union of their trade. Communications can be addressed to F. Keller, 515 West Fifty-third street, New York city.

A correspondent calls the attention of the New York World to the fact that the labor strikes in "free trade" England are for an advance in wages (and are generally successful), while those in the "protected" United States are against a reduction (and are generally a failure).

The New York city committee of the socialistic labor party has issued a circular to trades and labor organizations inviting them to send delegates to a convention that is to be held at 25 East Fourth street in the latter part of September or early in October for the purpose of taking political action. They want to organize a socialistic workingmen's party that will hold the balance of power. At this convention the demands that were made by the last workingmen's international congress in Paris will be discussed. These are the eight-hour system, the prohibition of employment of children under fourteen in factories, the prohibition of night labor, except when the work requires uninterrupted attention, the prohibition of the employment of females in work injurious to their health, the prohibition of female labor by night, the prohibition of industries that are injurious to the health of workmen, the abolition of the store order system instead of the payment of wages in cash, and the extension of the state factory inspection system. They desire that at least one-half of the number of the factory inspectors should be elected by the workingmen. They also demand at least thirty-six consecutive hours' rest in the week.

A philosophical tenant in Lowell, upon the threat of his landlord to "raise his rent" if he did not move, replied blandly: "Thank you, sir; I have been trying to raise it myself for the past three months without success. Now you try."

"The Vanderbilts are rapidly covering Bar Harbor with dollars," says the Boston Globe, "and the land speculators' net is making a wide swoop over all localities that promise to become popular." "In the right to this seize and hold the earth from God's children,"

said grand old Wendell Phillips, "an Astor or Vanderbilt wields a power more potent than the miter of a pope, and more despotic than the scepter of a Cæsar."

From a return which the New Zealand minister for lands has had prepared, showing the number of leases in existence up to the first of the present month, it appears that in the western division there are four hundred and twenty-six homestead leases occupying 4,095,556 acres, and paying a rental of £28,621 17s. 3d. per annum to the government.

Australia is progressing with rapid strides along the road which leads to civilization and the poor house. Even in the little island of Tasmania they have just provided their "annual treat to the poor," which consists of a free tea. A correspondent on the spot says that "long before the time of opening the doors a large crowd of men, women and children had assembled outside the building eager to gain admittance, but were kept back by a strong posse of police who had been told off for the purpose. Fully five hundred persons had assembled, although every precaution had been taken, it is affirmed, to prevent imposition. Truly this is a pleasant item for those who advocate the emigration of the London poor to Australia, and must be comforting to the political rulers who are bringing about a state of things which must at no distant future rival outcast London.

We are sorry to learn, says the London Echo, that the duke of Leeds has not quite enough land, although he owns 3,000 acres in Bucks, 6,000 in Cheshire, 6,000 in Cornwall, and over 13,000 in Yorkshire. Accordingly, he and sixteen persons who have common rights have combined to inclose Lindrick common, which consists of 230 acres of land beautifully situated in South Yorkshire. The audacious people of Sheffield and Rotherham, who use the common as a recreation ground, have dared to object, but the common act passed by Lord Cross guarded the rights of landlords too carefully to make the prospect of successful opposition very hopeful.

The Guildford magistrates recently had before them a Scotchman named James Thompson on a charge of begging. The prisoner, who was a cripple, said he was obliged to sing in the streets for his livelihood. He came from Falkirk. The ex-mayor said: It's a great pity you did not stop there. Prisoner: That's what they always say to us, but if the English would stop in their own country we would stop in ours. He probably meant that if English lords and aristocrats could be stopped from grabbing Scotch farms and turning them into deer runs, there would be fewer Scots who would go begging in England. The man was sentenced to seven days' hard labor.

A walnut case, beautifully finished and furnished with strap and key, came to the London Star office the other day. Had some tony enemy sent this? Was it full of deadly explosives to blow up the hated Star men? Questions like these were suggested ere they proceeded to open the box. At last one bold man did open it. Lying on the top were what appeared to be bundles of rags; this rather strengthened the dynamite theory; hidden beneath them was perhaps enough powder to send the whole of the Star building into smithereens. On removing the rags a pair of scissors and a glittering lancet were disclosed—then they thought of Jack the Ripper. A few envelopes next appeared, labelled sticking plaster, oilskin, and so forth, and then a guide to medical treatment. Beneath these surgical appliances were twenty phials full of tonics, aids to digestion, cures for rheumatism, and every other ailment that Star men might suffer from. An immediate raid was made upon the peptones by the dyspeptic members of the staff, while the rheumatic man went for the soda seltzer. Meanwhile, who was it that had been so mindful of the health of the Star men? A search was made for some name or names on the box to give a clue, so that they might be able to raise a monument if need be the benefactor. At last they discovered the name of Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome & Co., the well-known pharmaceutical manufacturers. These gentlemen evidently wish the Star long life, and the Star in return wished them the same.

A story is told about a nobleman who could hardly be called "a good landlord." He was the owner of many broad acres in Wiltshire and one of the most valuable estates at the west end of London. An old tenant said to him toward the expiration of his term: "Beg pardon, my lord, but me and the missus has saved a matter of £800 or so, and if you won't think it no offense, we want to ask if you'd any thought o' selling the farm?" "Dumme!" exclaimed his lordship, bursting with rage. "You've made £800 out of my land, have you? and now you want to buy me out! I'll tell you what I'll do for you—I'll put your rent up £100 a year, and then you won't have any more trouble with your blank savings!" And he did it, too.

A writer in the Echo who signs himself Luke Ellis describes a region which he calls "pheasantdom." He says: "We approach the estate of a large and wealthy land owner, whose favorite recreation is the rearing and shooting of thousands of pheasants. There are many such, but seldom have I seen, on or

about such estates, a prosperous and contented peasantry. There is so much temptation, espionage, and suspicion, and the birds are so apt to stray, and so are the hares and rabbits, that it is a source of perpetual soreness and exasperation. Every cornfield bears evidence of the ravages of the game, and hundreds of acres are left entirely uncultivated to afford cover. The wilderness is certainly picturesque and a walk through the maze of wild flowers would be enjoyable were it not that Velvetens objects on the score of disturbing the game! A respectably dressed, elderly man approaches, pausing now and then to admire the wayside flowers. Of similar tastes, I venture to speak to him. "A pretty country this, sir." "Oh, yes, pretty enough," is the reply. "Plenty of game here?" "Oh, yes, and plenty of good land wasted; this part of God's earth, I mean England, isn't big enough to play with." "Play with!" we remark. "Yes, sir, play with; there's hundreds of acres of land here made a playground for pheasants, hares, and rabbits, till Squire Fitzhitham chooses to shoot 'em. Why, a score workmen and their families might live and thrive here at a reasonable rent." "But may not a man do as he likes with his own?" we ask. "Certainly not, no more than I may with this stick." There was a merry twinkle in the man's eye as he continued, "You see, sir, all this is very pretty, but you go through the gap there, and pick a bunch of wild flowers, and you'll have the mortification of being fined and the dissatisfaction of seeing your name in the weekly paper. Good day, sir."

In the latest health report from Calcutta Dr. O'Brien tells a strange story of sixty wagon loads of foul refuse daily scattered over the marshes, just without the city. The suburban statistics show that this system has increased the mortality in the suburbs some twenty per cent. How long ere the inevitable plague breaks out!

SINGLE TAX MEN.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom those wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Akron, O.—Jas R. Angier, 199 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, cor. sec. Single Tax club, 178 Madison avenue. James J. Mahoney, sec. sec, 25 Myrtle avenue; J. C. Roshert, 22 Third avenue.
Alhambra, Cal.—Mrs. Josephine Spahr.
Altoona, Pa.—C. L. Ishler, pres; D. L. Munro, recording secretary, single tax club.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W. Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anton Chico, N. M.—Lewis T. Graustam.
Ashabula, Ohio.—A. D. Strong.
Athens, Ga.—Arthur L. Pierce.
Atlanta, Ga.—John O. Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H. G. Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H. W. Benedict, secretary, single tax club, College hall.
Augusta, Ga.—L. A. Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sabin.
Ballston Spa, N. Y.—Richard Feeney, 63 Milton avenue.
Baltimore, Md.—John W. Jones, 125 N. Bond street; John S. Salmon, 45 E. Eutaw street; Dr. Wm N. Hill, 1438 E. Baltimore street.
Bath-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Matthew C. Kirsch.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M. Molina.
Black Diamond, Cal.—Jeff A. Bailey.
Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J. C. De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Dak.—W. E. Brokaw.
Birmingham, N. Y.—E. W. Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M. White, 215 Main street; Charles Eaton, 45 N. R. Roche, 29 Converse avenue; Malden; Humlin Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain; John Davis, 13 Leonard st.; Harrison square.
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Single tax club, 56 Livingston st.
Buffalo, N. Y.—H. B. Buddenbough, sec. Tax reform club, 324 Clinton st.; C. C. Whittemore, 383 Washington street; reception committee, S. C. Rogers, 196 Vermont street; Robert White, 690 Main street; T. M. Crowe, H. D. 777 Elk street.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A. Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canisteo, N. Y.—H. W. Johnson, P. O. box 265.
Canon City, Col.—Frank P. Blake, M. D.
Canton, O.—S. J. Harriott, M. D., president single tax club.
Cape May City, N. J.—Wm Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W. Smith, M. D., office opposite Union house.
Charlestown, Mass.—Emily F. Turner, 272 Banker Hill street, secretary of the Women's timely topics society.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T. W. Whittier, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee ave.; Warren North, Bailey, pres. S. T. club, 125 5th av.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr. David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Joseph's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, Oriz building, 8 E. Fourth and Sycamore.
Clinton, Ala.—O. M. Mastin or Alex G. Duke.
Cleveland, O.—C. W. Whitman, 4 E. Euclid avenue; Frank L. Carter, 132 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—L. O. Bishop, editor Argus.
Coloos N. Y.—J. S. Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F. Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyman, 343 1-2 South High street.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas P. Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A. Main, 34 Smith street.
Darien, Conn.—W. H. Kille, 33 E. Fifth street; J. G. Galloway, 235 Samuel street.
Denver, Col.—Andrew W. Elder.
Des Moines, Iowa.—L. J. Kisson, president Single tax club; John W. King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—J. K. Fincham, 45 Waterloo street; J. P. Duncan, 79-Third street, secretary Tax reform association; B. G. Howe, 654 14th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J. V. Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—A. Cross.
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Francis Lake.
East Orange, Mass.—J. F. Harrington, St. John's Literary Institute.
East Orange, N. J.—Edw C. Alphonse, 333 Main st.
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J. K. Rudyard.
East Rindge, N. H.—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N. J.—John H. Fisher.
Elmira, N. Y.—William Herman, 112 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W. B. Stearns.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G. Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—K. D. Terry.
Farmington, Iowa.—F. W. Rockwell.
Flushing, L. I.—Dan C. Beard.
Foxcroft, Me.—E. Ruby.
Gardner, Ill.—T. S. Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.
Glenview, Mont.—A. H. Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H. Quinn.
Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C. Wood, M. D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L. Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J. J. McCullum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H. Fisher.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur F. Brock.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J. M. Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornbeville, N. Y.—George H. Van Winkle.
Holtton, Kan.—J. A. Avery.
Hot Springs, Ark.—Wm H. Hart Chapman.
Hosick Falls, N. Y.—F. S. Hammond.

Houston, Tex.—H. F. Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas.—J. G. Malmgren, M. D.
Ilion, N. Y.—George Smith, P. O. box 132.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L. P. Custer, president Single tax league Postal Tel. Co. 115 Meridian st.; Chas H. Krause, bookkeeper, V. A. negus's hardware store, E. Wash st.; Janvier, N. J.—B. H. Walsh.
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Standard Single tax club, 267 Grove street.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E. Reid, 2124 Highland avenue.
Kenosha, Wis.—W. D. Quigley.
Kellishburgh, Ill.—M. McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M. Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McMann, 21 E. Eleventh st.
Lonsdale, R. I.—Dr. L. F. Garvin.
Lowiston, Me.—F. D. Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Edwin.
Little Rock, Ark.—Sol T. Clark.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W. H. Doore, 30 North Alameda street; W. A. Cole, 149 South Hill; or A. Vinetta, P. O. Station F.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kilder street.
Lyle, Minn.—C. F. Wenham.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williams, cor. Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P. Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—The Lake S. T. club, E. H. Evenson.
Mahanoy City, Pa.—J. N. Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Malden Mass.—George W. Cox, Greenwood street.
Manchester, Mich.—Albert Wainey, or W. R. Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W. J. Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo A. E. Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C. H. Baldwin.
Mart, Tex.—L. Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S. F. Halston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Mauch Chunk, Pa.—E. H. Binkley, 9 West Broadway.
Mauritius, Indian Ocean.—Robert A. Rohan, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R. G. Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street; Bolton Smith, 235 Alabama street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G. Hopkins, P. O. box 584.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H. Fuller, P. O. box 115.
Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
Minneapolis, Minn.—C. J. Buell, president Single tax league, 402 W. Franklin avenue; E. L. Hyder, secretary.
Monte, Ala.—E. Q. Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A. O. Pitcher, M. D.
Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J. H. Luthig.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Cannm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—Mrs Wm Man, 212 N. High street.
Newport, Mass.—Q. A. Luthig, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Theodore J. Werner, S. T. club, Chester row, Halsey street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D. J. McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R. Whitmore, secretary Merrimack assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D. Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 16 Day street.
New Orleans, La.—John B. Watters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L. Schirmer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C. James, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit. Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
New York—Manhattan single tax club, 36 Clinton place. Open every evening.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K. Robertson, secretary Alpha club, 1 E. Church street.
North Adams, Mass.—Willard M. Browne, 13 Marshall street; B. S. Myers, P. O. box 357.
North Springfield, Mo.—K. P. Alexander, 1826 North Booneville street.
Norwalk, Conn.—James H. Haddock, lock box 52.
Oberlin, O.—Edw H. Haskell.
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres. Single tax association. Timothy Horan, sec. 35 Railroad street.
Olymnia, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Farquhar, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E. Embien, 522 Virginia avenue; Percy Poppen, pres. single tax club, 1012 S. 5th street; O. Y. Beckwith, sec., 11 W. 27th and Bond streets.
Ordway, Dak.—R. H. Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 W. 85th street.
Owego, N. Y.—M. J. Murray, 181 Main st.
Passaic, N. J.—J. J. Barnard, 181 Washington place.
Paterson, N. J.—E. W. Neill, chairman Passaic county Single tax club; Campaign committee, 59 North Main street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W. I. Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawluicket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peabody, Ore.—C. S. Jackson.
Peoria, Ill.—J. W. Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J. Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles B. Hood, P. O. box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F. Roberts, 17 34th street.
Portland, Ore.—S. B. Higgs, 48 Stark street; H. H. Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C. Albrow.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Gray, 32 Sutton street; Dr. Wm Barker, pres. Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C. V. Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W. H. Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S. Frizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corbitt, 15 N. 6th street.
Reynolds's Bridge, Conn.—John Carreer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—M. Ritchie, 913 South A street; J. E. Huff, 136 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D. C. Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H. Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Averil, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Fred Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—H. H. Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Diego, Cal.—A. H. Bay, 139 10th street; George H. Whaley.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G. Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M. Milne.
Seattle, Wash. Ter.—Alexander Wall.
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H. Alderson, P. O. box 54.
Sharon, Conn.—A. J. Bostwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S. H. Howes.
South Gaston, N. C.—W. L. M. Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C. L. Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sweeney, sec. retary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J. W. Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H. McGee, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 624 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H. A. W. Juneman, 665 Nichols street.
Springfield, Mass.—John E. Hart, 13 W. 1st block.
St. Louis, Mo.—H. Hoffman, 119 N. 6th street, president Single tax league; J. W. Steere, 2213 Lugenia street, secretary.
Stockton, Cal.—D. A. Learned.
Syracuse, N. Y.—George W. Symington Brown.
Syracuse, N. Y.—H. H. Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F. A. Paul, Walton street; or James K. McGuire, secretary State tax club, 59 Greene street.
Seaboard, Wash. Ter.—P. C. Morrow.
Tacoma, Wash. Ter.—P. C. Morrow, 138 K st.
Tampa, Fla.—S. M. Loomer, pres. sec.; John H. McCurt, 141 W. Wendell, vice-pres.; John H. McCurt, sec. retary.
Tecumseh, Mich.—William Gaston.
Toledo, O.—J. P. Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Toronto, Ont.—T. Wood, 54 Lower Venable st.
Trenton, N. J.—H. R. Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B. B. Barth.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O. Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAdulf.
Utica, N. Y.—Thos Sweeney, 15 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M. Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B. C.—W. L. Sinton, E. and N. R. Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W. Williams, rooms 2 and 3, Overlook block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakefield, R. I.—David Harrower.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, L. W. secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M. Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A. B. Standard.
Wheeling, W. Va.—John L. Frank, 237 E. 1st street.
Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Harnwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C. P. Bohn, cigar store; Thos Douglass, president Single tax league.
Woodstock, Ill.—A. W. Cumins.
Worcester, Mass.—E. K. Page, Lake View.
Wyoming, Pa.—Wm Hancock.
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Bathland.
Youngstown, O.—Bily Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio.—W. H. Loughness, 27 Van Huron street, O. A. Young, pres. single tax club.

THE DEVIL'S ROUND.⁽¹⁾

A Tale of Flemish Golf.

Isabel Bruce in Longman's Magazine.

Once upon a time there lived at the hamlet of Coq, near Coudes-sur-l'Escaut, a wheelwright, called Roger. He was a good fellow, untiring both at his sport and at his toil, and as skilful in lofting a ball with a stroke of his club as in putting together a cart wheel. Every one knows that the game of golf consists in driving toward a given point a ball of cherrywood with a club which has for its head a sort of little iron shoe without a heel.

For my part, I do not know a more amusing game; and when the country is almost cleared of the harvest, men, women, children, everybody, drives his ball as you please, and there is nothing cheerier than to see them filling on a Sunday like a flight of starlings across potato fields and plowed lands.

II.

Well, one Tuesday, it was a Shrove Tuesday, the wheelwright of Coq laid aside his plane, and was slipping on his blouse to go and drink his can of beer at Conde, when two strangers came in, club in hand.

"Would you put a new shaft to my club, master?" said one of them.

"What are you asking me, friends? A day like this! I wouldn't give the smallest stroke of the chisel for a brick of gold. Besides, does any one play golf on Shrove Tuesday? You had much better go and see the mummers tumbling in the high street of Conde."

"We take no interest in the tumbling of mummers," replied the stranger. "We have challenged each other at golf, and we want to play it out. Come, you won't refuse to help us, you who are said to be one of the finest players in the country?"

"If it is a match, that is different," said Roger.

He turned up his sleeves, hooked on his apron, and in the twinkling of an eye had adjusted the shaft.

"How much do I owe you?" asked the unknown, drawing out his purse.

"Nothing at all, faith. It is not worth while."

The stranger insisted, but in vain.

II.

"You are too honest, I' faith," said he to the wheelwright, "for me to be in your debt. I will grant you the fulfillment of three wishes."

"Don't forget to wish what is best," added his companion.

At these words the wheelwright smiled incredulously.

"Are you not a couple of the loafers of Capelette?" he asked, with a wink.

The idlers of the crossways of Capelette were considered the wildest wags in Conde.

"Whom do you take us for?" replied the unknown in a tone of severity, and with his club he touched an axle, made

(1) The following story, translated by Miss Isabel Bruce from "Le Grand Choleur" of M. Charles Deulin ("Contes du Roi Gambrinus"), gives a great deal of information about French and Flemish golf. As any reader will see, this ancient game represents a stage of evolution between golf and hockey. The object is to strike a ball, in as few strokes as possible, to a given point; but, after three strokes, the opponent is allowed to dechole, or make one stroke back, or into a hazard. Here the element of hockey comes in. Get rid of this element, let each man hit his own ball, and in place of striking to a point—say, the cemetery gate—let men "putt" into holes, and the Flemish game becomes golf. It is of great antiquity. Ducange, in his "Lexicon of Low Latin," gives Choullia, French choule—*Globulus ligneus qui clava propellit*—a wooden ball struck with a club. The head of the club was of iron (cf. crossare). This is borne out by a miniature in a missal of 1504, which represents peasants playing choule with clubs very like niblicks. Ducange quotes various manuscript references of 1353, 1357, and other dates older by a century than our earliest Scotch references to golf. At present the game is played in Belgium with a strangely shaped lofting iron and a ball of beechwood. M. Zola ("Germinal," p. 310) represents his miners playing chole, or choulle, and says that they hit drives of more than five hundred yards. Experiments made at Wimbledon with a Belgian club sent over by M. Charles Michel suggest that M. Zola has overestimated the distance. But M. Zola and M. Deulin agree in making the players run after the ball. M. Henri Gaidoz adds that a similar game, called soule, is played in the various departments of France. He refers to Laisnel de la Salle. The name chole may be connected with German Kolbe, and golf may be the form which this word would assume in a Celtic language. All this makes golf very old; but the question arises, Are the "holes" to which golfers play of Scotch or of Dutch origin? There are several old Flemish pictures of golf; do any of them show players in the act of "holing out"? There is said to be such a picture at Neuchâtel. A. LANG.

of iron, which instantly turned into one of pure silver.

"Who are you, then," cried Roger, "that your word is as good as ready money?"

"I am St. Peter and my companion is St. Antony, the patron of golfers."

"Take the trouble to walk in, gentlemen," said the wheelwright of Coq; and he ushered the two saints into the back parlor. He offered them chairs, and went to draw a jug of beer in the cellar. They clinked their glasses together, and after each had lit his pipe:

"Since you are so good, sir saints," said Roger, "as to grant me the accomplishment of three wishes, know that for long while I have desired three things. I wish, first of all, that whoever seats himself upon the elm trunk at my door may not be able to rise without my permission. I like company, and it bores me to be always alone."

St. Peter shook his head and St. Antony nudged his client.

IV.

"When I play a game of cards, on Sunday evening, at the Fighting Cock," continued the wheelwright, "it is no sooner nine o'clock than the garde champêtre comes to chuck us out. I desire that whoever shall have his feet on my leathern apron cannot be driven from the place where I shall have spread it."

St. Peter shook his head and St. Antony, with a solemn air, repeated:

"Don't forget what is best."

"What is best," repeated the wheelwright of Coq, nobly, "is to be the first golfer in the world. Every time I find my master at golf it turns my blood as black as the inside of the chimney. So I want a club that will carry the ball as high as the belfry of Conde, and will infallibly win me my match."

"So be it," said St. Peter.

"You would have done better," said St. Antony, "to have asked for your eternal salvation."

"Bah!" replied the other, "I have plenty of time to think of that; I am not yet greasing my boots for the long journey."

The two saints went out and Roger followed them, curious to be present at such a rare game, but suddenly, near the chapel of St. Antony, they disappeared.

The wheelwright then went to see the mummers tumbling in the high street of Conde.

When he returned, toward midnight, he found at the corner of his door the desired club. To his great surprise it was only a bad little iron head attached to a wretched, worn out shaft. Nevertheless he took the gift of St. Peter and put it carefully away.

V.

Next morning the Condeens scattered in crowds over the country, to play golf, eat red herrings and drink beer, so as to scatter the fumes of wine from their heads and to revive after the fatigues of the carnival. The wheelwright of Coq came, too, with his miserable club, and made such fine strokes that all the players left their games to see him play. The following Sunday he proved to be still more expert; little by little his fame spread through the land. From ten leagues round the most skilful players hastened to come and be beaten, and it was then that he was named the Great Golfer.

He passed the whole Sunday in golfing, and in the evening he rested himself by playing a game of matrimony at the Fighting Cock. He spread his apron under the feet of the players and the devil himself could not have put them out of the tavern, much less the rural policeman. On Monday morning he stopped the pilgrims who were going to worship at Notre Dame de Bon Secours; he induced them to rest themselves on his causeuse, and did not let them go before he had confessed them well.

In short, he led the most agreeable life that a good Fleming can imagine, and only regretted one thing—namely, that he had not wished that it might last forever.

VI.

Well, it happened one day that the strongest player of Mons, who was called Paternostre, was found dead on the edge of a bunker. His head was broken and near him was his niblick, red with blood.

They could not tell who had done his business, and as Paternostre often said that at golf he feared neither man nor devil, it occurred to them that he had challenged Mynheer van Belzebuth, and that as a punishment for this he had knocked him on the head. Mynheer van

Belzebuth is, as every one knows, the greatest gamester that there is upon or under the earth, but the game he particularly affects is golf. When he goes his round in Flanders, one always meets him club in hand, like a true Fleming.

The wheelwright of Coq was very fond of Paternostre, who next to himself, was the best golfer in the country. He went to his funeral with some golfers from the hamlets of Coq, La Cigogne, and La Queue de l'Ayache.

On returning from the cemetery they went to the tavern to drink, as they say, to the memory of the dead, and there they lost themselves in talk about the noble game of golf. When they separated in the dusk of the evening:

"A good journey to you," said the Belgian players, "and may St. Antony, the patron of golfers, preserve you from meeting the devil on the way!"

"What do I care for the devil?" replied Roger. "If he challenged me I should soon beat him!"

The companions trotted from tavern to tavern without misadventure, but the wolf bell had long tolled for retiring in the belfry of Conde when they returned each one to his own den.

VII.

As he was putting the key into the lock the wheelwright thought he heard a shout of mocking laughter. He turned and saw in the darkness a man six feet high, who again burst out laughing.

"What are you laughing at?" said he, crossly.

"At what? Why at the aplomb with which you boasted a little while ago that you would dare measure yourself against the devil."

"Why not, if he challenged me?"

"Very well, my master, bring your clubs. I challenge you!" said Mynheer van Belzebuth, for it was himself. Roger recognized him by a certain odor of sulphur that always hangs about his majesty.

"What shall the stake be?" he asked resolutely.

"Your soul!"

"Against what?"

"Whatever you please."

The wheelwright reflected.

"What have you there in your sack?"

"My spoils of the week."

"Is the soul of Paternostre among them?"

"To be sure! and those of five other golfers—dead, like him, without confession."

"I play you my soul against that of Paternostre."

"Done!"

VIII.

The two adversaries repaired to the adjoining field and chose for their goal the door of the cemetery of Conde. Belzebuth teed a ball on a frozen heap, after which he said, according custom:

"From here, as you lie, in how many turns of three strokes will you run in?"

"In two," replied the Great Golfer.

And his adversary was not a little surprised, for from there to the cemetery was nearly a quarter of a league.

"But how shall we see the ball?" continued the wheelwright.

"True," said Belzebuth.

He touched the ball with his club, and it shone suddenly in the dark like an immense glowworm.

"Fore!" cried Roger.

He hit the ball with the head of his club, and it rose to the sky like a star going to rejoin its sisters. In three strokes it crossed three-quarters of the distance.

"That is good!" said Belzebuth, whose astonishment redoubled. "My turn to play now!"

With one stroke of the club he drove the ball over the roofs of Coq nearly to Maison Blanche, half a league away. The blow was so violent that the iron struck fire against a pebble.

"Good St. Antony, I am lost unless you come to my aid," murmured the wheelwright of Coq.

He struck tremblingly, but though his arm was uncertain the club seemed to have acquired a new vigor. At the second stroke the ball went as if of itself and hit the door of the cemetery.

"By the horns of my grandfather!" cried Belzebuth, "it shall not be said that I have been beaten by a son of that fool Adam. Give me my revenge."

"What shall we play for?"

"Your soul and that of Paternostre against the souls of two golfers."

IX.

The devil played up, "pressing" furious-

ly; his club blazed at each stroke with showers of sparks. The ball flew from Conde to Bon Secours, to Pernwelz, to Leuze. Once it spun away to Tournai, six leagues from there.

It left behind a luminous trail like a comet, and the two golfers followed, so to speak, on its track. Roger was never able to understand how he ran, or rather flew, so fast, and without fatigue.

In short he did not lose a single game, and won the souls of the six defunct golfers. Belzebuth rolled his eyes like an angry tomat.

"Shall we go on?" said the wheelwright of Coq.

"No," replied the other; "they expect me at the Witches' Sabbath on the hill of Copiemont."

"That brigand," said he aside, "is capable of filching all my game."

And he vanished.

Returned home, the Great Golfer shut up his souls in a sack and went to bed, enchanted to have beaten Mynheer van Belzebuth.

X.

Two years after the wheelwright of Coq received a visit which he little expected. An old man, tall, thin and yellow, came into the workshop carrying a scythe on his shoulder.

"Are you bringing me your scythe to haft anew, master?"

"No, faith, my scythe is never unhafted."

"Then how can I serve you?"

"By following me—your hour is come."

"The devil!" said the great golfer, "could you not wait a little till I have finished this wheel?"

"Be it so. I have done hard work to-day and I have well earned a smoke."

"In that case, master, sit down there on the causeuse. I have at your service some famous tobacco at seven petards the pound."

"That's good, faith; make haste."

And Death lit his pipe and seated himself at the door on the elm trunk.

Laughing in his sleeve, the wheelwright of Coq returned to his work. At the end of a quarter of an hour Death called to him:

"Ho! faith, will you soon have finished?"

The wheelwright turned a deaf ear and went on planing, singing:

"Attendez-moi sur l'orme;
Vous m'attendrez longtemps."

"I don't think he hears me," said Death.

"Ho! friend, are you ready?"

"Va-t-en voir s'ils viennent, Jean,
Va-t-en voir s'ils viennent,"

replied the singer.

"Would the brute laugh at me?" said Death to himself.

And he tried to rise.

To his great surprise he could not detach himself from the causeuse. He then understood that he was the sport of a superior power.

"Let us see," he said to Roger. "What will you take to let me go? Do you wish me to prolong your life ten years?"

"J'ai de bon tabac dans ma tabatiere,"

sang the great golfer.

"Will you take twenty years?"

"Il pleut, il pleut, bergere;
Rentre tes blancs moutons."

"Will you take fifty, wheelwright?—may the devil admire you?"

The wheelwright of Coq intoned:

"Bon voyage, cher Dumollet,
A Saint-Malo débarquez sans naufrage."

In the meanwhile the clock of Conde had just struck four, and the boys were coming out of school. The sight of this great dry heron of a creature who struggled on the causeuse, like a devil in a holy water pot, surprised and soon delighted them.

Never suspecting that, when seated at the door of the old, Death watches the young, they thought it funny to out their tongues at him, singing in chorus:

"Bon voyage, cher Dumollet,
A Saint-Malo débarquez sans naufrage."

"Will you take a hundred years?" yelled Death.

"Hein? How? What? Were you not speaking of an extension of a hundred years? I accept with all my heart, master; but let us understand, I am not such a fool as to ask for the lengthening of my old age."

"Then what do you want?"

"From old age I only ask the experience which it gives by degrees. 'Si jeunesse savait, si vieillesse pouvait' says the proverb. I wish to preserve for a hundred years the strength of a young man, and to acquire the knowledge of an old one."

"So be it," said Death; "I shall return this day a hundred years."

"Bon voyage, cher Dumollet,
A Saint-Malo débarquez sans naufrage."

XL

The Great Golfer began a new life. At first he enjoyed perfect happiness, which was increased by the certainty of its not ending for a hundred years. Thanks to his experience, he so well understood the management of his affairs that he could leave his mallet and shut up shop.

He experienced, nevertheless, an annoyance he had not foreseen. His wonderful skill at golf ended by frightening the players whom he had at first delighted, and was the cause of his never finding any one who would play against him.

He, therefore, quitted the canton and set out on his travels over French Flanders, Belgium, and all the greens where the noble game of golf is held in honor. At the end of twenty years he returned to Coq to be admired by a new generation of golfers, after which he departed to return twenty years later.

Alas! in spite of its apparent charm, this existence before long became a burden to him. Besides that, it bored him to win on every occasion; he was tired of passing like the Wandering Jew through generations, and of seeing the sons, grandsons, and great grandsons of his friends grow old and die out. He was constantly reduced to making new friendships which were undone by the age or death of his fellows; all changed around him—he only did not change.

He grew impatient of this eternal youthfulness which condemned him to taste the same pleasures forever, and he sometimes longed to know the calmer joys of old age. One day he caught himself at his looking glass examining whether his hair had not begun to grow white; nothing seemed so beautiful to him now as the snow on the forehead of the old.

XII.

In addition to this, experience soon made him so wise that he was no longer amused at anything. If sometimes in the tavern he had a fancy for making use of his apron to pass the night at cards: "What is the good of this excess?" whispered experience; "it is not sufficient to be unable to shorten one's days, one must also avoid making one's self ill."

He reached the point of refusing himself the pleasure of drinking his pint and smoking his pipe. Why, indeed, plunge into dissipations which enervate the body and dull the brain?

The wretch went further and gave up golf! Experience convinced him that the game is a dangerous one, which overheats one, and is eminently adapted to produce colds, catarrhs, rheumatism and inflammation of the lungs.

Besides, what is the use, and what great glory is it to be reputed the first golfer in the world?

Of what use is glory itself? A vain hope, vain as the smoke of a pipe. When experience had thus bereft him one by one of his delusions, the unhappy golfer became mortally weary. He saw that he had deceived himself, that delusion has its price, and that the greatest charm of youth is perhaps its inexperience.

He thus arrived at the term agreed on in the contract, and as he had not had a paradise here below, he sought through his hardly acquired wisdom a clever way of conquering one above.

XIII.

Death found him at Coq at work in his shop. Experience had at least taught him that work is the most lasting of pleasures.

"Are you ready?" said Death.

"I am."

He took his club, put a score of balls in his pocket, threw his sack over his shoulder, and buckled his gaiters without taking off his apron.

"What do you want your club for?"

"Why, to golf in paradise with my patron, St. Antony."

"Do you fancy, then, that I am going to conduct you to paradise?"

"You must, as I have half a dozen souls to carry there, that I once saved from the clutches of Belzebuth."

"Better have saved your own. En route, cher Dumollet!"

The great Golfer saw that the old reaper bore him a grudge, and that he was going to conduct him to the paradise of the lost.

Indeed, a quarter of an hour later the two travelers knocked at the gate of hell.

"Toc, toc!"

"Who is there?"

"The wheelwright of Coq," said the great golfer.

"Don't open the door," cried Belzebuth;

"that rascal wins at every turn; he is capable of depopulating my empire."

Roger laughed in his sleeve.

"Oh! you are not saved," said Death. "I am going to take you where you won't be cold, either."

Quicker than a beggar would have emptied a poor's box they were in purgatory.

"Toc—toc!"

"Who is there?"

"The wheelwright of Coq," said the great golfer.

"But he is in a state of mortal sin," cried the angel on duty. "Take him away from here—he can't come in."

"I cannot, all the same, let him linger between heaven and earth," said Death; "I shall shunt him back to Coq."

"Where they will take me for a ghost. Thank you! is there not still Paradise?"

XIV.

They were there at the end of a short hour.

"Toc, toc!"

"Who is there?"

"The wheelwright of Coq," said the great golfer.

"Ah! my lad," said St. Peter, half opening the door, "I am really grieved. St. Antony told you long ago you had better ask for the salvation of your soul."

"That is true, St. Peter," replied Roger, with a sheepish air. "And how is he, that blessed St. Antony? Could I not come in for one moment to return the visit he once paid me?"

"Why, here he comes," said St. Peter, throwing the door wide open.

In the twinkling of an eye the sly golfer had flung himself into Paradise, unhooked his apron, let it fall to the ground, and seated himself down on it.

"Good morning, St. Antony," said he with a fine salute. "You see I had plenty of time to think of Paradise, for here we are!"

"What! You here?" cried St. Antony.

"Yes, I and my company," replied Roger, opening his sack and scattering on the carpet the souls of the six golfers.

"Will you have the goodness to pack right off, all of you?"

"Impossible," said the great golfer, showing his apron.

"The rogue has made game of us," said St. Antony. "Come, St. Peter, in memory of our game of golf, let him in with his souls. Besides, he has had his purgatory on earth."

"It is not a very good precedent," murmured St. Peter.

"Bah!" replied Roger; "if we have a few good golfers in Paradise, where is the harm?"

XV.

Thus, after having lived long, golfed much, and drunk many cans of beer, the wheelwright of Coq, called the Great Golfer, was admitted to Paradise; but I advise no one to copy him, for it is not quite the right way to go, and St. Peter might not always be so compliant, though great allowances must be made for golfers.

To the Past.

To the past, the sweet past, tho' the present may bring

Bright hopes to come on its swift passing wing;

And fair though the promise of future may be,
Yet the dreams of the past are far sweeter to me.

What's the future? A blank. What's the present? A space,

Which flies as we grasp it, so fleet is its pace.
It is here—it is gone; and ere that we knew
The future is present, for weal or for woe.

Be it bliss, oh, how quickly the blithe moments fly;

Be it sorrow or pain, ah, how laggard they lie.

Yes, the present is fleeting; this moment of time

Slips into the past ere I finish my rhyme;
We essay to clasp it, but ere that we touch
The skirts of Time's garment, he eludeth our clutch.

But the past is our own, we its hours have employed,

Its pains we have suffer'd, its pleasures enjoy'd;

And into the page of futurity's book
We know not how far we're permitted to look,

Or, when in his hunger, Death poises his dart,
Our feet, from the path of the future to part.
If some pang of past grief in the present we feel,

But few are the sorrows that time cannot heal;

And who that hath ever true happiness felt
But carries its memories under the belt?

Let's dring to the past, then, in water or wine,

As the will, or the taste, or the pocket incline;

Let no fear of the future the present o'ercast,
But pledge, gaily pledge, to the manes of the Past.

SUSANNA MACGREGOR.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Washing Human Beings by Machinery.

One of the latest inventions in sanitation is machinery for personal washing. A French colonel, according to Mr. Edwin Chadwick, ascertained that he could wash his men with tepid water for a centime, or one tenth of a penny a head, soap included. The man undresses, steps into a tray of water, and soaps himself, when a jet of tepid water is played upon him. He then dries and dresses himself in five minutes, against twenty minutes in the bath, and with five gallons of water against seventy in the usual bath. In Germany they have an arrangement under which half a million of soldiers are regularly washed. By an adaptation of apparatus to the use of schools, a child may be completely washed in three minutes.

Silk Without Worms.

M. de Carbonnet, a French savant, has discovered how to make silk without worms. He began his experiments some time ago with the guiding idea that the peculiar appearance of silk was the result of the spinning of a liquid. After many months of repeated and unsuccessful trials he produced several yards of silk in this wise: He poured a colloid solution into a copper receiver which emptied into a system of small glass tubes. These tubes terminated in capillaries which carried off the solution in fine thread-like streams. In a second system of glass tubes, filled with water, the fine streams became fine threads, which, before leaving the water, were caught mechanically and wound around tiny rollers. After being heated and cooled in an acid of special gravity and temperature, the threads were made less combustible than cotton by being saturated in a simple chemical preparation. The quality of silk goods manufactured from these threads is fine. The threads are cylindrical, and are from one to forty micromillimetres in diameter. They sustain a weight of fifty to seventy pounds per square millimetre. Ordinary silk bears a weight of sixty to ninety pounds per square millimetre; cooked silk, thirty to forty. De Carbonnet's silk is much more brilliant than ordinary silk, and absorbs and holds coloring matter more satisfactorily. As yet only a few pieces have been produced by the new process. Several of them are shown in the Paris exposition. De Carbonnet is confident, however, that further experiments will enable him to manufacture silk cheaply and in large quantities. In fact, he thinks that a few years hence the silk worms may as well go and die, as machinery will then be doing their work much better than they can do it themselves.

Luxurious Street Cars.

Pullman cars attached to cable trains may be a feature of Chicago street car service in the near future. The plan is to attach to some of the south side and west side cable trains elegant day coaches of the Pullman pattern that shall offer all the comforts of the finest railway coach. For these comforts and luxuries the sum of five cents extra will be charged per trip. Only as many people will be admitted to a car as can be supplied with seats.

Tanning by Electricity.

A company has recently been formed in England, which is preparing to tan quai extensively by electric process.

The process is described by those who have seen it as a very simple one. The hides are placed in large cylinders, which revolve upon horizontal axes. The drum is filled with a decoction of tannin and closed. Provision is made for the passing of a current of electricity through the drum. The drum is kept slowly revolving until the process of tanning is completed. The length of time required varies with the nature of the hide. The lighter skins, such as sheep and goat, which used to require from three to six months, by the electric process are tanned in twenty-four hours. The heavier hides, such as calf, ox, cow, or horse, require from seventy-two to ninety-six hours. By the old fashioned bark process to elve months, or even more would have been taken.

The cost of production is greatly reduced by this method, for not only is the saving in time, but in labor. The actual cost of working is reduced over fifty per cent. By the bark process the cost of tanning is from seven to eight cents per pound of dry leather, as against that of three or four cents by the electric methods. And again, where a force of fifty men were required to produce a given quantity of leather, only ten are needed to produce the same by the new methods. Herefore large capital has been required to run a tannery having a regular weekly output.

As hides often require to lie in the tan vats nearly a year, it will be seen that a great number must be in process of tanning in order that a certain amount of leather be turned out each week. In addition to extensive plant, heavy investments are represented by the hides in tanning. But the electric process completely revolutionized this. Hides purchased on Monday have been converted into leather and put on the market by Saturday.

A Women's Club Organized in Charlestown, Mass.

CHARLESTOWN, Mass.—I enclose a few petitions. Many women in Boston are interested in the single tax reform, and work for its advancement, as opportunities appear. A few have organized a club, which is called the Women's timely topics society, for the purpose of studying social and industrial questions. We meet on alternate Tuesday afternoons and devote a portion of the time to the reading and discussion of "Progress and Poverty." At these meetings we are governed by the rules of parliamentary practice, which in itself is excellent discipline.

We have had during the summer two special meetings to which the male members

of the various families represented were invited. At each of these meetings Mr. E. M. White gave us an able address, which was followed by a discussion.

Now that the summer vacation has passed, we hope many more single tax women will join us and bring with them those among their friends whom they can persuade to take an interest in our study.

EMILY T. TURNER.

232 Bunker Hill street.

ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT SIGN.

The Indiana State Federation of Trades and Labor Passes a Resolution Indorsing the Single Tax.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Sept. 4.—The state federation of trades and labor met in this city to-day and, among others, passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That we favor a single tax on land values in lieu of all other taxes.

We regard the present system of taxation as a fine on industry and intelligence.

A tax on land values would free industry and open up opportunities for labor, raise wages and insure an equitable distribution of wealth.

This may not be an exact copy of the resolution passed, as it is reproduced from memory, but it is the substance. While there was not a large gathering, there were a number of delegates from different parts of the state and local unions were well represented. I was not a delegate, but was accorded the privileges of the floor, and made a brief address which was well received. Mr. J. F. White, president of Typographical union No. 1, of this city, who is a member of our league, introduced the resolution and made a splendid talk in its support. We consider Mr. White one of our ablest and staunchest friends.

There was but one objection from the whole number present to the adoption of the resolution, and that was made on the ground of expediency, the speaker being a protectionist, but even he subsided after Mr. White, Mr. Gruelle of the Labor Signal, Mr. J. M. Winter, a prominent cigar maker, and I had spoken. The resolution, therefore, passed unanimously. This action speaks volumes. This is a growing body and I believe it is destined to be a powerful organization. Steps were taken to-day to extend its usefulness to all parts of the state.

A year ago, although a delegate to this body, I could scarcely get a hearing for this question or the Australian ballot reform. The ballot law is now on our statute books, and there is no telling how soon the question of a single tax may be the leading political question of the day. Events succeed each other with great swiftness. L. P. CUSTER.

TARIFF NOTES.

The protection interests of the United States only want the tariff to make good the greater amount they are obliged to pay their workmen more than any other countries. Coal is protected at 75 cents per ton and the operators are offering the miners 72 cents per ton to go to work again. Very conclusive evidence that the tariff is only for the benefit of the laboring men. —(Pierre, So. Dak., Signal.)

If tariff reform keep up the stride with which it is now moving forward the democratic platform of 1888 may do very well for the republican platform of 1892. The cry for free raw material has been taken up inside the republican lines.—(Philadelphia Record.)

"We can manufacture supplies for 100,000 people; but we have only 60,000 to sell to." This is the situation of manufacturing industries in the United States as tersely put by Mr. Erastus Wiman. The only remedy for this congested condition is to break through the tariff wall into foreign markets.—(Philadelphia Record.)

The American workingmen who have gone abroad to investigate the condition of their British and continental fellows are sending home reports that will be as gall and wormwood to Bob Porter. The new census fakir will have to strain even his well-known ingenuity to show that American protection has given American labor pleasanter homes than those which have been opened to the travelers.—(Chicago Herald.)

Although the statement is made by the president of the Glassworkers' Union that the Belgian window-glass blowers who are reported as being on their way to this country are old hands, most of them citizens of the United States, it is still believed by those in the trade that the closing of large numbers of factories in Belgium will bring many of the employees over here. An interesting feature of the closing of the Belgian factories is the failure of the high tariff which exists in that country to protect one of its most important industries from demoralization.—(Boston Post.)

The "P's" that fill the dinner pail—with emptiness—"Protection," "Punkerton," "Poverty." They represent the blessings of a high protective tariff.—(Dayton, Ohio, Workman.)

When the republican governor of Massachusetts signs a petition to their congressmen to work for free raw materials to save their industries from ruin, it is evident that the educational work is making progress in that quarter.—(St. Paul Globe.)

The wool manufacturers in the east are asking the wool growers how they will find profit in a high tariff on wool if they break down the manufacturers and destroy the home market. The inquiry seems pertinent.—(St. Paul Globe.)

THE LORD'S SUPPER IN UTAH.

Ten Thousand Worshipers in the Tabernacle of the Latter Day Saints Participating in the Ceremonies.

Chicago Herald.

At two o'clock last Sunday all of Mormondom in Salt Lake City was gathered in the vast auditorium. The day was blazing hot. Even the little waterways in the streets, so world renowned, failed to give a sense of relief to the sun's oppressive heat. Every place of business was closed—even the gentile population seemed to be moved by the devotional impulse of the hour. By 1:30 the streets were lined with men, women and children on their way to the tabernacle. The street cars were crowded. Long rows of teams from the suburbs lined the shaded wall of the tabernacle grounds. The rush to Garfield beach had ceased—even the excursion trains had been laid off for the afternoon. Indeed, there was nothing for even the most callous unbeliever to do but go to church. So in common with the Mormon multitude the strangers within the Mormon gates wended also their way to the great tabernacle.

When at its best the great tabernacle seats comfortably 18,000 people. And last Sunday there could not have been less than 10,000 in the auditorium, for only a few rear seats were unoccupied. It has passed into history that the acoustics of this vast auditorium have never been reproduced or equaled in any public structure ever built, and yet this was erected in the wilderness forty-eight years ago upon principles which Brigham Young always claimed he had received in a revelation. Sitting back on one of the rear seats, the eye takes in the speaker as through the small end of an opera glass. The eye sees his gesture, and in just about a second comes the sound of his voice—clear, distinct, resonant, but quite palpably apart from its point of utterance.

Dr. Talmage, a mormon bishop of the modern school, told me that there was a delight and a charm in speaking in such a place that human tongue could not describe.

"The sound of one's voice," he said, "is simply music. It comes back to you in a way that surprises you and inspires your soul. It is wafted back in melodious tremors. It almost lifts you to your toes, and you seem to want to fly."

In the far end of the great oval canopy, stands the second largest organ of the United States. The big instrument in the Boston Music hall ranks first. Every pipe, every reed, every element of its construction was taken across the continent thirty years ago by ox team. Mormon artisans erected it, mormon musicians tuned it, and from that day to this mormon artists have manipulated its keys. It has not the deep, rich and delicate tone that marks the church instruments of the present day, but its volume is great, and its swell, permeating every arch and architrave of the vast edifice, thrills not only the hearts of the faithful, but their seats as well. On each side of the great organ are seats for the choir, and it is no polished quartet that fills the amphitheater with sweet sounds. There are 100 seats on one side for the female singers, and the same on the other for the male voices. Next to them, in terraced pews, are seated the dignitaries of the church—not the priests, elders and deacons, but the members of the Melchisedec branch, from which the priests and apostles are elected. In the middle of these is a raised dais, and here is the seat of the great high priest, the president of the church. Below him are the seats of the twelve apostles. Next below are the seats of the reigning bishops and elders. Below them again are the deacons and laymen authorized to participate in the ceremonies. All this makes a bank of dignitaries that looks from the auditorium like the stage in a national convention.

On all sacrament days the order is changed somewhat. At the base of the terraces, so to speak, and on a line with the floor is a table forty feet long, covered with snow white cloth. Its supports are built in saw buck fashion, like the old pictures we see in ancient prints of the Lord's supper. Seated about this table are the twelve apostles, with old George Q. Cannon in the middle. On the tables are great silver tankards, myriads of silver platters laden with consecrated bread, and two score, at least, of huge silver mugs to hold the "wine of consecration."

The great audience is all seated by 2 p.m. There is a momentary hush. The president and patriarch, George A. Smith, rises and lifts his hand to heaven. One can just see his form in the solid bank far away. The organist is already at his seat, and then there steals over the vast throng the low melody of the great organ. It is not a psalm, it is not an overture, it lacks in melodious sequence, the most enthusiastic Wagnerite would not detect more than a kind of ecstatic harmony, but as it swells and fills the great dome with its grandeur strong men bow their heads and women's eyes are filled with moisture. The uplifted hand of the patriarch slowly descends, the organ

tones grow softer, the vast audience rises en masse, the great choir begins to finger its books, and then, with a tremendous swell from the organ's tonic chord, five thousand voices, with a flute like soprano in the lead, fill the great amphitheater with "His Temple is Our Own."

The effect is grand beyond expression. The choir is magnificently trained, and so may it be said is that portion of the audience which sings. The big organ swells in the vaulted dome, the very fabric trembles, the vast throng stands in devotional attitude, the priests and prelates beat time, the twelve apostles sing as only such can sing. The whole concourse is aroused. Even the eastern heathen is impressed. He begins to think it is a pretty good thing to go into a church, if it is only a Mormon church.

There are but two verses. The audience seats itself. The patriarch again lifts his hand and says: "The Lord be with us all." "And so be it," murmur the twelve apostles.

Next a gentleman in a gray summer suit offers a prayer. He is one of the elders. Just after the prayer the organ again pealed forth in a voluntary, and then the twelve apostles began to prepare the Lord's supper. While that was in progress elder Talmage, a dignified man of fine address, rose in the high priest's seat and read the Mormon creed:

"We believe in God, the eternal Father, and in his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost."

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgression."

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel."

"We believe that these ordinances are: First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost."

"We believe that a man may be called of God by prophecy and by laying on of hands by those who are in authority to preach the gospel and administer the ordinances thereof."

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz.: Apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, etc."

"We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc."

"We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is correctly translated; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God."

"We believe all God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God."

"We believe in being subjects to kings, presidents, rulers, magistrates; in obeying honoring and sustaining the law."

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."

"Amen!" came from the congregation.

"So be it!" declared the patriarch, in a voice that could be heard by every soul in the tabernacle.

Then the twelve apostles began preparations for commemorating the Lord's supper. A great basket of broken bread was brought in. The twelve divided it into twelve parts, placing each in a silver "cake basket." Then the whole was blessed by Apostle Cannon.

The great organ choir again burst forth in a hymn in strains of wondrous beauty.

The organ's notes again died away. Here Pastor Angus M. Cannon, son of old George Q., clad in a suit of gray Scotch tweed, began an address explaining the significance of the bread. Meanwhile twelve gray-haired ushers began distributing the cake-baskets.

Every Mormon in the building partook. There is no membership in the Mormon church without open communion. Hence every man, woman, child and infant in arms had to enter into communion.

The distribution of the bread took twenty minutes. Meanwhile the twelve apostles began filling twelve great tankards with pure water from the "Well of Heber." This, too, was blessed and consecrated by the elder Cannon.

Again the organ pealed forth, and then Rev. Talmage, a high priest, rose to explain the meaning of the water as typifying the blood of Christ. The remarks were purely orthodox, and, with the one exception, where the doctrine of revelation was vigorously maintained, could have been listened to with respect by any Christian congregation.

The remainder of the service after the sacrament, which consisted of addresses and hymns alternating, was not especially interesting.

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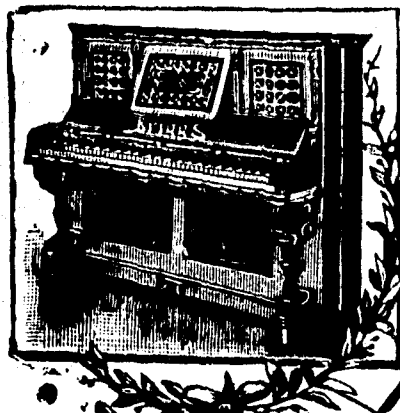
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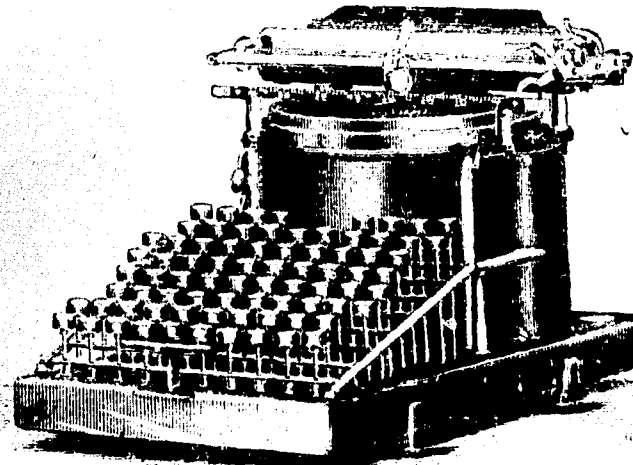
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