

# THE STANDARD

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## THE STANDARD.

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## EDITORIAL.

The overwhelming victory won by the opponents of "protection" in last week's election is, of itself, so impressive that it calls for no comment. The McKinley bill, the force bill, the stealing of Montana's senators, the stealing of seats in the house, the brutal insolence of Reed, the shameful submission of the republicans to his dictation; in short, the whole programme of force and fraud was condemned by a tidal wave of popular disgust against the republican party and all its works. There will be less than ninety republicans in the next house, and despite the erection of mining camps into states, and the theft of the representation of Montana, the republican majority in the senate is reduced to two or three, and it came within a hair's breadth of disappearing entirely. The shameful and audacious attempt to bribe the American people with their own money to vote to substitute a plutocratic for a democratic government has ignominiously failed, and the party lending itself to it has been literally kicked out of power.

The new house elected by an indignant and outraged people will not meet, unless a special session is called, until December, 1891. There is still plenty of time to consider what are its duties, but we might as well understand from the beginning that they will be none the less difficult because of the size of the majority. From such men as Gorman already we hear admonitions against any but "conservative" action on the tariff question. By "conservative action" such men mean timid and halting action. They opposed the bringing of the question into politics three years ago, and, now that its agitation has brought to their party a triumph absolutely unparalleled in history, they want to sneak back to the old game of intrigue and ignore the politics of principle. The men who comprehend the significance of last week's verdict must stand together, not merely to resist these cowardly counsels, but to break the hold of such men on the democratic party.

Happily there is little danger that such counsels can even be seriously considered. The new house will face a grave situation. When the present house ceases to exist it will leave behind it conditions, of its own making, that will result in a deficit of one hundred millions that the succeeding house must face. Something will have to be done, and the men who now counsel inaction will themselves have to act. The republican party has, in a single session, dissipated an enormous surplus and involved the federal government in obligations that, under existing laws, congress cannot raise money enough to meet, and there is therefore no cause to fear that the policy of inaction can be tried by the next house.

One thing is manifest at the start. Revenue can be increased by lowering duties, and, so long as the tariff is the chief source of federal revenue, congress must lower duties or bankrupt the treasury. The mere tariff reformers will assent to this, but some of them will attempt to reimpose duties on articles added to the free list by the McKinley bill. Just here is where the fight of the free traders ought to begin. Such a fight will bring out, as nothing else will, the fact not only that the tariff is a tax, but a tax that falls with special hardship on the poor. Whatever

may be the immediate result, substantial progress toward a popular demand for free trade and direct taxation will be made. When once the people understand that the vast sums spent by the federal government come out of their pockets, we shall have a whole nation as interested auditors of a great debate on the nature and incidence of taxation, and in the end the popular decision cannot fail to be against tariff taxation and in favor of the single tax on land values. All honest and intelligent people have reason to rejoice over the victory won by the democrats last week, but none have better cause for joy than the advocates of the single tax.

It appears that there are in the United States some republicans who know when they are knocked down, and who are not ready, as they lie prostrate with their mouths in the dust, to swear that they are standing erect. One of the most senseless outrages in the whole McKinley bill was that imposing a high duty on tin plate in order that the price of the article might be advanced sufficiently to enable a few American millionaires to engage in its manufacture by bringing foreign workmen here, instead of permitting them to send plates here in exchange for the products of American labor. The Pittsburgh Commercial-Gazette and the Pittsburgh Press, both Quay organs, have the sense to see that the people have put their foot on this job, and these papers now suggest that the present congress shall make haste to repeal the duty on tin imposed by the McKinley bill. The Press says:

We might as well bid good-by to the tin plate industry in this country, for a term of years at least, and for the republicans to recognize the right of the people to give a verdict in such matters will prove the part of wisdom. Let the tin plate tariff go.

There are other protectionists, however, who are so blind with fury that they do not recognize the logic of events. Russell & Co. of Massillon, Ohio, manufacturers of agricultural implements, are rabid protectionists. A number of their employes openly voted and worked for Warwick against Russell & Co.'s candidate, Major McKinley. Because of this these men were notified that their wages would be reduced thirty-three per cent, as the firm put it, to "a free trade basis." There is great indignation among democrats, but this kind of madness will not continue long. M. D. Harter, just elected to congress from Ohio, and A. B. Farquhar of York, Pa., are both manufacturers of agricultural implements, and both are good free traders. If Russell & Co. are content with republican patronage, the farmers of nearly the whole country can be accommodated by such firms as those named and Russell & Co. will be able to turn their shops into a republican caucus with but little interruption to politics because of demands for agricultural machinery.

The absurdity of this sort of devotion to McKinley, even if it were not worse than absurd, would be thoroughly exposed if there were any way of giving to the public an idea of the method by which the fallen leader of the cornorants reduced the natural democratic majority in Mr. Warwick's district. McKinley pretends to be very proud of his achievement, and even democrats attribute his large vote to his "great ability," "local pride," "Warwick's inability to speak," and so on.

The truth is that the 2,600 votes that McKinley gained cost in hard cash probably \$100 each. The campaign was the most monstrously corrupt ever known. Men who could not be openly bribed could easily obtain bets of \$100 to \$1 that McKinley would be defeated, and they did not, after making such a bet, vote to lose \$100 by defeating him. Numerous workmen were brought into the district and located there for thirty days to entitle them to vote, and open bribery was practised most shamelessly. Senator Brice, in a private letter to a friend, declares that the republicans spent more money in that one district than the democratic national committee had for the whole country, with all the funds of the Ohio state committee added to it. We fail to see what McKinley finds to be proud of. Honest men regard a successful attempt to buy a seat in congress as disgraceful, but we should suppose that even a protectionist would see little to boast of in an attempt of the kind that failed.

The overwhelming defeat of their party has not taught the more desperate and criminal republicans, such as Chandler of New Hampshire, to at least assume the virtue of appearing to yield to the people's will. A lot of the vilest politicians of America, led by the worst survivor of the most infamous era in our politics, are attempting by fraud to secure control of the New Hampshire legislature for the republicans, by counting as elected a number of representatives, chosen tentatively, in the hope that they would be admitted by the legislature when organized. Chandler and his gang are now trying to manipulate the returns so that these people shall be at once admitted to seats and thereby enabled to pass on the question of their own right to sit. The fact that a man can continue living in a state after such a shameless attempt to defraud its people offers remarkable evidence of the peaceful tendencies of our civilization.

If Mr. Thomas P. Grasty of the Baltimore Manufacturers' Record is to be believed, Speaker Reed has not even the excuse of fanaticism for his attempt to pass the force bill. Mr. Grasty says that Mr. W. P. Rice, a Boston man having large investments in the south, but an ardent republican, called on Reed during the time when the bill was pending. The speaker forgot apparently that Mr. Rice had large pecuniary interests in the south, and declared to him that something must be done to stop the exodus of capital from New England to the south, and said that the election bill would stir up trouble that would accomplish this result. This is a remarkable story, but there is nothing in Mr. Reed's career to make it improbable. If it is true, he is as basely sordid a rascal as can be found in any state penitentiary.

There is no longer any doubt that John J. Ingalls, the cynical and impudent corruptionist, will be retired from the United States senate. The triumph of the Farmers' alliance in the Kansas election assures this, but unfortunately it does not assure the election in his place of a capable man worthy of senatorial honors. The qualifications it seems for a senatorial candidate of the Farmers' alliance is, first, a belief that the government ought to go into the pawnbroking business, and, secondly, actual employment by the candidate in agricult-

ural industry. They do not indulge in "iridescent dreams."

The democratic city executive committee of Philadelphia has expelled "Squire Bill McMullen" of the Fourth ward and Peter Monroe of the Third ward from the democratic party. These two men sold out Pattison in the interest of their own candidate for congress, McAleer. They are two of the late Samuel J. Randall's prominent workers, and have always been ready to sacrifice the interests of the democratic party for the sake of Mr. Randall or their own personal schemes. Their expulsion is a matter of more than local importance, since they are the type of a class of politicians that have been a curse to the democratic party, but whom, in the days of its weakness, it lacked the courage to get rid of. Not only these men, but all men who favor a protective tariff, should be expelled from the party unless they are willing to leave it voluntarily.

Mayor Grant, Ward McAllister, leader of the "four hundred," and several others of their ilk from this city, are down in Maryland on a gunning expedition. At one of the stations the conductor of the train on which the party was traveling started it before Mayor Grant's guns could be put aboard. The mayor's party thereupon grew indignant and sharply reprimanded the conductor. No one can tell at this distance whether the premature start was accidental or otherwise, but the New York Times sneers at the mayor for his anger, heads its item "Hughey in a Towering Rage," and goes out of its way to intimate that the gunners had not been able to kill anything. It is just such petty spite as this that prevents the Times from commanding any respect when it seriously attacks a man for cause.

Newspaper reports declare that Mr. Flower is not an aspirant for the senatorship, but they differ decidedly as to Governor Hill's designs. Some of them represent that the governor is pledged to Mr. Weed in such a way that he cannot himself become a candidate, while the World and numerous other papers insist on it that Mr. Hill must and will be the next United States senator. It is too early to predict the result of the struggle. Governor Hill has recently made speeches which indicate that he is not particularly sound on the tariff question, but as governor of the state he has taken part in an active campaign against the McKinley bill, and whatever his faults his election would be preferable to that of a known member of the Protective tariff league, such as Smith M. Weed.

The New York Times thinks that in view of the long experience and thorough knowledge of President Coleman of the department of taxes and assessments Mayor Grant will not venture to displace him. The Times writer has surely not read the evidence of Mr. Coleman before the Fassett committee. He has doubtless had abundant experience, and his experience has unquestionably made him very opinionated, but he demonstrated in that examination an illiteracy, an utter ignorance of property values, and an indifference to the truth that were little short of amazing. STANDARD readers have read the testimony, but none of the daily papers gave the New York public any conception of what it was, and it seems that editors do not comprehend the fact that Mr. Coleman has demonstrated that he is not the kind of man who ought to have anything to do with levying taxes in this city, unless as a subordinate to a man of brains, education, veracity and knowledge of law who could hold

him to a sharp account for his performance.

#### NOW PUSH THE PETITION.

The democratic victory not only demonstrates that the economic discussion started by Mr. Cleveland's message will continue with increasing vigor from now until the next presidential election, but the character of the men chosen to congress gives promise of more radical and determined action on the part of the new majority in the direction of free trade. If, as Mr. Shearman insists, the McKinley bill, by taking the tax off sugar, has rendered it impracticable to ever again establish a purely revenue tariff, then the most important question that democrats will be forced to consider, whether they desire to do so or not, is, How can direct taxes best be levied to cover a deficit in the federal revenues caused by the insufficient receipts from import taxes?

Whether this problem comes before the present house, or whether it is postponed for the consideration of another congress, it is absolutely certain that it must come up in the not distant future, and there are many men in congress who are already beginning to consider carefully the whole question of taxation, as they have never considered it before. Happily there is at least one man in congress who clearly comprehends the kind of taxation best adapted to meeting federal and all other governmental expenses, and he is likely to be an influential member of that body. We refer, of course, to the Hon. Tom L. Johnson of Ohio. Mr. Johnson will not, however, stand alone among the men who have come to see—looking at the matter from a merely fiscal standpoint—that taxes on the products of labor are open to the same objection that is urged against the tariff, which is, that they restrict production and exchange. Hon. John De Witt Warner of this city, Hon. M. D. Harter of Ohio, and numerous other absolute free traders have definite views, not merely as to the necessity for direct taxation, but as to the methods of applying it, and therefore the house just elected will contain within it a considerable body of men trained to the consideration of such questions and disposed to investigate them thoroughly.

It is to such a house, through Tom L. Johnson, that the single tax petition to congress will be presented. It is sure not merely of respectful but of interested attention. There can be no reasonable doubt that the investigation asked for will be granted by the house and committed to the hands of a competent committee, which can be depended on honestly to gather facts and to draw reasonable conclusions. Such a report cannot fail to attract the widest attention to the single tax system, and therefore there was never a time when the advocates of our doctrine could have rendered more effective assistance to the cause than they can now render for another year in swelling the number of signatures to that petition. They ought to work with fervor and enthusiasm and see to it that the number of signers is increased from 92,185, the present number, to triple that during the next year. The same amount of energy expended now that has been expended in the past will bring larger results, on account of the stirring up of popular interest in economic questions. Therefore, we urge all our readers to go to work in earnest in procuring signatures. Do not imagine that this is a work that belongs to somebody else rather than yourself, but recognize the fact that the work for the petition has brought the present organized single tax movement into existence, and that there now is every reason why a great petition, such as we ought to be able to present, will produce a marked

effect. This is the one thing to do during the coming year, and, if all past effort is not to be wasted, our single tax friends must once more display their enthusiasm by arduous work and by liberal contributions to the national committee, which has taken up this task.

#### ADJOURN AND GO HOME.

The New York Tribune declares that when congress reconvenes in December the democratic minority must make its victory, will redouble their efforts "to prevent the republicans from enacting anything except the absolutely necessary legislation." By this, we presume, is meant the passage of appropriation bills for meeting the ordinary expenses of government. The Tribune urges every republican senator and representative to be on hand constantly during the session, because, it says, "the work to be done at this session is increased by the election of the democratic house to succeed the present one, and the majority in each house have a very grave responsibility resting upon them." This is somewhat ambiguous, but, taken in connection with other utterances of the Tribune since the election, it indicates a disposition on the part of the republican leaders to urge a body that has been overwhelmingly repudiated to defy the people's will by passing laws that the congress just chosen would indignantly refuse to consider.

Such a proposal contemplates revolution under the forms of law, and the country should make such a protest as will startle even these hardened desperadoes and cause them to abandon their treasonable schemes. No one can pretend to any doubt as to the expressed will of the American people, not only on the McKinley bill, but on the broad question of permitting the republican party to legislate at all. The mere fact that a rump house of representatives, which holds power through bribery and the unseating of lawfully elected members, has the legal power to pass laws affords no justification whatever for the exercise of that power, and the Tribune's phraseology indicates that the legislation it advises its fellow partisans to attempt is not "necessary legislation."

It is a monstrous thing that a party so overwhelmingly defeated should still possess the legal power to misrepresent the expressed public opinion of the country. The fifty-first congress ought to cease to exist at once, and the fifty-second congress, representing the will of the people, ought to be the body that will henceforth, for two years, exercise legislative power in the United States. The existing system, which permits a house of representatives to hold power after it has been discredited and repudiated by the people, is an anachronism and an absurdity. It was established at a time when many months necessarily elapsed between the election of members and the time of their possible presence in Washington. There is no longer any excuse for such delay. So far as possible it should be immediately remedied by legislation, and whatever constitutional change is necessary to a complete remedy should be promptly proposed to the states.

The congress elected in 1892 should meet in the December following the election, for the specific purpose of counting the electoral votes, and the president then chosen should be inaugurated on the 1st of January following. If this is to remain a democratic republic the will of the people, lawfully expressed, must be obeyed, and it never can be obeyed so long as repudiated servants are permitted to legislate after they have been discharged from the people's service. This has long been apparent to every one who has seriously considered our institutions, but there has thus far never been a sufficient

interest in the matter to force congress to act. An attempt by Mr. Reed and his obedient puppets in the house to force through new and obnoxious legislation will probably stir up public sentiment sufficiently to assure this needed change.

Meanwhile, the democrats in the present house ought to fulfill the Tribune's predictions. They are warranted in going to the extreme of their legal powers to prevent any attempt by the republicans to do anything more than pass ordinary appropriation bills, and we hope that no timid counsels will again prevail that will enable Mr. Reed to carry on his process of counting a quorum which his own party is unwilling to maintain. If the republicans have the audacity to defy the people, the democrats should make it necessary that their opponents shall continuously be present at the capital. No pairs or other courtesies should be accorded to them. They are a band of discredited conspirators against the people's rights who have been unmasked and discharged from the public service, and the sooner they adjourn and go home the better it will be for themselves and for the country.

#### SMITH WEED'S SENATORIAL ASPIRATIONS.

Surely it cannot be possible that Smith M. Weed will be sent to the United States senate from New York. Such an act would be one of treachery unparalleled in our political history, and it could only be matched in infamy by the betrayal of his trust by a presidential elector—something that has never yet happened. Mr. Weed is not only a protectionist, but an active member of the American protective tariff league. His sympathies and pecuniary interests are all on the side of the republican party, and his ambition to succeed Mr. Evarts would be much more reasonable if it had been the republicans instead of the democrats who had won the fight last week. The protest of the country, which by one wave of disgust reduced a great national party to an insignificant sectional faction, was against the protection superstition, and it would not only be an act of treachery, but an insane defiance of the expressed will of the people, for our democratic legislature to send a protectionist to the senate.

Mr. Weed's audacious letter, written before the election, declaring that he was certain to be chosen if the legislature were democratic, carries with it an intimation that Governor Hill is a consenting party to the scheme. We cannot believe that this is true. THE STANDARD differs widely from Governor Hill, but it never has denied to him cleverness and political shrewdness. It is said that he still has presidential aspirations, and on that account does not want to go to the senate himself. Can he imagine, in the face of the recent democratic cyclone, that any man concerned in a treacherous scheme to perpetuate protectionist control of the United States senate could secure any support in the next democratic national convention? We cannot believe that Mr. Hill is so blind to the tendencies of the times as to contemplate such suicidal folly.

There is another consideration that ought not to be lost sight of. It is the cities of New York and Brooklyn that make this a democratic state. It is at their rights and interests that the discredited administration still in power has struck, not only through the McKinley bill, but through the census fraud. The next senator from New York should represent the metropolitan district. We have here plenty of men who are infinitely superior to Smith M. Weed in ability and in their democracy. Everett P. Wheeler, E. Ellery Anderson, Charles S.

Fairchild, in this city, and Thomas G. Shearman and Mayor Chapin, in Brooklyn, are a few of those who might be mentioned as infinitely preferable to Weed, even if the latter were not a protectionist.

Whoever may be chosen, Mr. Weed must not be thought of. The democratic party must show the country that it does not elect men to the senate merely because they are millionaires and for no other reason. If the democracy of New York is wise it will not ignore this consideration nor insult the intelligence and conscience of the national democracy by thinking of such a defiance of the party's will as the election of Mr. Weed would be. The leaders in this state will do well to remember that a democratic president can be elected in 1892 without the electoral vote of New York.

#### CLEVELAND'S RIGHT TO REJOICE.

The embittered and spiteful Sun is viciously declaring that Grover Cleveland has no lot or part in the democratic triumph of November 5 because, forsooth, it suspects that the ex-president may not have voted for the Tammany candidates for municipal offices. This is a characteristically narrow view of the question. This gangrened organ of vicious hates is liable at all times to have its views distorted so that it cannot see the truth, even if it desired to do so. Absorbed in its personal hatreds and prejudices, the Sun is blind to tendencies that are honest in impulse and national in scope.

Does it imagine that the fight for municipal offices in New York had anything to do with the political revolutions in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and many other states? Does it imagine that Dick Croker, on his return from Europe, turned the faucet that let loose the tidal wave that swept over this country on the 4th of November? Blinded by hate, perturbed by malice and warped by prejudice as the Sun is, there remains enough sanity still in its management to prevent its yielding to such an hallucination.

Grover Cleveland has a right to rejoice in this marvellous triumph of his party—a better right than any other living man. He it was who, at his own risk and cost, challenged the robber protective tariff system and brought a great question into politics, there to remain until it is settled by the final abolition of tariffs and custom houses. The corruption fund of the protected robbers and the treachery of such pseudo democrats as the editor of the Sun, caused Mr. Cleveland's defeat and made all that is typified by Reed, McKinley and Lodge possible. But the question that Mr. Cleveland had the courage to raise did not down when he was defeated. On the contrary, it gave to the democratic party a new impulse, inspired it with principle, endowed it with enthusiasm and made it worthy to win the victory in which it swept the country, and gave to Tammany, incidentally, a boost that was worth to it many thousand more votes than were necessary to constitute its majority.

It was this national tidal wave that made real union on mere local issues impossible in 1890, and this, and this alone, gave Tammany its local triumph. Not only has Grover Cleveland the right to rejoice in the democratic victory throughout the country, but Tammany hall owes him a debt of thanks for giving to his party an issue so all-absorbing and overshadowing that public attention could not be centered on any question of mere local government. Its true friends will tell it this and counsel it against yielding to the advice of a journal that is opposed to everything that has made a sweeping

democratic victory possible, and which is hated by every true democrat and despised by every honest man.

#### THE POLICE AND FREE SPEECH.

The police of this neighborhood continue to act with consummate folly in their treatment of the anarchists. These singular people have developed a desire to celebrate the execution of a number of their clan in Chicago three years ago. For some time they have sought this year to celebrate the event on November 7 and 8, instead of on the 11th, its anniversary; and accordingly John Most, Lucy Parsons and some others of their kind were announced to speak at a meeting in Newark on November 7. The proprietor of the hall, though he had rented it to some alleged workmen who were conducting the celebration, refused to let them have possession, whereupon Mrs. Parsons undertook to make a speech from the hall steps. The police interfered, some of her partisans raised a row, and she and nine others were arrested and committed to jail in default of \$1,500 bail in each case, on a charge of inciting to riot. It is probable that the attempt to use the hall steps in defiance of the owner's permission was a trespass, but so far as there was any likelihood of riot it seems to have been brought about by the action of the police rather than by the speech of the widow of the executed anarchist. Next night, Saturday, November 8, the anarchists had a celebration in the hall of the Labor lyceum in Brooklyn. One of the police commissioners appealed to the corporation counsel for an opinion in regard to the right of the police to interfere with this meeting and the corporation counsel very sensibly decided that such interference would be illegal. The police, however, were present in great numbers, and John Most is said by the newspapers to have made a very tame speech because of that fact. No one not there can tell whether this is true or not, but it is true that it is against the whole spirit of American institutions to authorize policemen to curtail freedom of speech in public halls. Such efforts gradually excite the disgust of thoughtful people and lead to the railings of such men as Most an importance and dignity that would not otherwise belong to them.

Whenever anarchists begin to attempt by force to upset government the police owe it to the community to stop their efforts, but it is high time that these attempts to suppress freedom of speech were stopped, and we hope some policemen engaging in the effort will be tried and convicted for a breach of the peace. Here in New York the police authorities have abandoned their policy of interference. The socialists held a successful meeting in honor of the memory of the Chicago "martyrs" on Monday evening, and the anarchists were to have held a similar meeting last evening, and probably did so.

#### PROFESSOR WALKER'S PETULANCE—EDWARD ATKINSON'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF ERROR.

Henry George, as the readers of THE STANDARD know, is absent on a lecturing tour in the southern states, and it is not possible to forward to him promptly the following letter from Professor Francis A. Walker:

Boston, Nov. 10, 1890.

Henry George, Esq., Editor of THE STANDARD—SIR: Your comments in THE STANDARD of November 6, upon my recent Forum article, bear the same stamp of sterling honesty as does your proposition to confiscate the value of land, without compensation to owners.

You attribute to me the statement that the value of any man's house is liable to be enhanced, at any time, by the growth of the community in wealth and population, and you thereupon, with a painful effort at ridicule, challenge me to "give an instance in which the value of a house has been en-

hanced by the growth of a community in wealth and population."

I made no such statement and you did not think I had made such a statement. What I said was that the value of "a house and the ground on which it stands" is liable to be enhanced. Of such a phenomenon it would be easy to adduce instances by the million.

Truly yours, FRANCIS A. WALKER.

The letter hardly requires an answer, since it justifies the very criticism against which it protests. When Professor Walker says "that the value of a house and the ground on which it stands" is enhanced by any cause, he not only declares that the value of the land is thus enhanced, but that the value of the house is likewise thus enhanced. His exact language in the Forum was:

This is sheer rank Georgeism; nothing else; nothing less. It means, if it has any meaning, the nationalization of the land. It means that no man shall ever own a house and the ground on which it stands, since the value of these would be liable at any time to be enhanced by the growth of the community in wealth and population.

What does Professor Walker mean by speaking of the value of "these" if he referred to the value of the ground alone, and not to the value of the house? Is he as ignorant of the English language as he is of common courtesy?

The only error in Mr. George's comment was probably his assumption that Professor Walker is connected with Harvard. We are informed that he is at the head of the institute of technology and not connected in any way with Harvard. If this is the case Mr. George will doubtless apologize to Harvard when he returns.

In broad contrast with the spirit displayed in Professor Walker's letter is that animating Mr. Edward Atkinson's article, in the current issue of the Century, acknowledging the error of his previous declaration that the single tax had been practically tried in France, under Turgot. Mr. Middleton's presentation of the evidence demonstrated that Mr. Atkinson was mistaken, and, without any exhibition of chagrin or spite, Mr. Atkinson manfully acknowledged the fact. Mr. Horace White in an article on the single tax, which appeared in the Forum some months ago, fell into the same error that Mr. Atkinson now acknowledges. Let us hope that he will be equally frank in acknowledging his mistake, for many writers of less consequence, and not accustomed to original research, have eagerly quoted Edward Atkinson and Horace White as authority for the statement that, after a fair trial in France, the single tax system had failed.

#### IMPROVE OUR VOTING SYSTEM.

Mr. Post's admirable review of the working of the new ballot law, printed in last week's STANDARD, should move our readers in this city not only to thought but to action. The most notable defect in the present law is the provision requiring such a multiplicity of ballots. It adds enormously to the cost of printing, and makes voting difficult to the ignorant, and even to those educated people who are readily confused. Furthermore, it makes individual pasters, or the writing in of names, absolutely necessary to those who do not wish to vote a straight ticket. There is no necessity for this multiplicity of ballots, and the nuisance can be abated by an amendment authorizing the placing of all names on a single ballot. The printing expense will thus be reduced to one-tenth of the cost at the late election, and the name of every candidate will be placed before each voter, while the process of marking is far less difficult and confusing than that of preparing and folding the numerous ballots handed to each voter on November 4.

As to the blank pasters, there is some difference of opinion among ballot reformers. Some provision must be made for those who, because of illiteracy, or of foreign birth, cannot read English. To

permit such persons to take anyone into the private booth facilitates bribery. The stencil device may meet the requirements of such people and the paster ballot does so, but it was demonstrated at the recent election that the latter makes bribery easy and gives as much excuse for assessments for printing tickets as existed under the old law. If it cannot be abolished the paster ought to be a fac simile of the official ballot, printed at public expense and furnished to voters who cannot read, in order that their friends may mark it for them. This would obviate the assessment difficulty, but it would do nothing to overcome the bribery openly practiced at the late election. If a worker can follow his man to the booth and then, by a wink from the inspector, find whether or not he voted a ballot of double thickness, bribery will continue. Of course the worker and the inspector are under these circumstances liable to fine and imprisonment, but unless there is a close contest, prosecution in such cases is very rare. It will be better to get rid of pasters entirely, if possible.

Whether the ballot reform leagues should be revived in its old form is a question. Its personnel was too nearly that of the municipal league to make it probable that it would exercise much influence in the new assembly. Some organized effort to improve the law should be made, however, and it is likely to meet with much favor, because there is no doubt that many workingmen who usually vote early in the morning, before going to work, were disfranchised by the slowness of voting under the existing law, with its multiplicity of tickets. The triumphant party probably lost as many votes as the coalition in this way, and as neither party dare persist in a policy that obviously deprives workingmen of their right to vote, a more effective appeal for the single ballot, containing the names of all candidates, can be made this year than it was possible to make a year ago.

#### EDWARD ATKINSON CONFESSES HIS ERROR.

In his controversy with Mr. George in the Century magazine, Mr. Edward Atkinson declared that the single tax proposed by Mr. George had been applied in France under Turgot. Of course this statement, which was also made by Mr. Horace White in his article in the Popular Science Monthly, has been fully refuted in THE STANDARD, but a perfect refutation has been laid before the readers of the Century Magazine in the November number by Mr. James Middleton of New Orleans, Louisiana's representative on the national committee of the Single tax league of the United States. Mr. Middleton's letter is as follows:

#### THE FACTS OF HISTORY.

In his article on "A single tax upon land," in the July Century, Mr. Edward Atkinson says:

It was presented more than a century since by the economists of France known as the physiocrats: it was applied in France under Turgot, before the French revolution, with very disastrous results.

This is a remarkable statement for a man to make who "has endeavored, to the best of his ability, to explore the subject," for the proposition of the physiocrats holds about the same relation to the modern proposition as Fulton's steamboat holds to the Umbria. Besides, it was not applied by Turgot, though he attempted an approach to it, and as a result he was swept out of power by the privileged classes whose monopolies were threatened.

Henri Van Laun says in "The French Revolutionary Epoch," Vol. I, p. 35:

At all events Turgot, "the man with the brain of a Bacon and the heart of a Chancelier de l'Hopital," is regarded as the likely savior of France. His fame had preceded him, and this led the people to expect a renewal of administrative marvels, such as his intendants of Limoges brought to light. If regeneration without a revolution had

been possible for France, Turgot would have accomplished it. Plans vast and numerous comprising everything the revolution afterward effected, were incubated: the abolition of feudal rights, of laboring upon the highways, vexatious restrictions of the salt system, interior imposts, liberty of conscience and of the press, unfettered commerce and industry, disestablishment of the monastic orders, revision of criminal and civil codes, uniformity of weights and measures, and many others.

When at last parliament was convened (see page 41) to them Turgot, with honest, straightforward eloquence, unfolds his scheme:

"No bankruptcy, no increase of imposts, no loans;" to which are added free trade in corn, the abolition of guilds, and last, but not least, equality of territorial imposts for all. What matters it to them that in less than two years, with provisional measures of this kind, he has paid twenty-four million francs to the public creditors, redeemed twenty-eight millions of installed money, and, moreover, discharged fifty millions of debt. Let him do so again, but not ask them to abate one iota of their privileges. They refuse to be taxed like the common herd; they consider such demand preposterous, and flatly decline to listen to it.

As a last resort, Turgot prevails upon the king to register the edicts in a bed of justice, but the pressure of the privileged classes is so great that Turgot is compelled to resign (p. 44).

Good Malesherbes, Turgot's trusty helper, disgusted with all these vile cabals, voluntarily quits the ministry; the latter, more courageous, waits until he is sent away, uttering these memorable words at his first dismissal: "Sire, the destiny of kings led by courtiers is that of Charles I."

Says John Morley, "Critical Miscellanies," vol. II., pp. 150-151:

He suppressed the corvees and he tacked the money payment which was substituted on the twentieth—an impost from which the privileged classes were not exempt.

This was about as near to the impot unique as the privileged classes permitted him to get.

Leon Say, in his work on Turgot, Anderson's translation (p. 205), says:

Calonne's territorial subvention, bearing upon all land owners and upon all estates without exception or privilege, was nothing more than the land tax of which Turgot was developing the plan at the very moment of his dismissal, and which was to have been the object of his next reform.

New Orleans. JAMES MIDDLETON.

MR. ATKINSON ACKNOWLEDGES HIS ERROR.

Mr. James Middleton's open letter, which I am glad to see in print, gives me the opportunity to correct the error in my article on the "Single tax upon land," and in the rejoinder to Mr. Henry George, to which Mr. Middleton refers.

The single tax, or what the physiocrats call the impot unique, was not applied in France under Turgot; that is, it was not put into practice. The services which Turgot rendered are fully stated in the extracts given by Mr. Middleton. The impot unique, or the single tax advocated by the physiocrats, may or may not have been of the same nature as the single tax on land valuation now proposed by Mr. Henry George. It was, however, based upon the same idea, in which Turgot shared, that all wealth is derived from land.

I may rightly give an explanation as to how this error crept into my copy and into the Century. You may remember that the first draft of this article upon the "Single tax upon land" was submitted to you, and while you liked it and desired to publish it, it was too long; neither did it satisfy myself that it was in a sufficiently popular form to be easily comprehended.

In that original draft I attributed the issue of the French assignats, the paper money of the French revolution, which collapsed in such a disastrous manner although secured upon the confiscated land of the nobles, to the misconception in regard to land which had been held by the physiocrats and sustained or applied by Turgot. In making the necessary excision I overlooked the fact that I left the statement in an incorrect form, as if a single tax on land valuation, corresponding to the plan of Mr. George, had been actually put into practice in France. This is not the fact; and the simplest way is to admit the error. Even when writing my short rejoinder to Mr. George, I failed

to observe that by my excision I had left the paragraph in its erroneous form.

Boston. EDWARD ATKINSON.

## GLEANINGS FROM HISTORY REGARDING TAXATION AND THE LAND VALUE TAX.

### II.

#### THE PHYSIOCRATS.

There is probably no previous period of human history more pregnant with thought and interest to the student and lover of humanity than the eighteenth century, especially that part of it which culminated in the French revolution.

One of the potent forces which sought to avert the impending change by the application of the principles of justice to public affairs was the school of economic thought called the economists or physiocrats.

No student of the single tax should be ignorant of their rise, their economic views, and of their attempts to apply them in the government of France.

Quesney was the recognized founder. He was born in 1694, and died in 1774. His father was a small landed proprietor, and Quesney was raised amid agricultural scenes, a fact which was to color his philosophy. He was educated as a physician, and rose to such eminence as to be court physician of Louis XV. In medicine he is noted for a pamphlet against blood letting, so much practiced in that day. So beloved was he by Louis XV. that the king ennobled him, gave him a coat of arms, three flowers of the pansy, which, in France, means thought; and gave him for a motto, "Proprie ex-cogitationum mentis." Blanqui says of his great work, "Tableau Economique": "The first proofs were printed at Versailles from the very hands of the king, with this epigraph: 'Poor peasants, poor kingdom; poor kingdom, poor king.'"

A contemporary was Gournay, who was raised in mercantile pursuits. Though studying economic subjects from the mercantile standpoint, he reached conclusions similar to Quesney's. Others, eminent, were the elder Mirabeau, Mercier de la Riviere, Morellet, Condorcet, Malesherbes and Du Pont de Nemours.

But the largest figure of this remarkable group was Anne-Robert-Jaques-Turgot, who was born of noble parentage in Paris, 1727, and died in 1781. He received as fine an education as the schools of France could give him. He was educated for the priesthood. Though his prospects for preferment in the church were most brilliant, he turned his back on them and chose the profession of the law. The reason was that he had imbibed Voltaire's views, and his nature revolted at hypocrisy. Replying to college friends he said: "You shall do as you will; for my own part it is impossible for me to wear a mask all my life." His later history is a record of the attempt to carry physiocratic views into the government of France; but before taking that up I will endeavor to set forth some of their teachings.

They held that there was a divine or natural order in nature extending even to governments, and that it was the duty of statesmen to find out and follow that divine order. While holding to its fullest degree the then accepted doctrine of a divinely ordained kingship, they devoted their main energies to developing the science of wealth, its nature and the national laws which govern its production, distribution and consumption.

The following is a translation of an extract from Turgot which has been made for this article:

The laborer, or cultivator, is the only one whose labor may produce more than the cost of labor. He is, therefore, the only source of all riches. The earth, independently of any person and of all law, proportionately rewards him with the price of his work. Nature does not bargain with him in order to oblige him to content himself with his absolute needs. That which she gives is proportionate neither to his needs nor according to a fixed valuation of a price of his daily labor. It is the physical result of the fertility or bounty of natural resources and of its appropriateness, more so than of the difficult processes he has employed to render it productive.

Since the work of the cultivator produces more than he needs, he can, with the surplus which nature has gratuitously granted him

beyond the worth of his efforts, purchase the labor of other members of society. Those who thus sell their labor earn but their living; but the cultivator gathers, besides his subsistence, a disposable wealth which, without its having been purchased, he yet sells.

He is, therefore, the sole source of all riches, which by its circulation animates all the efforts of society; because it is that alone which labor produces beyond its cost.

It remains certain, therefore, that there is no other revenue than the net products of land, and that all other annual profit is either paid by this revenue or forms a part of the cost which serves to produce the revenue.

They held then that those who worked natural opportunities produced, first their own subsistence; second, replaced and kept up their stock, and that there was remaining a net product, the free gift of nature, out of which the rest of humanity must be supported.

While they held that manufacturing, mercantile and like classes, were useful and necessary, and produced values, yet these values only equalled the provisions, etc., which these classes consumed out of the net product during that labor. Such laborers were, therefore, called barren or sterile laborers to distinguish them from the productive laborers whose work contributed the net product. They made an exception as regards foreign commerce when they received material products for services in excess of the products consumed during those services. Holding that all support of government as well as of barren workers must come out of the net product, and holding also as an evident truth that all indirect taxation must be much more expensive than direct, they demonstrated that all taxes should be abolished save a direct tax upon this net product, "the impot unique."

The following extracts from Quesney's "General Maxims for the Economic Government of an Agricultural Kingdom" are taken from Blanqui's "History of Political Economy."

Let the tax not be destructive nor disproportionate to the total revenue of the nation; let its increase follow the increase of the revenue; let it be assessed directly on the net product of the landed property and not on the wages of men, nor on provisions, when it would multiply expenses of collection, be prejudicial to commerce and destroy annually a part of the wealth of the nation.

Neither let it be taken from the wealth of the farmers of landed property, for the advances of the agriculture of a kingdom must be looked upon as fixed property which must be carefully preserved for the production of the impost, the revenue, and the subsistence of all classes of citizens; otherwise the tax degenerates into spoliation and causes a dwindling away which quickly ruins a state.

Let openings for the sale and transportation of the products of manual labor be facilitated by the repair of roads, and by navigation on the canals, rivers and seas; because the more that is saved in the expenses of commerce, the more the revenue of the territory is increased.

Let entire freedom of trade be maintained; for the regulation of the internal and foreign trade, which is the most secure, most exact, and the most profitable for a nation and a state, consists in full liberty of competition.

Of free labor Turgot said:

God, by giving man wants, by rendering the resource of labor necessary to him, has made the right to work the property of every man, and that property is the first, the most sacred and the most imprescriptible of all.

Turgot's views on taxation are very fully set forth in Condorcet's life of Turgot, a translation of which was published in England in 1787, a copy of which is in the Astor library.

Condorcet, after giving an account of Turgot's grand and comprehensive plan for the beginnings of a popular form of government in the shape of municipal, canton, provincial and national or general assemblies, resting upon the ballots of property holders, says:

The first object to which M. Turgot conceived he should be able to direct the attention of these assemblies [the municipal and canton, which were to be first formed] was the reform of taxation. It has been proved that, under whatever form a tax may be established, it is raised solely upon the annual produce of land, after all expenses used for obtaining that produce have been deducted. It has secondly been proved that the only just assessment is that which is proportional to the net produce of land. And lastly, that the only possible way of fixing this or any regular proportion whatever is to levy a tax directly upon this produce.

To become convinced of the first of these truths, it will be sufficient to observe that the net produce of land being the only real wealth that is annually reproduced, it is upon that

only that an annual tax can be laid. Beside, if we examine the different forms of taxes that have been established or proposed, and consider upon what produce they are really raised, we shall find that ultimately it is either upon the net produce of land or upon the net interest of capitals (that is, upon the interest that remains after the compensation for the risk to which the capitals were exposed, and for the trouble of management have been deducted, which is the only way of estimating the real interest).

Let us suppose, then, a tax referred to these two objects, and that the amount was first raised from land only; is it not evident that every money holder might without loss lend at a lower interest? Suppose, again, the whole tax to be raised upon the net interest of money; could the money holders, without sustaining a loss, lend their money at the same interest? There ought, therefore, to be a change in the rate of interest to restore the equilibrium. Can the interest of money have any other measure than that of capitals employed in the purchase of lands? Whatever exceeds that proportion, is it not either a compensation for risk or for trouble?

The second proposition is self evident. Justice seems to require that each individual should contribute to the public service in proportion to the sum of which the public authority secures to him the possession. However trifling be the property, it is still an advantage and a means of subsistence independent of labor.

If, in substituting a direct tax instead of those which are already established, any class in the community whatever should find an advantage at the expense of another, it is evident that the old taxes were not distributed with equity; and instead of being a cause for complaint there would be reason to rejoice at this injustice being repaired. But every class of citizens would be gainers, for this mode, which is the only just one, and is neither injurious to production nor industry, is at the same time attended with least expense in the collection. It is the only tax which exposes the citizens to no restraint or vexation, by which they are subjected to no mortifications, and in which there exists no secret conflict between the revenue officers and the people, a conflict that creates distrust between the king and his subjects, arms one part of the nation against another, consumes the time of a considerable number of persons, corrupts equally the retainers of the treasury and those who make it a practice to brave their measures, and obliges government to make laws against the latter at which humanity and justice equally revolt.

A direct tax, thus relieved of expenses of collection and easily proportioned to the income of those upon whom it falls, would have another double advantage.

It would never be paid but by those who were able to pay it. And it would be regulated by a form so simple that the total amount of the tax, with its successive diminutions or augmentations, and the sum which each individual contributed, would necessarily be known by all the citizens, who would no longer be deceived respecting the public interest or their own.

The following quotation from same book shows inferentially that the physiocrats had no idea of exempting towns from taxation:

The land tax, which is paid by some towns that have compounded for it by the produce of some duty on merchandise on its entrance into them, is not included in the above sum.

In another place Condorcet says:

M. Turgot had formed a plan of substituting one direct tax instead of that multiplicity of indirect taxes of every kind, which are the scourge of industry and of commerce, and the prime source of the misery and the poverty of the people.

We thus see that the physiocrats demonstrated with great force and clearness the doctrines of free trade, free men and the impot unique. But I do not find that they had any clear cut views on the evils growing out of the monopoly of land. That seems to be the distinctive characteristic of "Progress and Poverty."

It is not given to one mind, or even the mind of one generation, to unfold a truth in its complete fullness and charms. A truth reveals itself from age to age like the gathering and increase of a mighty river, and we shall never be able to see it in its complete fullness until we see it in the ocean of eternity. JAMES MIDDLETON.

New Orleans.

#### GRAINS OF SAND.

Whether or not they will ever enter into any estimate of land values remains to be seen, but they may have a drifting use which the single taxer, according to his habit of just distinctions, will not fail to apply to any crevice which they will adequately fill. There is no position where a grain of sand makes its power more manifestly felt than in the seat of vision, and though it is hoped that these sailing specks of dust will have no spe

cially irritating quality, they will miss their end if they do not occasionally fly in the eyes of speculators in aggregates of their own quality. For the most part the things of life are made up of infinitesimal particulars, no one of which is important except in its relations to universals. And in the case of these sand atoms it follows that the object to which they cleave in their migrations and transmigrations is alone the point of consideration and profit.

The question of woman's standing in the work of single tax is one of curious speculation to an investigating sand grain. Whether or no? The fly on the wall laughs at the grave pros and cons in the matter of admitting women to the innermost in a crusade against wrong and oppression which involves her interests and makes her, whether she will or not, a partner in the pains and triumphs of the struggle. Shall she not decide for herself whether she may enter our club-rooms without contamination? And was not that question, after all, settled before time by the infinite Law-giver who made her a help-meet unto man in all the ways and walks of life? It is done. Enter! Enter! Give her a chance—she will take it anyhow—to suggest any remedial measure or means of grace that has escaped a sense hardened and blunted in the iron ruts of custom where a fresh experience would blow in like a breath from heaven. Why should we modestly remand her to the retirement of a separate organization on the principle of the church sewing circle, where she may do the kitchen work of the club at the gentle order of the moving powers that royally dictate terms of service from the commanding height of superior wisdom and experience? Give way! Give way! It is human liberties that we are striving for, and we will have no handicapped partners in the war for justice and right. In our march to victory we want to move side by side, and not with a forlorn sisterhood bringing up the rear. When we roll out our grand diapason of "freedom and equality" we don't want our feminine voices choring away on a separate stage.

But while we are slowly pondering whether or no it is safe and proper, lo, the sisters themselves are taking the initiative, and, recognizing our aims as one, have come over with gracious proposal of reciprocal service which we are not such traitors to the law of love and justice as to reject. For in times like these, and with holy purpose like ours, the man and the woman are merged in the immortal, and the question of faithfulness to duty is the sole consideration.

It is not likely, nor in an unequalled sense is it desirable, that the ladies who, from week to week, figure as "representative" in the pages of a popular illustrated journal, will honor us with a following. We would not be critical. We admire beauty and we look at the portrait of a lovely representative lady of American society recently set in print with sorrow that her charms should need the appended qualifications to constitute her a "representative lady." "Mrs. —," writes the glowing reporter as a first enumeration of representative excellencies, "is married to a man of large wealth, which he inherited, and who has never engaged in business." This should be set in large type. A distinction of of such character ought not to be inconspicuously announced in a body of ordinary bourgeois or even long primer.

"There is certainly no woman in New York, or probably elsewhere," goes on the thrilling record of representative virtues, "who has so extensive and elaborate a wardrobe as Mrs. —. At all times she has three hundred dresses, and the number frequently exceeds these startling figures. Each dress is composed of the finest materials, and some of the brocades and laces she wears were manufactured expressly for her. Mrs. — has two fads—laces and jewels. She has possibly the finest collection of the former in New York, those she possesses having cost \$75,000, and her jewels in number, costliness and beauty, rank among the ten finest collections in the city. Their value is over \$200,000. Mrs. — is especially

fond of diamonds and sapphires, and has the largest and finest collection—"

We pause, gasping with astonishment in the midst of this itemized bill of attractions constituting a representative lady of America, and question whether some school of training, single tax clubs or other, is not needed to elevate the standard of a society whose bedazzled reporters make out a distinguishing list of virtues comprising three hundred dresses of finest material.

A. L. M.

#### WILL THE DEMOCRATS AGAIN BLUNDER?

Instead of being "settled for twenty years," the tariff question is still before the country, and Tuesday's elections have devolved upon the democrats the high duty of undoing the blighting work of McKinley.

But will the democrats be equal to the task? Will they have skill equal to their courage and generalship to match their majority?

They have had sweeping victories before, and in former years they have been commissioned to dislodge the tariff robbers. But what have they accomplished? What tax has been abolished? What burden has been lessened? What gain have they made in the contest with the protectionist freebooters beyond that of purging their own ranks of Randallism?

To me it seems that their failure to make actual headway has been due to faulty methods in congress. Colonel Morrison attempted to reform the tariff horizontally, and his bill invited and secured the combined opposition of the "protects," and not only the "protects," but of all those other special interests which have thriven by standing in with the factory buccaneers.

Mr. Mills, after incredible labor, produced a better, but still a wretchedly bad, tariff bill that in its turn was defeated by the hosts of special privilege, the silver kings and railroad princes rallying with the tariff barons to save the country from reduced taxation. And even the democrats themselves were not a unit in their attack on the robbers. They were weakened by internal dissensions growing out of conflicting "local interests" that found their champions even in such men as Vest and Carlisle, who sturdily stood up for lead and for hemp with true protectionist zeal. They were anxious enough to reduce the taxes, but they kept a weather eye out for the tariff pets of their own states.

If Mr. Mills had concentrated his attack, say on wool, coal and salt, the result would hardly have been doubtful. He would have won a signal victory in the house, and the senate could scarcely have offset it. The tariff forces could not have been rallied solidly to the defense. The woolen manufacturers, the big coal consumers and the great packers would secretly have rejoiced in the prospect of free raw materials; and Mr. Reed and Mr. McKinley might have appealed to them in vain for succor. And all the little "protects" would have been more or less indifferent. They could not have been massed against such a measure. At the best, their resistance to it would have been perfunctory, and many of them would have fled the field when the chance offered.

But when every protected interest in the country was assailed, there was nothing for it but a united and desperate opposition. Conflicting interests were lost sight of in the common danger and the necessity for common defense. The battle was therefore lost; and strengthened by their victory, the protectionists boldly claimed a larger spoil and have taken it at the hands of Major McKinley.

It remains to be seen whether the democrats will repeat their tactical blunders of the past. Surely they ought not to do so, and single tax men, at least, should see to it that future attacks on the robber barons shall be made, not in mass, but in detail.

We constantly profess that our policy is the repeal of one tax at a time. If we could we would repeal all taxes at once, but we can't do that, and so we bend our

energies toward the abolition of whatever tax we see to be least able to resist our assault. In this state it is the personal property tax that we are assailing. In other states the poll tax is the object of attack; and in every state our guns are trained on the weakest point in the enemy's defenses.

Then why shouldn't we act with similar discretion in regard to the tariff? Why shouldn't we regulate the zeal of the democrats a little in this warfare against protection? They mean well, perhaps, but they lack ordinary wisdom. Grant didn't attempt to whip the whole south at once. He carried Belmont before he went to Nashville, Richmond and Appomattox.

I hope that our influence will be exerted in the concentration of the democratic attack, and it is not too early to begin shaping the policy of the free traders. If they win at all in the next congress it will not be by bringing in a second Mills bill, dealing with four thousand taxes and enlisting the desperate opposition of four thousand different plundering interests, but by proposing legislation that will divide the enemy and make a breach in their defenses. If coal, wool and salt were put on the free list in 1891, the rest would come easy in 1893.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

Chicago, November 5.

#### THE SEVENTH NEW YORK DISTRICT.

I probably owe it to single tax men throughout the country to give them a clearer idea than they have thus far had of the character of my campaign as a candidate for congress and of the reasons for my overwhelming defeat. My nomination was due to the action of the Tariff reform league, which was organized for the specific purpose of demanding the nomination of more capable men for congress from this city. The league made no attempt to bring about a change in the districts represented by Messrs. Fitch and Flower. It did demand, however, of both democratic factions the nomination of Mr. Warner in the Eleventh district and of myself in the Seventh, and was considering other demands of like nature at the time that the democratic state committee, at the instance of Tammany hall, appointed its famous "harmony committee." This committee found that there was no opposition to Messrs. Fitch and Flower and that in the four lower districts of the city it was entirely safe to run two democratic candidates, since in none of those had the republicans a third of the vote, and therefore the election of a republican was impossible. In the Tenth and Eleventh districts, however, the nomination of two democrats might result in republican success. The harmony committee therefore insisted that Tammany hall should take one of the two and the county democracy the other and each indorse the other's candidate. The result was that this arrangement made Mr. Warner the united candidate and absolutely sure of election. Tim Campbell in the Eighth district and Amos Cummings in the Ninth personally arranged for mutual indorsements that gave each of them a united nomination. This left but two districts in which there was not union, and in one of these, the Seventh, I was the county democracy candidate, with the sitting member, Tammany candidate, running against me and a republican also running, though without any hope of election.

Meanwhile the county democracy and the republicans had made an alliance with the People's municipal league in behalf of the anti-Tammany local ticket, half of the candidates on which were republicans. The storm of popular wrath against the Harrison administration and the performances of the republican majority in congress swept over this city as over the rest of the country. The result was that I had to bear the brunt of the storm which swept over everything that was even allied with republicans or republicanism. The county democracy proved to have practically no strength whatever in the district in which I ran, and of course the majority of the

republicans voting stood by their own candidate on a national question. I think that fully nine-tenths of the votes I received were the result of an active campaign made from cart-tails throughout the district. There never was at any time any attempt to conceal the fact that I am a free trader and a single taxer, but I doubt if that fact had anything whatever to do with my defeat. I believe there were some few speeches made against me on the ground that I was a free trader, but neither in the press nor on the stump was there any assault on my position as a single tax man.

The votes I got were altogether through pasters on Tammany, municipal league and republican ballots, the majority of course coming from men who were voting the Tammany ticket as a protest against any alliance whatever with republicans at this particular juncture. If I had had the united nomination I should not have lost a single vote on the ground that I was a known single taxer and free trader, and should have received over 14,000 votes instead of something less than 3,000. Singularly enough I was overwhelmed by the democratic cyclone which gave Tammany its tremendous majority, because it was the only democratic organization in the city of New York that had no connection, in any way, with the party whose performances at Washington the people were then rebuking.

To the single tax men of New York and Brooklyn and to those of the whole country, many of whom contributed money to the campaign committee conducting my canvass, I am under obligations that I am glad to acknowledge in this way, since it is impossible that I can reach each one personally. To the members of the Reform club I am under similar and equal obligations. The president and most of the trustees and nearly the whole active membership of the club either formally indorsed my nomination or took an active part in my campaign, and they all understand fully that it was the circumstances above alluded to that made the result so disastrous to myself. I likewise extend to them, as to the single tax men, my sincere thanks for their earnest support of my canvass, and join with them in regretting that the situation was such that their support could not be made effective.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

#### THE CONFERENCE PICTURE.

Those friends who have subscribed for copies of the photograph of the delegates to the conference will please make the following corrections: No. 128 is printed J. J. "Struber;" should be "Streeter." No. 144, no name, is P. Marquelin of New Jersey.

#### McKINLEY PRICES.

Fitch, N. Y. Observer.  
Be it ever so burdened, there's no place like home  
Spite of taxes on chamber set, hair brush and comb;  
On china and tinware without precedent,  
And carpets McKinleyized thirty per cent;  
On our paper and books, and our cutlery ware,  
And our trousers and stockings, taxed so much a pair;  
On our towels, and blacking, and requisite drugs;  
Our hats for our heads, for our feet cozy rugs.  
From the reach of the tariff, oh, where can we roam?  
Be it ever so burdened, we've got to stay home.

#### THE TWO THINGS DON'T BALANCE.

Boston Post.  
Belinda—"I wish, papa, that you would increase my allowance." Mr. Simpson—"Good gracious, Belinda! I should be more apt to decrease it." Belinda—"But, papa, everything costs so much more, and they all say at the shops that they charge McKinley prices." Mr. Simpson—"That may be, my dear, but I haven't heard of any McKinley incomes yet."

#### A DOUBLE INIQUITY.

Daniel O'Connell.  
Protection is a double iniquity, for at the same time that it raises the prices of necessities it diminishes the vent for manufacturers. I am tired of these weary experiments on the poor, which do everything but give them bread.

#### SAD, BUT TRUE.

Philadelphia Record.  
A condition, not a theory, is what ails the silent Reed.

#### JUST IMAGINE

Boston Post.  
Imagine Speaker Reed counting a quorum with his black eye!

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

Dr. M. R. Levenson of the University of Virginia has, in reference to numerous requests, decided to publish his lecture, "The Science of Legislation," in pamphlet form, provided a sufficient number of copies at twenty-five cents each are subscribed for by December 15. Address M. R. Levenson, University of Virginia, Va.

A correspondent wants THE STANDARD to set The Churchman of this city right on the single tax question. We decline the task. The Churchman has the ability and the honesty to set itself right if it will really study the question, and so long as it prefers to treat of it without study no other paper can set it right.

Mr. Cosgrove, the democratic candidate for congress in the First Ohio district, was savagely attacked by the Cincinnati Gazette, because he is a single taxer and a free trader, just as Hon. Tom L. Johnson was similarly attacked by the Cleveland Leader in the Twenty-first district. Mr. Cosgrove was, unhappily, defeated, but his defeat was not due to his economic beliefs, but to the determination of the Cincinnati democratic ring to take revenge on Governor Campbell by causing Cincinnati to go republican.

At its late session in Pittsburg, the Pennsylvania federation of labor, following in the wake of the Indiana federation, incorporated a single tax resolution in its platform of principles. It was offered by Mr. L. F. Kast, and recommends a tax law that will compel all to contribute to the public revenue in proportion to the natural opportunities they enjoy and the benefits received. The resolution was opposed by Professor Gar-side, who for some time had charge of the cloakmakers' strike in this city, but it was carried by a handsome majority.

Charles W. Sutherland, city editor of the Morning Journal, was elected as a democrat to the assembly from the Ninth Brooklyn district. Mr. Sutherland is a man of ability and character, with sound and definite economic views, and he is likely to be a factor in politics on account of his splendid success in carrying a district that had hitherto been regarded as hopelessly republican.

In view of the result of the late elections, it is said that President Harrison does not think it as necessary to call an extra session of congress, as he did a week or so ago.

The New York Times thinks that one of the oddest things about the defeat of the republican party in the late election is that nobody seems to have taken the trouble to ask President Harrison what he thought about it. Who cares what he thinks?

Great men are often guilty of doing mean things. Instance the case of Mrs. Margaret Watkins, a clerk in the Washington city post office, who has been suspended by order of Postmaster General Wanamaker for using disrespectful language toward Senator Quay. It appears that a day or two after the late election the son of Senator Quay called at the post office for his father's mail. Mrs. Watkins asked some of the employees where the senator's mail could be found, and a wag answered that it would be found in the dead letter office. Understanding this to be information, and not a joke, Mrs. Watkins went to the delivery window and repeated what had been said to Mr. Quay junior. The young gentleman reported the matter to Mr. Wanamaker, and he ordered her suspension. Of course, when the bad temper resulting from the late humiliating republican defeat has subsided the postmaster-general will be ashamed of his small act, and will restore Mrs. Watkins to her functions; but, all the same, it was a mean thing to do.

During the late campaign the republican national committee had a photograph taken of the house of representatives

while a vote was in progress. The democratic seats were vacant. Copies of this picture were exhibited all over the country, with the object of getting votes. It has been suggested—maliciously, perhaps—that the same committee have a photograph taken of the next house, and that the two pictures be considered companion pieces. Republicans will be almost as scarce in the second picture as the democrats are in the first.

The Chicago Herald wants to know, now that the election is over, if the Chicago Tribune is again for free trade. That is the Tribune's wont throughout the year, excepting when a political campaign is opening; and it is to be presumed that it will again fall into its accustomed rut.

In view of the results of the late election it may be well to carry the remembrance of the republican leaders back to the time when Abraham Lincoln made use of his famous aphorism: "You may fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

In crediting an extract from a speech, in the last issue of THE STANDARD, John E. Russell, the well known ex-congressman, was referred to as the governor-elect of Massachusetts. This was an error, as the governor-elect is William E. Russell. Both are good democrats, and neither will resent a slip of the pen that confounds them.

## THE DEADLY PARALLEL COLUMN.

Boston Post.

Arguing against the facts is a difficult thing to do successfully, as party organs like the New York Tribune and the Boston Journal, which are trying to convince their readers that the new tariff does not raise prices, must realize fully by this time. Indeed, they have already reached the reckless and frantic stage and are making assertions which it is almost a work of supererogation to refute. The "deadly parallel column" which we give below illustrates this fact to a nicety:

Democratic accounts of the increase in cost of various articles have been too often completely shameless. One paper asserts, for example, that the cost of all earthenware, window glass and table glass has been increased by the McKinley bill. The fact is \* \* \* that no change whatever was made in duties on earthenware by the new tariff \* \* \* It is also the fact that no change whatever is made on duties on window glass, polished or common, except for the largest sizes, more than 24 by 36 inches square for common, and more than 24 by 60 inches square for polished glass. The increase in duties on pressed glass has no effect whatever on the cost of an ordinary table ware, for such articles, from the cheapest to the best, are made in this country and sold here more cheaply than anywhere else.—(New York Tribune, editorial article, Oct. 15.)

The duty on glassware, he said, had been raised from 45 per cent to 60 per cent, and the duty was levied on the merchandise, including the cost of packages and packing, which amounted to a large sum on such fragile goods as crockery and glassware. Mr. Jones, continuing, said: "Each firm, as fast as it gets a new importation, adds the increase in duty to the selling price, which of course makes the duty come out of the pocket of the consumer." \* \* \*

The combination of domestic producers had the power, and doubtless would raise prices. Mr. Jones said that the range of increase on all glass and crockery ware was from 5 to 15 per cent. The fine goods pay the least duty, he said, and illustrated his point by saying "the duty is the same on the richest Sevres porcelain as on the commonest blue-edged baking plate, namely 60 per cent, to which is added the duty on packages."—(Mr. Jerome Jones of Jones, McDuffee & Stratton, interview in Post, Oct. 15.)

## YOU DEFY THE PEOPLE, EH?

Altoona, Pa., Tribune.

The McKinley bill is on the statute books and the democratic house cannot repeal it. So long as the republicans have the president and the senate there can be no repeal. President Harrison's term will continue during the life of the house elected last Tuesday, while the republican majority in the senate cannot be overturned during the present century.

## AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SAY PROTECTION IS A FRAUD.

Boston Globe.

Mr. Gladstone in his old age does not mince things, but calls protection a "delusion and a fraud." It thus appears that the most distinguished "scholar in politics" of modern times views things somewhat differently from Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, formerly a free trader and member of the Cobden club.

## THIS IS PATHETIC.

Indianapolis Journal (rep.).

Now let us get ready for the next campaign.

## A BROAD CONTRAST.

THE HABITATION OF AN IRISH PEASANT COMPARED WITH THE PALACE OF AN ENGLISH TORY.

A correspondent of the Weekly Bulletin recently sent to that paper a graphic account of a visit to the cabin of an Irish peasant in Connemara. Another correspondent writing to the paper from London, who seems to have taken a hint from THE STANDARD'S "Society Notes," takes the description of the Irish cabin and contrasts it paragraph by paragraph with the description of a fete in honor of the tory "Primrose league" given by Colonel North, "the Nitrate king," which appeared in the Kentish Mercury. The following extracts from the communication will interest our readers:

The Bulletin thus pictures its palatial hero in Connemara:

And then Pat, the master of the household, comes in and gravely salutes us. He is not a man, but a skeleton. But he complains not at all; he is so utterly ignorant that he knows nothing. He has but two ideas—his village priest and the coming famine. Last year he got through the winter, but all the family had was a meal a day of potatoes and water. This year he has already begun charity. Well, if he cannot get sufficient maize to see him through he and his must die on the roadside. If the rent is not paid the family will be evicted; and rather than face a workhouse (he, an able-bodied man) they have agreed to die.

The hero of the Kentish Mercury at Eltham is:

Colonel North, attired in a cool-looking suit and straw hat, was on the lookout for his many guests, and, accompanied by Mrs. North, welcomed the advance party in the grounds. Under their joint guidance a tour of inspection was then made through the labyrinth of handsome apartments, which would need far greater space than can be given in a newspaper to adequately describe their costly character and many objects of interest. The house, which was erected at a total cost of £153,000, contains twenty-seven bedrooms, in addition to the sumptuously furnished suites of rooms on the ground floor, about which a few words of description may be interesting.

The Bulletin leads us into the Hibernian's palace:

A "Connemara cottage"—i. e., a little hovel built of boulders of stone, such boulders averaging a foot in height, and perhaps weighing a hundredweight, put one on the other, and the interstices filled up with sand or bog, or, if the owner be very rich, with a mixture of cow's dung and bog earth; no windows, and not a chimney. Winter and summer the door is left open, that the smoke may find an outlet. Inside are tethered (if, as we say, the owner is passing rich) perhaps a cow just calved, or calving; a sow just littered, or about to litter; a half dozen miserable looking chickens or ducks—and the human family.

The Mercury limns the "palace" and pictures of the Nitrate king:

On passing through the entrance hall, which is richly paneled with dark American walnut, and ornamented with sundry curious pieces of armor, we enter the sculpture gallery, the sides of which are built of red marble, with small ornamental glass windows along the top. Here are to be seen several fine bronzes and pieces of sculpture, which lately graced the Italian exhibition. This gallery opens into the ball room and picture gallery combined—a large and lofty apartment measuring 115 feet by 50 feet, with a marble dado round the sides and a glass ceiling above. The entrance at each end is through pillars composed of beautiful green Mexican onyx, and over one end is the balcony for the band. The parqueted floor presents an ideal surface for the dancers, whose leisure intervals can be bestowed on the numerous valuable pictures that cover the walls. Among those may be mentioned the three colossal works by Scintu—"La Battaglia d'Imera," "The Second Foundation of Rome" and "Deeds, not Words," the last-named picture showing the women of Rome bringing their jewels as offerings to the senate to enable them to carry on war. [And so on, quantum suff.]

And dear old Thackeray has drawn his picture of another "Country Snob's" mansion, and here it is:

The great hall is seventy-two feet in length, fifty-six in breadth, and thirty-eight feet high. The carvings of the chimneys, representing the bath of Venus and "Ercules and Eryclash," is by Van Chisium, the most famous sculpture of his age and country. The ceiling, by Calimanco, represents painting, architecture and music (the naked figure with the barrel-horgan), introducing George, first Lord Carabas, to the Temple of the Muses. The winder ornaments is by Vanderputty. The floor is Patagonian marble, and the chandelier in the centre was presented to Lionel, second marquis, by Lewy the Sixteenth, whose head was cut off in the French

revelation. We now enter the South gallery, one hundred and forty-eight in length, by thirty-two in breadth; it is profusely ornamented by the choicest works of art. Sir Andrew Katz, founder of the Carabas family, and banker of the Prince of Horange, Kneller; her present Ladyship, by Laurence; Lord St. Michaels, by the same—he is represented sittin' on a rock in velvet pantaloons; Moses in the bulrushes—the bull very fine—by Paul Potter; the toilet of Venus, by Fantaski; Flemish Bore drinking, Van Ginnums; Jupiter and Europa, De Horn; the Grand Junction Canal, Venus, by Candleety, and Italian Bandix, by Slavata Rosa.

The Nitrate King has other choice *morceaux*—all classical subjects:

The dining room, measuring fifty-four feet, presents a very handsome appearance from its dark panelling of rosewood. In a glass cabinet, built into one side of the room, are various gold cups and pieces of plate. Among the number we may mention Philomel's cups for winning the Goodwood race this year and Liverpool last year; Fullerton's Waterloo coursing cup this year, and Troughend and Fullerton's last year's cup; Colonel North's gold cup to be presented by him to the Yorkshire coursing club; the gold casket, containing the key, bestowing on Colonel North the freedom of the borough of Leeds; and a tea service formerly belonging to Princess Charlotte, the wife of the late king of the Belgians. Near to the dining room is the billiard room, sixty feet long; it is built in with panels of yellow, red and green marble, making it a very striking looking apartment.

The *chef d'œuvre*, however, is

The strong room, built of fireproof bricks, and guarded with an iron door, containing a large amount of valuables. Beneath the glass cases one can view the breakfast, dinner, tea and dessert services of solid gold, presented to Colonel North by the proprietors of the Liverpool nitrate company at a cost of £5,000; the massive rose water dishes and flagons are especially beautiful pieces of workmanship. In the strong room are also stored the cups won by Mr. Harry North in his yachting competitions, and a large iron safe, containing personal jewelry. Special precautions are adopted against burglars.

The intellectual pendants of his kingship are well provided for:

On the ground floor of the mansion, commanding a pretty view over the extensive sweep of wooded landscape, is the well-stocked library, which is a solitary remnant of the old house which preceded the present structure. Its ornamental ceiling and handsome bookcases and pillars of walnut and pitch pine certainly could not have been improved upon. The library is in connection with the winter garden, which, when completed, will render the colonel and his family independent of outdoor exercise during inclement weather. This unique place is 100 feet square and 90 feet high. There is a total length of glass of 750 feet. The roof is supported on iron pillars, and the large area can be brilliantly illuminated at night by several powerful arc electric lights.

"You can go 700 feet under cover," said Mrs. Colonel North, "from one end of the building to the other, and not go out of doors at all. Happy woman! The Kentish Court Circular's editor omits to describe the costume of his fair chaperon. The other Court Circular has depicted that of

## LADY SNOBBY.

Costume de cour, composed of a train of the most superb Pekin bandannas, elegantly trimmed with spangles, tinfoil, and red tape. Bodice and under-dress of sky-blue velvet, trimmed with bouffants and clouds of bell-pulls. Stomacher, a muffin. Headdress, a bird's nest, with a bird of paradise, over a rich brass knocker *en ferromiere*. This splendid costume by Madame Crinoline, of Regent street, was the object of unusual admiration.

The Weekly Bulletin's "happy family" is not quite so well cared for. Here is the picture, and, gentle reader, ponder upon it, for it is true to the letter:

With our nostrils in handkerchief, for the stench is awful, we enter the hovel. "Father is drawing sand from the shore, to replace what was blown away off the potato patch by last week's gale." And mother? Well, mother, simply a bag of skin and bones, is suckling a wee mite of an infant, who—well, let us pray God He may take it back to Himself this very night. Half a dozen children—well, can we call them children?—dots of bare existence, fill the doorway; and the mother never ceases her diurnal toil. She had had luck last year, and the family now live on a daily meal of Indian corn boiled with water. The Indian corn and salt are "borrowed" from the local storekeeper, who may or may not get his wage in a calf or a pig later on. Not a shilling from the landlord!

## BUT THAT "SKINLEY BILL" IS CAUGHT.

Chicago Tribune.

Tommy—Maw ain't going to have any seal-skin sack this winter. I heard paw say so. Jerry—What's the reason she ain't? "There ain't any skins, I guess." "What's become of the skins?" "I think paw said Skinley Bill had got away with 'em."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## MR. WHITE TO MR. COPELAND.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: I do not think Mr. Copeland's letter will change the minds of single tax men as to the wisdom of aiding movements favoring the special assessment of lands for cost of local improvements. I have been at work on such a line for some time, but I have never considered that perfect justice could be done by the assessment plan. The agitation for special assessments upon lands alone, however, appeals directly to the interests of owners of improved property; it arouses the opposition of vacant land holders; it causes discussion; it is a most practical branch of single tax men's work. All this and more, despite the fact that taxing land according to its value, and land alone, to raise public revenues, would render unnecessary all such crude plans as that of special betterment assessment.

Mr. Copeland can show a difference in principle between lump and annual tax and a double burden upon land owners, if it happen that after special assessments have been paid a rapid approach to the single tax plan renders it impossible for the land owner to get back in income or advantage the money he has paid. But what of these things? The difference in principle can be proclaimed as we go along; the possible misfortune of a few land holders is overwhelmingly offset by the actual injustices of the present system. Let us go on with our "special assessment upon parcels of land alone" agitation. GEORGE WHITE.

Flatbush, N. Y., Nov. 8.

## YES; FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: If Tom L. Johnson—our Tom—can carry his district against present odds by 3,000 majority, while frankly and squarely declaring his convictions regarding free trade and the single tax, isn't he just the man to lead the tariff and tax reform democracy in 1892?

JAMES BARTLEY.

Amsterdam, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1890.

## DON'T BE SO GREEDY HEREAFTER.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: The following clipping is taken from the Philadelphia Press of November 6 on the "Causes of the reverse," or in other words, the causes of the overwhelming democratic victories of Tuesday's election:

"The extraordinary course of some of the carpet manufacturers in Philadelphia at a critical time in the canvass in trying to form a combination or trust, and of the window glass and some other manufacturers, greatly aided the democrats. These facts, in connection with Mr. Blaine's attack on the McKinley bill, were used to good advantage by the democrats."

This means, I suppose, that some of the manufacturers to whom the McKinley bill is a license to tax the American public were a little over greedy in not waiting till after election to show their hands in the picturesque and profitable business of "frying out fat." Perhaps it would be well also to warn all those who may hereafter profit by that bill to cease operations or take a vacation of two or three months at the next congressional election.

Centre county, Pa.

## THE BALLOT FOR WOMEN.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: I have read and reread William Lloyd Garrison's letter in THE STANDARD of October 29, till I feel I must say a word on the subject, if you will kindly allow me.

I certainly believe in "equal rights for all," and that assuredly involves a woman's right to vote; and I always judged from the tenor of Mr. George's writings that he saw this as clearly as he sees other rights, and that he would work for it when the time came to do so. I am glad to be confirmed in this opinion by Mr. Garrison's letter.

While I honor Mr. Garrison for his outspoken stand in favor of female suffrage, it seems to me he overrates the "necessity" of putting the ballot in the hands of women before they can be expected generally to take an interest in and work for the single tax. He says: "Now, to expect women generally to espouse the single tax movement, or to bother their heads upon social problems, while excluded from the polls, is as unreasonable as to expect to gather figs from thistles. What I wished to impress upon the conference was that, while we allowed woman to be deprived of her vote, we must inevitably suffer from her ignorance and indifference." If the single tax was merely a political measure this would undoubtedly be true; but the single tax is far more than that; it is a question of vital importance to every woman, and there are

hundreds of women who can be roused to active work for the single tax as a moral reform that will help to relieve the poverty and lessen the crime they see around them to-day, who take no interest in female suffrage and who would not vote now if they could. I am glad to notice that Mr. Garrison esteems the vote in his hand as a privilege and responsibility; all men do not. Men, even intelligent men, sometimes hold this privilege and responsibility, I call it duty, so lightly that they fail to vote at important elections, when vital questions are at stake. Simply having a vote in their hands does not interest them in social problems. Could we expect women to be different?

Women generally do not care to vote; my daily work takes me among many women, and to my oft-repeated question, "Would you vote if you could?" the usual reply is "No;" but those who answer "Yes"—and this is the point I wish to make here—are women who have some particular principle in mind or some cause in which they are interested, and for which they wish to vote. I find this almost invariably the case; and reasoning from this, it appears to me that if women generally are roused, and they can be, to a real knowledge of the single tax and all that it involves, they will work for it with a will; and when they see that it can be forwarded by their votes, then would be a far better time to put a female suffrage plank in the single tax platform.

As yet, the single tax campaign is not so much a matter of voting as it is of educating people how to vote. Mr. Ripley well expressed it when he said (STANDARD for November 6): "Our most effectual work has been and will for a long time be done by individuals, and women are particularly adapted to these quiet but effectual methods."

The single tax is a question of such vital importance that it seems to me we ought to concentrate all our energies on the work of forwarding it, and let the lesser questions go for the present. I believed in woman's right to vote years before I heard of Mr. George or the single tax; and I now believe it is only a question of time when we will vote; for the sooner the single tax comes into operation and we begin to breathe a freer air, so much the sooner will "equal rights for all" become a fact.

C. ESTELLA BACHMAN.

Mauch Chunk, Pa., Nov. 8, 1890.

## REMOVE THE CORPSE.

[PHILADELPHIA, QUAY 20,000 MAJORITY.]

Why will the city not be comforted, Though Pennsylvania bids the world rejoice?

Why stands she silent with the mighty voice

Of new-made freemen thundering round her head?

What tears are these that fall, untimely shed,

To damp delight and mock the gladsome noise?

O tongue, be still. The flower of all choice, Her best loved, the Keystone Boss, is dead.

And Philadelphia weeps. When traitor hand

Burnt in the word that made mankind aware,

She cursed the treason while she kissed the brand.

For him she gave her honor in despair;

What more could vassal do and lord demand?

Remove the corpse and give the place some air.

LOUIS BELROSE, JR.

November 5, 1890.

## LAND IS SO DEAR.

New York Telegram.

Proprietor Ferdinand P. Earle of the Hotel Normandie was sitting at his desk last night, hard at work supervising the plans of his new hotel on the corner of Fifty-ninth street and Fifth avenue.

"I am determined," said Mr. Earle, "to have the finest hotel in the country. The Astors are putting it up, and permit me to select my own architect. I spend about two hours every day at the architect's, and when the hotel is finished I am sure that it will be one of the notable houses in the world."

"In the start we are going high. What do you think of nineteen stories above ground and two under the level of the sidewalk, making in all above ground 25 feet? Pretty high? I know it, but it will be absolutely fireproof. The frame will be of steel, and filled in with stone and those satin finished red brick. The rooms will be very large and there will be over four hundred of them. The interior will be all hardwood finish, and the whole house lighted by electricity. We are only digging out the foundation now, but by September, 1892, I hope to open the finest hotel in the country."

Among those at the Hotel Normandie are State Comptroller Wemple and Thomas A. Edison and wife, who make this their city home.

## ALL RIGHT; WE'RE AGREEABLE.

Chicago Journal (rep.).

If we must have free trade in this country for goodness sake let us have it right away.

## A MUDDLED BISHOP.

HE SEES THAT THERE IS A SOCIAL PROBLEM, BUT SEES NO REMEDY.

The Detroit Sunday Sun of November 1 printed a report of a sermon preached in Detroit recently by Bishop Jenner. The bishop's text was:

Luke xii:13. "Master, speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me."

And he spoke as follows:

The subject of our discourse is the "Great Social Problem," and rightly have I called it great, for it is to-day the all-absorbing question which agitates the minds of civilized people throughout the world. In Europe, America, Australia, and to some extent even Africa and Asia. From antipodes to antipodes; from the monarch on his throne to the beggar on the dunghill, and from autocratic Russia to democratic America. Aye, and it is a problem which must soon be solved; the relative position of poverty and property toward each other must rest upon a very different basis from that which now exists. At present the poor are rapidly becoming poorer, while the rich are as quickly getting richer; a state of things which, although it has existed for some time past, cannot last much longer. Sop after sop has been thrown to the insatiate wolf which ruthlessly pursues the poor man to the death, with no other effect than to check his course but for a moment, to start again with speed increased and strength renewed, each time gaining upon him, until now it has almost overtaken him. Everything has been abandoned; all that now remains is to fight the pursuer to the death, and a bloody struggle it will be, but come it must, and come most assuredly will, and that before very long. Even now matters are ripe for almost anything; even this very moment a social volcano is smoldering under our very feet, and it requires but a well-directed spark to kindle such a blaze as shall set the social world on fire and cause such an explosion as shall utterly demolish the palaces and storehouses of the rich and lay them level with the dust.

This all-absorbing matter is not so much a conflict between so-called agitators and labor leaders, and the representatives of capital and wealth, as it is a general and widespread spirit of discontent and unrest which pervades the bulk of the toiling masses throughout the world, and which is prompted and promoted by what is deemed injustice and oppression on the part of the indolent and wealthy classes, in which surmise the masses are partly right and partly wrong.

The great social problem relative to poverty and property involves two principal factors, and their dependants, namely, the landlord and his tenants and the employer and his workmen. Moreover, in relation to these, several serious questions must be satisfactorily answered, ere the great problem itself can be solved.

In the first place, regarding landlords and tenants, the principal questions to be solved are: 1. Shall the present owners of the soil retain absolute possession? or, 2. Shall they be subject to legal restrictions? or, 3. Shall they be compelled to sell? and if so, 4. Shall it be for as much as they choose? or at certain fixed rates, to be determined by law?

In the next place, respecting capital and labor, the main questions to be answered are: 1. Has capital hitherto been just toward labor? 2. Should the laborer have a larger share of the profits of his labor? Upon a satisfactory answer to such questions as these the solution of the main problem wholly depends, and not only in the matter, but also in the manner of settlement, whether it shall be peaceable or otherwise.

It cannot be expected for a moment that in a single discourse such weighty matters as these can be fully discussed, much less in a sermon, in which the province of the preacher is merely to point out the plain principles of justice and righteousness, on which such matters should always depend.

Undoubtedly, as things are at present, there are faults which should be remedied, and wrongs which should be righted; but neither the faults nor the wrongs are all on one side. In most cases both parties are to blame. The advantage should never be entirely on one side. Such compacts should always be equitable and fair to both parties.

Undoubtedly, landlords should be liberal; but tenants should always be honest and upright. The landlord should always be willing to compensate his tenants for permanent improvements, but, on the other hand, the tenant should not be permitted to damage the property of his landlord, either by neglect or through any other means; or to impoverish the land by taking everything off it, and giving back nothing in the shape of manure to compensate for the loss sustained in the production of the crops. In short, property in land as in everything else should always be returned in as good condition as when taken; but permanent improvements should always be paid for, unless previous stipulations have been made to the contrary.

Then, again, with reference to capital and labor, neither should employers be too exacting, nor should workmen be too grasping and selfish. The employer should exact no more than his due; but the workman also should see to it that he always renders his due. It is just as criminal on the part of a workman to rob his employer of his time, as it is for a shopman to steal money from his master's till. It is just as dishonest to neglect the in-

terests of an employer as it is to rob him of his goods. It is just as wrong to obtain money from a man by pretending to be that which one is not, by incompetency, by doing bad work, or by imposing upon him in any other way, as it would be to rob him outright. It is the frequency of just such conduct and practices as these, which sours the rich toward the poor—the employer toward the employed; and often makes it appear that they are harsh and selfish; whereas, in reality, it often happens that they are acting merely in self-defense.

The remainder of the sermon was as point-less as the latter part of that quoted above. The bishop merely sees that there is a great social problem; and without taking the time to study it, he begins to talk about it in a "goody-goody" way. It is something, however, to have bishops telling well dressed congregations that there is a social problem that must be met.

## THEN AND NOW.

Boston Globe.

The scene about the monument of William Lloyd Garrison, on Commonwealth avenue, one day this week, was a reminder at once of Boston's shame and glory. Shame for the mob of Boston people who, fifty-five years before, had shrieked and howled curses at the great liberator, and tried to lynch him for daring to proclaim the right of all men to be free; glory for the other and better fact that Boston was the first city in the country to come to its senses on that question, and to recognize that human flesh and blood could not be property, though all the statute books in Christendom were loaded down with laws to make it so. In the venerable little crowd about the monument were some who as young men had taken part with that memorable mob, but who now live to confess their error and rejoice in the success of the cause which they then hated and despised. It is only fifty-five years ago, but the man who barely escaped lynching then, and was executed by people, press and pulpit, is now held in universal honor and tender memory. The democratic principle of human liberty which he preached, and which, before his day, was laid down by Thomas Jefferson, now seems like an axiom, yet, in many grievous ways, liberty is still denied. To be in favor of "free niggers" then scarcely excited more abusive hostility from a certain class than to be in favor of "free trade" calls forth from the same class now. The cause, too, is much the same. A man's right to the products of his labor, and freely to exchange them for the products of other labor, is denied by tariffs only less offensive than it was denied to the blacks by the "peculiar institution." But liberty is mighty, and in the end is bound to prevail over ignorance, selfishness and prejudice.

## TRUTHS FROM A JESTER.

Bill Nye in Syndicate Letter.

In 1492 Isabella fitted out two of the three ships necessary for Columbus to go in and discover America, and when he returned, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a bull from Pope Alexander confirming their title to all the territory they had then or might thereafter discover in the western hemisphere. So Ferdinand and Isabella had quite a lot of wild land for sale at the close of that year, which if they had kept would now be very valuable. Take Minneapolis and New York, for instance; both of these towns were then in their infancy, and the ground was cheap. Take the land, for instance, on which Trinity church and Daly's billiard hall now stand. These lots are now worth millions of dollars, and yet a few years ago they were secured by planting the Spanish flag on our coast or buying a state of the improvident red man with a schooner of Tokay wine and a red carnelian nose ring.

## HOW TO MAKE PEOPLE BURN COAL.

San Francisco Commercial News.

The shutting off of natural gas from the manufactories of Pittsburgh is a serious matter. A dispatch says that one thousand puddling furnaces in that city must make an expensive change in their apparatus to return to the use of coal, but that an incredible impetus will be given to coal mining. The natural gas trust proposes to divert the gas from manufacturers to domestic consumption and compel the resumption of coal burning in all manufacturing operations. This move means that the coal mine owners have secured control of the natural gas trust and propose to improve their mining properties by increasing the consumption of coal. All now that is needed to make the consumer happy is to incorporate in the tariff a prohibitive duty on natural gas, and mother earth will then compete with herself in starting new gas works and thus cheapen the product.

## HOW IT CHEAPENS THINGS.

Boston Post.

The Same Goods.—Dumley: "Here, waiter, bring us two cigars, fifteen cents straight." Ferguson: "You're getting more luxurious in your tastes, aren't you? Three for a quarter was what you used to smoke." Dumley: "Same cigars exactly, my dear boy; the extra price is the way the tariff has of making things cheap to the consumer."

## THEY WILL BE AS SCARCE AS THE BUFFALO.

Boston Globe.

In about three years from now it will be hard to find a republican who will confess to ever having approved of the McKinley steal. They will all be ashamed of it.

## RIGHT.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The single tax is better than the double tax.

## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

### THE STRUGGLE OF 1892.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND CONGRATULATES THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ON THEIR RECOGNITION OF THE TARIFF REFORM ISSUE.

New York Times.

To an Associated press reporter, who asked for an expression of his opinions on the results of the elections, ex President Cleveland said:

"I am delighted. I challenge the right of any man in the country to rejoice more heartily than I do over the results of yesterday. My gratification is that of an American, proud of his fellow countrymen, who, though led away for a time by party prejudices and by blind confidence in cunning and selfish leaders, could not be deluded to their ruin.

"They have demonstrated that, in dealing with them, it is not safe to calculate that they are stupid or heedless of the welfare of their countrymen. The necessity of tariff reform, with its consequent reduction in the cost of living, and the duty of the democratic party to advocate it have been fully demonstrated by the action of the people. Their decision has been deliberately made, and it is all the more significant because they have voted upon their reason and judgment, and because they have proved that corruption is powerless as against their convictions.

"Of course, there is nothing for the democratic party to do but to push on the battle at all times and in all places on the lines which they have laid down—that is, to insist upon a wise adjustment of tariff taxation to the reasonable needs of the government, as opposed to the plan which enriches a favored class at the expense of the masses of the people. Until the victory is won, the question of tariff reform will not be settled nor the pledges and professions of the democratic party to the people redeemed.

"Our party has made an honest and an earnest fight. It has planted itself upon disinterested and unselfish devotion to the interests of the people. Its absolute unity and harmony upon the question of tariff reform shows its quick recognition of true democratic principles and its enthusiasm in a cause which involves the popular welfare. Everywhere our people have done magnificently, and the harvest they have gathered has been nobly earned.

### HOW PROTECTION PROTECTS.

AN EX-CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES CONVERTED TO FREE TRADE VIEWS BY HIS OBSERVATIONS ABROAD.

New York Times.

Mr. E. J. Hale, ex-consul of the United States at Manchester, England, has recently returned to America after a residence of five and a half years in Manchester. In that time he was brought into contact with all classes of Englishmen and made a close study of the British people and the trade relations existing between the United States and Great Britain. The result is that Mr. Hale is a confirmed free trader, and is convinced that a high protective tariff for the United States is the worst thing that can happen to this country.

Mr. Hale said yesterday to a reporter for the Times that he was much surprised when he went to England to find that the British manufacturers favored the adoption of a high protective tariff in the United States. When he asked of Sir Joseph C. Lee an explanation of this fact, that gentleman replied that a high protective tariff in the United States simply released to the manufacturers of Great Britain all the neutral markets of the world. This was a sufficient reason for the British manufacturers to desire a continuation of the high protective tariff policy in the United States.

During his stay in England Mr. Hale made a close study of the Lancashire mills and also went to India to see how the absolute free trade relations between England and India operated. He found Lancashire machinery imported into India without any form of tariff, and as a consequence the manufacture of Indian raw material in India was going by leaps and bounds to prosperity. A parallel was found by Mr. Hale in the trade relations existing between New England and the southern states. The development and prosperity of the southern states and of India required no barrier of protective tariff, nor could Mr. Hale see why like conditions of trade should not inure to the mutual advantage of foreign countries as well as to different sections of the same country.

"Now, as to the trade relations existing between England and the United States," said Mr. Hale, "there is no doubt that the greatest market in the world for our food products is the English market. Does it not stand to reason that the more of her products England sells to us the more money she will have to pay for our products? In the trade of the world it is not gold, but the products of countries, that are interchanged. The American people lose in the English markets just so far as the trade between the two countries is restricted. The United States buys in the dearest markets of the world and sells in the cheapest, and its people consequently suffer. That is, the masses of the people suffer for the benefit of a privileged class.

"The trouble with the American people

heretofore is that they have not understood the meaning of the tariff. They are learning what it means now by object lessons under the McKinley tariff bill. They are discovering that it costs more to live, that the necessities of life are taxed, and that they are not benefited directly or indirectly by such taxation. They are beginning to think about this matter, and as they think their eyes are opening to the disadvantages under which they live. The manufacturer is protected by the McKinley bill at the expense of the consumer.

"Let us suppose that all foreign made clothing material is shut out from American markets. In that case would the manufacturers share the advantages of their protection with the consumers? Not at all. They would only use their advantage to grind the consumer into greater poverty. That is just what they have done all along, and that is what they will continue to do so long as they are protected, and just in that proportion that they are protected.

"I had often wondered why clothing material manufactured in America were not equal in quality and durability to those manufactured abroad, until the cause was explained to me by Englishmen. Under a high protective tariff the manufacturer can be careless in manufacturing because he knows that he can always sell poor and shoddy clothing, and as long as he is assured of this he will refuse to make better clothing. If he were forced into competition with the rest of the world he would manufacture good clothing and the consumer would be benefited.

"We have heard a great deal at various times about the terrible condition of wage earners and mill operatives in England, and these alleged hardships have been attributed to the free trade policy of Great Britain. This is all nonsense. As a matter of fact, operatives in free trade England earn better wages and work a less number of hours than do the workmen in Germany, Austria or France, all of which are protected countries. Let us take for example the consular district of Manchester. In this district are 5,000,000 people and they are the best clothed and the happiest people I ever saw. They work shorter hours, have more holidays, undergo less deprivation, and suffer less distress than any other people. Every man of them lives in his own little house and has his own fire-side. There is no community in America that can compare to this in the comfort and happiness of its people.

"All the laws of England tend toward the protection of the wage earner rather than the capitalist, and the consequence is that the English laboring people are the best kept and the most satisfied of any in the world, and that in spite of an inherited aristocracy.

"In 1886 the United States consuls were ordered to report to the home government on the matter of emigration. This order led me to make careful and extensive inquiries into this subject. The three important factors that induce emigration are dissatisfaction with the country that emigrants leave, the prospects of advantage in the country whither they go, and the facility of transportation. Emigrants change from one country to another simply because they think they can better themselves. For the sake of comparison I took three double decades, 1820 to 1840, 1840 to 1860, 1860 to 1880. The percentage of increase of emigration from England, Germany and France to the United States in the second of these double decades was enormous. The great stimulus of emigration in this period was the increased facility of transportation. But in the double decade marked by the years 1860 to 1880 I found a vast falling off in the percentage of increase of emigration from the three countries named.

"To what was this due? The facility of transportation was greater than in the preceding double decade, and these twenty years are set down by Mr. James G. Blaine in his book as the most prosperous era of the United States. The conditions in this time were more favorable for emigration than ever before. But the percentage of increase of emigration from England, Germany and France to the United States actually fell off. Why? Simply because the emigrant discovered that the United States was not the Eldorado it had seemed. The self-interest of the would-be emigrant either kept him at home or directed his emigration to some other country. The boasted wealth and freedom of the United States did not attract him, because he had found out that as a laboring man he was better off in free trade England than in protected America. Another cause of emigration is the increase of population. England breeds 400,000 people every year, and she has not the room to accommodate this increase. The result is it has to get out. But the surplus of population does not come to America, for the reason that I have given.

"We will agree with Mr. Blaine that the wealth of the United States was greater in the double decade, 1860 to 1880, than ever before, but what of that wealth? Was it the wage earner? Was it the western farmer, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water? Not at all. It was the privileged class that fattened under high protection at the expense of the masses. In the commerce of the world the more civilized nations always exact support from nations less civilized. And yet with all our boasted civilization we enter into competition with England in the markets of the world by fettering ourselves

with protection, and thus giving to her every advantage in every neutral market. This is why the English manufacturer hugs himself with glee as he sees the policy of protection advocated and adopted in the United States.

"There is a certain kind of protectionists in England. They are agriculturists and land owners, who demand protection against our food products in English markets. They are called 'fair traders' over there and they reverse the conditions of protection in this country. To this class Mr. Cleveland's message, while he was president, was a blow. His defeat was their restoration. With him as president and with tariff reform as the policy of his administration they could not successfully combat our food products in the English markets. But with high protection in America 'fair traders' are fortified in their battle against our food products. The free trader in England favors the importation of our food products into English markets because he can feed himself more cheaply by such importation, just as the American laborer could feed and clothe himself more cheaply if this country were to reduce the tariff or abolish it.

"Englishmen are wont to speak of the United States government as liberal. If this is true, argue the English protectionists, then protection, which is characteristic of the United States, must be a good thing. Mr. Cleveland's message demolished this argument. But when Mr. Harrison was elected they returned to it with redoubled vigor. Nothing rejoiced the English opponents of American food products in English markets so much as Mr. Cleveland's defeat.

"As for the effect of the McKinley tariff bill in England, there was less complaint against it there than in protected Germany or France. It suits the English manufacturer because it leaves him without American competition in the neutral markets of the world, and it suits the English 'fair traders' because it gives them grounds for opposing the presence of American food products in English markets. Incidentally, I may say that during my five years' residence in England I found that opposition to Mr. Cleveland and his policy was confined to Tories. He was always popular with the liberals."

### "LIVING UP TO" THE TARIFF.

WAGES REDUCED AND CAPITAL STOCK INCREASED—"TAILS, YOU LOSE; HEADS, I WIN."

New York Times.

In the last few days the ability of a considerable number of persons to "live up to" the new tariff—in the words of Speaker Reed—has been injuriously affected by a reduction of wages. Here are the three dispatches published on election day:

The spoolers in the Merrimack mills [at Lowell, Mass.] have had their pay reduced fifteen cents per day, and the wages of the drawing-in girls have been cut. It is thought among the operatives that a general cut down will follow.

The armature winders of the Thomson-Houston electric company [at Lynn, Mass.] have struck to resist a reduction of wages. Fifteen of the sixty men employed in this department left to-day, and the others will leave as soon as they have completed their work.

Seventy girls employed at the undergarment factory at this place [Ashland, Penn.] have quit work on account of the posting of new instructions that will cause a reduction of wages.

The Cleveland Leader (rep.) announces that the Otis iron and steel company of that city, one of the largest concerns of the kind in the country, and the Cleveland malleable iron works, reduced wages last week. The Otis company has been making a net profit of from \$500,000 to \$800,000 a year.

For some weeks there has been a strike in the great iron mines of the Marquette range in Michigan. This was not a protest against a reduction of wages, but a demand for such an arrangement of hours of labor as would permit the miners to attend church services on Sunday. The strike was begun in the mines of the Pittsburgh and Lake Angeline company, a corporation whose net earnings are so large that its stock is selling at seven or eight times its par value. The shares are \$25 each; the current quotations show that \$175 is bid and \$200 is asked. The company is said to have cleared a profit last year equal to its entire capital stock.

There may be considered in connection with the statements just made certain recently published announcements concerning several corporations in the iron and steel industry. It was reported on the 4th that the stockholders of the Pennsylvania steel company had taken all of the new issue of \$2,000,000 of stock at \$150 per share. There was a standing bid in the Philadelphia market for this stock at \$200, but the new shares were sold to the holders of the old stock. The Manufacturers' Record of the 1st inst. said:

The stockholders of the Pennsylvania steel company held a special meeting and voted to increase the capital stock from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000. It was reported to the stockholders that the business of the last six months had been the most profitable of the company's history. The dividends last year were eighteen per cent in cash and stock, but the actual profits were over thirty. The stockholders expressed themselves unanimously in favor of the old flag and a protective tariff.

The Pittsburgh Commercial-Gazette recently published this news about one of the Wheeling companies:

The Lena iron company has increased its capital stock to \$500,000. At a meeting held yesterday a resolution was adopted declaring a dividend of \$198,000, to be paid out of the surplus. The increase of stock is about sixty per cent and there will remain in the surplus fund about \$100,000.

The Manufacturers' Record of the 1st inst. also publishes the following:

A special meeting of the Bethlehem iron company will be held on November 26 to vote on a proposed increase of the capital stock from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000. It is a close corporation and is understood to make twenty-five per cent a year.

The Thomas iron company has just declared a stock dividend of twenty-five per cent, thus increasing its capital from \$2,000,000 to \$2,500,000. The company earned \$483,000 in the year ending June 30, but only distributed ten per cent in dividends.

The Cleveland Leader, which represents Mr. McKinley, explains in an editorial article that the manufacturers of woolen goods cannot be expected to raise the wages of their employees, because the changes in the tariff affecting their industry were designed "to raise the farmers' wages." And the Manufacturers' organ of the ultra-protectionists of the Philadelphia manufacturers' club, publishes this for the encouragement of the farmer:

The prices of wool have always declined when the duties have been advanced, and no doubt exists in the mind of any well-informed man that they will again decline, now that the new tariff law has put the duties up.

The Leader and the Manufacturer should get together and find ground for an agreement before the farmer becomes bewildered.

### THE PERIL TO PROTECTION.

BEGGING THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS TO CALL A HALT IN THE FATAL MADNESS THAT RULES THE PARTY IN WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia Times.

Let none misinterpret the emphatic voice of the voters on Tuesday last. It is against monopoly taxes; it is against the McKinley bill; it is for tariff revision even below the standard of the Mills bill; and if the friends of protection would save it as the continued policy of the republic, they must at once retreat from every feature of monopoly taxes and from every needless tax on the necessities of business and of life, or the retributive stroke against warring oppression of labor will absolutely and forever overthrow the whole policy of protection.

New England is more in favor of free trade to-day than is Virginia or Tennessee; the western republican states are more in favor of free trade than is Alabama or Georgia; and if the battle of 1892 shall be fought on the McKinley bill, or even on the tariff of 1881, there will be a sweeping verdict against tariff taxes that won't pause at judicious protection. It was midsummer madness that overthrew slavery when the whole country was willing to let it alone; but slavery wouldn't let the country rest, and its insatiable greed for mastery made it the colossal suicide of political history.

It is wanton, wicked taxes on the necessities of business and of life that now threaten, and most gravely threaten, the utter overthrow of protection. The country is more than willing to protect the wages of labor; it is more than willing to let just protection alone; but it can't, it won't submit to the increase of taxes on consumers in the name of protection, when all parties are pledged to reduce taxes. The policy of protection to the wages of labor has been prostituted to the most rapacious greed; it has bred hated combines and trusts until nearly all that labor buys must pay tribute to this organized robbery of the masses under color of law, and if the friends of protection refuse to eliminate the honest protection of labor wages from the monopoly taxes of the McKinley tariff, they will destroy protection and entomb it with slavery as another monumental suicide.

The Times appeals, and earnestly appeals, to the Wanamakers, the Dolans, the Dobsons and the Filkers, who are conspicuous representatives of the protected class, and who are among the largest party contributors and therefore of the most potential in shaping tariff legislation, to call a peremptory halt in the fatal madness that has ruled the party in Washington. Let them look the facts squarely in the face; let them read the election returns from New England, from the west, and not overlook the revolutions in Indiana and Pennsylvania, and they must see that there is safety in protection only in the prompt repeal of the McKinley bill when the next session of congress meets in December, and the equally prompt reduction of so-called protective duties fully as low as the Mills bill, with the free list enlarged to embrace coal and iron ore. Messrs. Wanamaker, Dolan, Dobson and Filker must know that the protective duties of the Mills bill were higher than the protective duties of either the Clay protective tariff of 1842 or the Morrill protective tariff of 1861, both of which were framed as distinctly protective tariffs; and if the present republican congress shall fail to rescue protection by absolute divorce from monopoly, the president and congress elected in 1892 will surely reduce tariff taxes largely below the Mills bill.

The simple solution of the overwhelming popular verdict of Tuesday last is that it proclaims the end of needless taxes for speculative greed; and if protection shall longer

be made the shield of this crime against the people, protection will be overthrown without the hope of resurrection, and it will be done by republican states. There is one, and only one, hope for liberally just protection to labor, and that is in the immediate repeal of the McKinley bill—now rejected by an unexampled popular revolution—and the immediate revision of the tariff of 1883 by reducing taxes on necessities of life and giving our industries free raw materials from wool to iron ore. Slavery leaders when thus admonished were unequal to the task of halting their own madness, and slavery died unlamented; and protection leaders, if deaf to the revolutionary protests of the people, and unequal to the task of halting their own greed, will as surely sound the death knell of a policy that should be an integral part of our free government. Protection can combat free trade; it can't combat its wanton prostitution to oppression and robbery.

#### IT IS BLAINE AND CLEVELAND,

AND THE ISSUE WILL BE "RECIPROCITY" VERSUS "TARIFF REFORM."

St. Louis Republic.

The republican policy of the last two years has disposed of Harrison, Reed, McKinley, Sherman, Foraker, Allison and all the small fry presidential candidates. Whenever before was there such a throwing out of "possibilities?" After Tuesday they all became impossibilities. Only one republican leader is left with his head above water. "*Rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, the classic Ingalls might have quoted as he went under with the rest. Blaine alone survives the shipwreck, clinging to his reciprocity plank. Allison, the most promising of the western possibilities, disgusted his constituents, after being re-elected by a narrow margin, by another complete surrender to the northeastern plutocrats. John Sherman fathered the bill for the demonetization of silver and supported the McKinley idiosyncrasy. Reed and his clique are so thoroughly discredited that Reed is relegated to the same party standing as that so long and so ignominiously occupied by his congener, Keifer. Foraker, who, next to Harrison, is the smallest of the lot, is simply thrown in with the rest for good measure. Of Harrison, there is nothing left.

Blaine alone remains. It is "Blaine again," Blaine and Cleveland, unless the republicans succeed in fishing out a second Harrison from somewhere in the obscurity of the vastinane; and at present they are pretty well disgusted with nobodies.

Cleveland is a certainty for the democrats. The republicans can't help taking Blaine. He is the only prominent republican who has a spoonful of political brains; the only one with sense enough to anticipate the ruin brought on the party by Reed and Harrison. Republicans cannot help admiring him. They forgive him his record for dishonesty when they compare his "brilliance" with the blockhead stupidity of his rivals for party leadership—or rather those who were his rivals, for just at present he has no rival in his party. They have all gone down and under, leaving him alone on the wreck strewn surface of republican politics.

#### THE TURKEY AS AN EDUCATOR.

HOW THE ANTICS OF ONE CAUSED A VERMONT REPUBLICAN FARMER TO BECOME A "WICKED FREE TRADER."

Boston Globe.

Near St. Albans, Vt., there lives a farmer, part of whose farm is over the Canadian line, but his farmhouse is in the United States. One of his turkeys stole her nest and laid a hateful of eggs on the Canadian corner of the farm. The farmer found the eggs and in high glee started for the house with them. On the way, as he crossed the imaginary line, he met a custom house officer, who arrested him for trying to smuggle eggs into this "free country," contrary to the McKinley law in such case made and provided. Although the farmer was a good, straight Vermont republican, he couldn't see what business the government had to interfere. So he flatly refused to pay the duty of five cents a dozen, and the weighty case is now under consideration at Washington. It wasn't so much the five cents as it was the principle of the thing. There was a tax of three cents a pound on the turkey, too, and the bird weighed twelve pounds. The bird was in the habit of strolling away to that secluded lot, utterly oblivious of McKinley and his bill. If the farmer must be McKinleyed out of thirty-six cents every time his turkey came home to roost, he didn't see where the protection to his industry came in. He knew he hadn't done the government or people of the United States any harm in bringing across the line a dozen turkey eggs in a partial state of healthy incubation, and he "swowed" he didn't see why he should be fined as if he had committed a crime. In course of time those incubating little turkeys would furnish forth several Thanksgiving dinners for good American citizens; and while the young birds were growing they would furnish a market for a certain quantity of grain, meal, scabby potatoes and skim milk. Anyway, the turkey and her eggs were his own private property, and he'd be "cosh durned" if he could see what business the middlemost custom house officer had to interfere and make him pay five cents fine on the eggs and thirty-six cents on the roving turkey. In short this good Vermont republican was so angry that he committed

political and social suicide by becoming a wicked "free trader." All of which shows that it was a condition, not a theory, that confronted him.

#### PROTECTION GONE MAD.

A GREAT REPUBLICAN MILLER SAYS THAT WAS WHAT BEAT HIS PARTY.

New York Herald.

Charles A. Pillsbury, one of the leading republicans of Minnesota, and one of the largest flour manufacturers in the world, said this afternoon: "The vote in this state shows that the people condemn the McKinley bill by more than two to one. In the first place all the democrats did not believe in it. The alliance party condemned it, and quite a large portion of those who vote the republican ticket did not believe in the bill. I look upon the McKinley bill simply as protection gone mad. The majority of the people of this country would no doubt sustain a moderate protection on most articles to equalize the difference in price between labor in Europe and in this country. An old tariff bill called for twice as much protection as was necessary for this purpose. What the people expected and what they had a right to expect was that the old tariff would be judiciously cut down wherever it could be done, and that they would not see any increased duties on anything. If it had been understood that the tariff was to be raised on anything we would have been snowed under at the last presidential election. The people looked for honest tariff reform and were deceived. If the republican party does not take back water on this question it will drive thousands more out of the party from those who voted for it at the last election."

#### THE CHICAGO HERALD'S SARCASM.

CUTTING PARAGRAPHS ANENT THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND THE LATE ELECTION.

Tom Reed, who but yesterday was a colossus that bestrode the earth, has been reduced to the proportions of a pigmy. He will hereafter occupy a back seat in congress and seldom attract the attention of the democratic speaker.

No party in the history of politics ever met with a more complete and emphatic rebuke than has just been administered to the party of the McKinley bill.

McKinley will have to pay McKinley prices without the help of a salary of \$5,000 a year as a member of congress.

Owing to different arrangements in his district McKinley will not enjoy the pleasure of opposing and voting against the repeal of his bill.

Benjamin Harrison will probably not call a special session of the Fifty-second congress. It is too replete with democrats.

Will Mr. Benjamin Harrison please issue that Thanksgiving proclamation right now, before he forgets it?

The result in Massachusetts will be a staggering blow to the loyal old republicans. The state has gone democratic by a big majority, and a nephew of Senator Hoar and a son of old War Governor Andrews have been elected democratic members of congress.

The thermometer failed to indicate a low temperature, but it was a bitter cold day for the republican party, nevertheless.

The gas business has closed and Tom Reed is out of a job.

The nose of the republican party has been dealt a harder blow than Dingley's.

Has the republican party any doubt as to which the people prefer—cheap or dear prices?

A democratic majority in the house of eighty or thereabouts is the reply of the country to a sixty per cent tariff bill.

The tariff bill has proved a costly measure for the republicans. But they like "dear-ness," and should not complain.

It won't do to trifle with the intelligence and common sense of the American voter. He is not the credulous dolt that the party that told him "he would be better off by paying high prices than low prices took him for.

Down goes McKinley to the bottom of the sea.

There is no tariff on brooms and the democrats have made a clean sweep of the country.

ADVICE TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Senator Vest of Missouri.

The democratic party should proceed deliberately and cautiously to attack the outrageous taxation of the McKinley bill by the enactment by the next house of special bills. These bills should be sent to the senate, and let the republicans there take the responsibility of defeating them if they dare. No general tariff bill should be passed. Let the house put salt, lumber, and other articles on the free list by special bills, and then let the republican senate wrestle with them. If our party does not catch the same disease which has destroyed the power of the republicans, we will elect the next president, and, in a few years, control the senate. We must convince the people of the United States that we do not propose to injure the interest of any class, but that we are simply repealing the unjust and unequal legislation which has created a partnership between certain favored classes and the government at the expense of the taxpayers. The democratic

party is right on the tariff question, beyond all doubt, and that the people are fast learning this is shown by the result of last Tuesday's elections all over the country.

#### OUR WABBLING GOVERNOR.

Memphis Appeal.

Governor Hill would do well to be more careful in his discussions of the tariff, if the eastern papers report him correctly. For instance, in one of his speeches he is reported as saying that if an article which cost \$2 to manufacture in Europe cost \$4 to manufacture in this country, he would favor a two dollar tariff on this particular article. This is Randall argument, New York Sun argument, Hill argument, but not democratic argument. In the first place it pre-supposes or assumes that there are articles in the category that can be manufactured in Europe at fifty per cent of the cost of manufacturing the same article in this country. This the facts do not sustain. We can manufacture as cheaply and at as little expense in this country as anywhere, and the cost of transportation to the domestic manufacturer would obviously give him an advantage that his foreign competitor could not overcome. Again, Governor Hill errs in confessing the beneficence of the protective system and leaves himself and the democratic party in an awkward predicament. If a two dollar tariff "protects" the American laborer to that extent, why not go further and protect him \$4. If a two dollar tariff is good a four dollar tariff would be twice as good, pursuing the argument to its logical outcome. This will not do. It is an admission which will be used as a club in the hands of the enemy to beat and batter down the arguments of the democracy. It is contrary to democratic belief and does a violence to the democratic creed. Governor Hill should take a reef in the mainsail of his enthusiasm.

#### ARE YOU LISTENING, THOMAS?

Utica Observer.

Thomas B. Reed, speaker of the house of representatives, are you listening? If so, what do you think of your political influence in the state of New York? You opened the campaign in the city of Utica. The Onondaga district has elected Henry W. Bentley, democrat, to congress to succeed a republican. You next spoke in Rochester. The Monroe district has elected Herbert S. Greenleaf, democrat, to succeed a republican. You next delivered an address in Buffalo. The Buffalo district has elected Daniel N. Lockwood, democrat, to congress to succeed a republican. Your only remaining speech in this state was made in Little Falls Saturday night last. The Herkimer-Otsego-Schoharie district elected George W. Van Horn (for the long term) and John S. Pindar (for the short term), to succeed a deceased republican. Thus your four speeches, Speaker Reed, resulted in democratic gains of congressmen in all of the four districts in which they were uttered.

#### A REPUBLICAN EXPLANATION.

Boston Transcript (rep.).

From revolutionary times, Massachusetts men have been particularly sensitive upon the subject of taxation, as involving a claim which might affect the privileges of the citizen. The McKinley bill was virtually thrust into the face of Massachusetts and New England, and it was expected that this glorious old commonwealth was so bound by party shackles it would renounce the old traditions and tamely submit. William E. Russell was chosen governor for the express purpose of emphasizing public indignation at the McKinley bill in a more concrete form than through the congressional districts.

#### NOW LET REPUBLICANS KICK.

Chicago Herald.

The crushing defeat administered to the protective tariff extremists on Tuesday will loosen the tongues of many republicans presently. They have feared to talk of late. Monopoly is so powerful and so intolerant that it has not been safe for republicans to criticize it. In the presence of its swaggering and bullying agents, such as Blaine, Reed, Quay, McKinley and Cannon, men who knew the truth were dumb. Tuesday's democratic victory will remove the gag from more than one republican mouth, and we shall now hear truth from sources that have been given over wholly to falsehood.

A tariff is a tax. A protective tariff is a tax upon the people for the benefit of the men who are protected. Let the fact be proclaimed from the housetops. Let the republican newspapers tell the truth about the tariff. They will have to do it some time. Why not now?

#### "MARK MY WORDS."

A New England manufacturer in the Evening Post.

It is perfectly clear that the country is beginning to realize what the result of the McKinley bill is, and is going to be. I am a manufacturer, and perhaps ought not to quarrel with what seems to benefit manufacturing interests. We are getting a considerable advance in price and anticipate a large fall business; but the truth of the matter is (and very few manufacturers there are that do not privately think so) that before another presidential election comes round there will be such a glut of woolen and worsted goods in the market that trade will be more than demoralized. Then there will

be a cry for a foreign market, and then will be Cleveland's chance.

Mark my words. Every man who buys an overcoat this fall will have to pay an advanced price. He cannot and will not get an advance in wages, and I'll bet you the best box of cigars you can buy he'll vote the democratic ticket in 1892. A rather striking instance of the consideration of the ardent supporters of the McKinley bill for the workingman came to my notice a few days ago. The weavers in the Arlington mills average hardly one dollar per day. It would seem as if in consequence of increased duties this pittance should be increased. Not so. The company, which is headed by Mr. Whitman, is proceeding to extend its mills, and thus try to increase its own profits. The old story of the benefit of increased employment for American labor will not avail here. No one is benefiting labor by paying less than one dollar a day for skilled work; and if by chance a number of outside people should be drawn into the business by this extension, it will only make matters worse when dull times come, as they certainly will.

#### IN WARWICK'S DISTRICT.

Dr. R. H. Graham, just returned from Ohio, in the Washington Star says that the campaign in the McKinley district was a very exciting one. All sorts of tricks, he says, were resorted to, and money was very plenty. Says the doctor: "The democrats sent out a number of young men with wagonloads of tinware to peddle from farmhouse to farmhouse, who asked exactly twice the value of the buckets, pans and kettles. The housewives lifted their hands in holy horror and wanted to know why a twenty-five-cent bucket had doubled its price in such a short time. 'The McKinley bill did it,' was the answer in every instance, and it is, of course, not necessary to say what the women thought of both Major McKinley and his bill. They naturally told their husbands. On the other hand, the republicans had printed contracts for the purchase of all the sheep in the district, the purchase being made conditional upon the election of Major McKinley. The price offered for the sheep was \$2 or \$3 in excess of their real value, but this move was made too late, and after the tin peddlers had pretty well covered the district and made the first impression."

#### DILLY-DALLYING DEMOCRATS.

Uncle Tom, Bryn Mawr.—The dilly-dallying, weak-kneed and don't-know-how-much-we-want-to-reform-the-tariff democrats of the Sixth congressional district—Chester and Delaware counties—by nominating an independent republican tariff reformer who didn't exactly know what he wanted, are out in the cold. The district, although largely republican, was fully ripe for a change; but with their usual explanations that do not explain, the democracy, with an I-am-afraid-to-touch-it expression, saw fit to nominate a man who does not favor a protective tariff, is against free trade without knowing what it is, and who, like the rest of 'em, has not the gift to give the proper definition of the term "tariff reform." The result was that the nominee did not even carry his own county, as a good many democrats would not vote for an independent republican and the independents were not numerous enough to make up for it. On the whole the democratic part of the election in this district consisted of "viel Geschrei und wenig Woll." Requiescat in pace.

#### THE SHELL CRACKED.

The McKinley bill increases the duty on castor oil forty-five per cent. It was left to the talented McKinley to accomplish the apparent impossibility of making that nauseating stuff still harder to take.—[Chicago Herald.]

The verdict is a sweeping condemnation of the McKinley law, the most infamous measure of taxation ever passed by the American congress.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

Harrison and Reed, Quay and Dudley, Mailed Hand and Blocks of Five, are buried past resurrection. The country has passed through a great crisis, and it is once more demonstrated that no despotism of money or force can crush the free spirit of America.—[St. Louis Republic.]

The national policy of the republican party has been popularly condemned and that of the democratic party magnificently approved.—[Troy Press.]

Mr. Blaine says that "twenty-nine years of protection has increased our population from 31,000,000 to 63,000,000." What an incalculable blessing is protection! Without it millions and millions of us would never have been born.—[Chicago Herald.]

The vote of Tuesday was a rebuke to Reedism, McKinleyism and Quayism. These were the issues before the people upon which the battle was fought.—[Springfield, Mass., Republican.]

Patron—Why, you are charging me more for frogs' legs than when I was in here last. Restaurateur—Well, you see the duty on hops has been advanced by the McKinley bill.—[Binghamton Leader.]

Fremmen everywhere, north and south, will send up shouts of thanksgiving for their deliverance.—[Richmond, Va., State.]

McKinley prices are high and they will go higher, but it will take them a long time to

reach the height of the democratic majorities.—[St. Louis Republic.]

It is in order to thank God that the next congress will be a deliberative body.—[Philadelphia Record.]

What happened in Pennsylvania at Tuesday's election was inevitable. Soon or late, it was bound to come—as sure as the day follows the night.—[Philadelphia Ledger.]

More complete returns of Tuesday's elections have served simply to add to the magnitude of the republican overthrow.—[Syracuse Herald.]

For president in 1892—James G. Blaine.—[St. Louis Globe-Democrat.]

The democrats have more majority in the national house of representatives than the republicans have seats. The senate remains republican by a margin which is dangerously narrow.—[Pittsburg Times.]

In every respect it was a famous victory.—[Saturday Globe.]

The result of the late elections throughout the country is in the nature of a serious check. The policy of unjust taxation has been rebuked; the suggestion of bayonets in American elections has been frowned down. The people have asserted their sovereignty, and it remains simply for the party now in power to decipher the handwriting on the wall.—[Binghamton Leader.]

The democrats are even more dazed than the republicans. The result of the elections surpasses their wildest expectations.—[Pittsburg Gazette.]

The band played "Annie Laurie"

In style once and again,

But "Helen Blazes" was the tune

Low whistled by Jim Blaine.

—[Philadelphia Times.]

The great issue was tariff reform. It was on that that the people voted last Tuesday, and it was on that that they have handed over a congress and an assembly, and ten republican states to the democracy.—[Albany Union.]

The tariff reformers of the country have struck the pace that wins.—[Kansas City Star.]

The McKinley bill, the force bill and the caucus despotism imposed on the house by Speaker Reed and his lieutenants have been condemned with remarkable emphasis by the people.—[St. Louis Post Dispatch.]

The north and south are both solid this year for tariff reform. It is well.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

The McKinley tariff bill did the business.—[Havre de Grace Republican.]

The democratic party can now celebrate Thanksgiving day with good grace.—[Petersburg, Va., Index-Appeal.]

It was very nearly a tidal wave.—[Memphis Avalanche.]

The more we learn of the recent alleged election the less we have to smile about. Our friends the enemy appear to have captured all they could lay hands on. And the next congress will be presided over by some copper lined free trader.—[Ohio State Journal.]

The insolent assumption that the public could be humbugged with the McKinley tariff bill has been repudiated with a vigor that has astounded the republican party from Ben Harrison to the humblest postmaster.—[Chicago Herald.]

Tuesday's election appears to have been nothing short of a political revolution.—[Rochester Post-Express.]

Some of the grounds for republican defeat can be found under the heavy mortgages on the farms.—[Philadelphia Times.]

The popular condemnation of the iniquitous McKinley bill is as stunning as it was unexpected by its authors. The revolt in the New England states and New York against that measure is especially significant. The east is no longer for a high tariff.—[Harrisburg Patriot.]

The explanations of the result are coming in very numerous now.—[Pittsburg Chronicle-Telegraph.]

McKinley will sink into obscurity, but tariff reformers will long remember him with a lively sense of gratitude.—[Chicago Herald.]

What is the cause of this? What is the matter? There is one dominant reason. That is, the republican party permitted the two men, Reed and McKinley, to originate, shape and direct its policies. And the new policies were forced upon the party in the face of the palpable aversion of the country to these effectuations. The tariff policy, associated with the names of these two men, was a leading procuring cause of the current reverse. It was lashed through the house, against the convictions of scores of republican members, that the party went into power in 1888 on the pledge of an entirely different tariff policy. It has made the campaign, on the part of the republicans, one of apology and evasion.—[Minneapolis Journal (rep).]

The result of yesterday's voting is a landslide, an avalanche, or anything else significant of great unanimity in favor of the democrats that one may choose to call it. They have swept about everything.—[Minneapolis Tribune (rep).]

"Not a pound of pork or a bushel of wheat in the McKinley bill" is good. James G. Blaine should have a medal. The people set

as judges Tuesday. Verdict, guilty.—[Detroit Sun.]

The fight was on the tariff, and the country has given a decided opinion of Mr. McKinley's little bill.—[Milwaukee News.]

Yesterday's election means a protest against high tariff taxation.—[Chicago Mail.]

It is vain to attempt to disguise the fact that the tariff question has been reopened and must be fought over again.—[Pittsburg Commercial-Gazette.]

Reed, McKinley, Lodge. These three and the ideas they represent caused the result of Tuesday's election. The people do not agree with them, and vote as they think.—[Norfolk, Va., Landmark.]

We frankly confess that the news from the west is not pleasant reading. Nevertheless it reveals not so much an increase of democratic strength as discontent among many republicans who have been led astray by cunning politicians disguised as farmers, or friends of the agricultural interests.—[Altoona, Pa., Tribune.]

The republican party organs are full of wail to-day.—[Rochester Times.]

All the five representatives in congress from Minnesota voted for the McKinley tariff bill. Every one of them was renominated. All are defeated at the polls.—[New York Post.]

The high-prices scare has served this time, but it will not serve next time.—[Boston Advertiser (rep).]

It is well for the nation that the people have thus spoken. It is a reassuring evidence of the conservatism of the great public.—[Nashville Banner.]

Speaker Reed has shrunk to the measure of a very ordinary man this week, and his last summer's sash will not fit him any more.—[New York Star.]

The speaker of the house in the Fifty-second congress will not wear a sash nor use a fan. This is official.—[Kansas City Star.]

It is all nonsense to stigmatize this tidal wave as a caprice or an impulse. On the contrary, the elections represent an awakening of the practical common sense of the people. They don't propose to be humbugged into paying extortionate prices for goods that ought to be sold at a reasonable profit. The republican policy of dividing our population into aristocrats and paupers has been paralyzed by a stinging blow under the fifth rib. That's what it means, and don't you forget it.—[New York Herald.]

The country was not prepared for the extraordinary political reaction, whose results were made manifest in the elections of Tuesday. So distinct and pronounced a revulsion of feeling has certainly not been seen for a generation.—[Bradstreet's.]

The McKinley tariff did the biggest part of the business.—[Mauch Chunk Democrat.]

The farmers of Kansas have concluded that the tariff is a tax. Mr. Plumb wants to keep his feet right on that platform.—[Kansas City Star.]

The sweeping democratic victory extending practically all over the United States was due simply to the dissatisfaction of the people with the provisions of the McKinley bill.—[Chicago Journal (rep).]

It is not a "solid south" this time, but pretty nearly a "solid north."—[Philadelphia Record.]

Notice is given that the American people have at last gotten their eyes open as to the infamous principle of "protection," and that they will not tolerate it.—[Salt Lake Herald.]

"Bill" McKinley and the McKinley bill were both laid out.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.]

McKinley and protection have been rejected.—[Memphis Appeal.]

#### PERSONAL.

Thomas Briggs of London, the anti-corn law movement veteran and ardent single tax man, is overjoyed at the great success of the anti-protection cause in the congressional elections in this country, and has cabled over his congratulations to Henry George.

Edward Elsworth, the mayor-elect of Poughkeepsie, is a democrat of the real sort, being an absolute free trader. He received the enthusiastic support of the single tax men of that place.

On Sunday afternoon, November 2, Mr. James A. Horne delivered an address on the social questions of the hour to the members of the theatrical profession of San Francisco, Cal., at the Bush street theater. After his lecture he read Professor Garland's "Under the Lion's Paw."

Mr. Frederick Sheffield, secretary of the Flushing, N. Y., single tax club, has been confined to his home for the past four months with a bad leg. Mr. Sheffield, although a very busy man, found time to do effective work for free trade and single tax in writing to the papers of his vicinity, and attending to the duties of secretary of an active club. Going to and from his business on the ferryboat and train he plied his fellow passengers with questions and arguments which generally were convincing. Let us hope Mr. Sheffield may soon be out again.

## BALLOT REFORM.

### THE NEW BALLOT LAW.

Jamestown, N. Y., Journal.

The new ballot law worked well in Tuesday's election. It was the first trial of the law, yet it gave nearly universal satisfaction in this region wherever it was understood. Among the features that were noticeable at the polls resulting from this measure were—

No crowds and perfect order.

A free and untrammelled exercise of the elective franchise.

Economy in the time of voters.

Increased dignity for the greatest privilege which our form of government affords.

A citizen under this law is not badgered by "workers," and there is no incentive to corrupt voters, as one who would sell his vote would cheat the purchaser because the ballot is an absolutely secret one.

The new law is an incentive to greater interest in political questions, as no citizen desires to accept a "paster" merely because of the fact that he does not know enough of the issues to choose between the ballots provided by law. Time will come when the paster will be an indication of ignorance on the part of the voter, and then it will be in general disfavor.

The law is economical in spite of the increased public cost, because individuals (generally candidates) are saved the necessity of providing ballots and the services of an army of workers at each polling place are done away with.

Who knows but it may be the entering wedge for extension of suffrage to women? Certainly no place of congregation could be quieter or more orderly than were the polling places in this city Tuesday, which fact does away with the objection that women should not vote because of the degrading influences of election places.

The new law is a good one. It may not be perfect but it meets with the approval of the large majority of citizens in its present form, and with amendments which can and probably will be made, it is certain to be retained until something superior is offered. It has come to stay.

### THE NEW JERSEY BALLOT LAW.

A SINGLE TAX MAN ELECTED TO THE ASSEMBLY.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—The new ballot system worked well. Democrats, republicans and independents all join in praise of it.

In one of the "bum" districts of the Eighth ward I understand that it did not work at all, as the board didn't understand the law in the first place, and to enforce it meant a row. The police even would do nothing. No system will work successfully under such circumstances.

Aside from this I only heard of one man who claimed to be disfranchised because the booth was too small to admit him. In my district one old fellow, after getting in the booth, didn't know how to get out. A few didn't know anything at all about the change that had been made, and were somewhat surprised when they came to vote.

The only objection that I could discover in the operation of this system is the distribution of ballots outside prior to election. In some of the districts the agents of both parties tried to persuade the board that when a man got his ticket outside it was not necessary for him to take a set from the board on entering if he didn't want to. In such case, if the board did not fully understand the law, or was not disposed to enforce it, these workers could judge very nearly whether the purchased votes were delivered or not.

The result is highly satisfactory. Morris county would never have given a democratic majority under the old system, and this county would not have been reduced from 1,800 republican majority last fall to 116 this.

Richard Carrol, a member of our club and a delegate to the conference, was elected in the Third assembly district by twenty majority. Under the old system his chances would have been slim, as his opponent was not afraid to scatter the "dust" by which he had previously been elected. The boys are jubilant over the result. Every single tax man feels about as big as six ordinary men and bigger than a dozen protectionists.

At democratic headquarters all are talking Cleveland for '92. Mr. Cadmus (dem.), congressman-elect, thanked Mr. Nellis for the work of the free traders and said that the agitation of the question had done much good.

### THE MICHIGAN BALLOT LAW.

A HOTCH-POTCH METHOD, BUT AN IMPROVEMENT ON THE OLD LAW.

George W. Wood, Undine, Charlevoix county, Nov. 5.—The election yesterday was the first under the new law. [The Michigan law is fashioned after the law in this state, except that the state prints the ballots and charges the cost and ten per cent profit to the parties ordering them. While uniformity as to the type used and size of paper is required, each party can use a vignette at the head of its ticket, in which appears the name of the party to which the candidates belong.—THE STANDARD.] The voter simply selects his ballot in the booth, folds it, and then comes out and hands it to an inspector, who is required to put a rubber band on it and

drop it into the ballot box. If one wishes to vote a scratched ticket, it is done by means of pasters. The picture at the head of the ticket provides for illiterate voters. I do not remember finding in the law any provision for the blind. The election here was quiet and orderly. I saw no efforts to influence any one's vote.

But this appears not to be the kind of ballot that we need. The inspector who receives the ballot cannot tell to what extent it is scratched, but the printing shows through the back enough to enable him to recognize the party whose ballot has been selected. This method of voting facilitates "machine" politics by making it easy to vote a "straight" ticket and difficult to "scratch" one.

On entering the booth I saw on one side four nails, from which hung people's, republican, prohibition and democratic ballots. Below them was a shelf entirely covered with pasters heaped in confusion. There was no shelf on which to lay the ballot while attaching pasters. For that purpose I had to hold it against the wall. I took a democratic ballot, intending to make a few changes. I readily found and attached a paster with the name of the republican candidate for county treasurer, but consumed the rest of my time in the booth in searching without success for one with the name of the republican candidate for surveyor. So I had to go out and vote for democrats throughout, with the sole exception of county treasurer. Otherwise I should have lost my vote altogether.

This method of voting may be better than the old one, but is open to three serious objections:

1. It appears not to be perfectly secret. This would perhaps be obviated by simply printing more carefully and on thicker paper.

2. The ballots are printed by the state, but at the expense of the parties. As many copies are furnished to them as they choose to buy at ten per cent above cost.

3. This "ballot reform" hinders discrimination among the candidates of different parties.

### "THE LAW WORKED ADMIRABLY."

New York Tribune.

The recent election in this state demonstrated that the ballot reform law which was passed by the last legislature is to be regarded as a great public benefit. It is generally conceded alike by republicans and democrats that the law worked admirably; that the new system of voting was a vast improvement upon the one which it superseded, and that the polls were guarded against bribery and corruption and disorder as they never were before. In a word, the law met the best expectation, proving as good in practice as in theory. One or two amendments might render the law a more efficient instrument of the popular will.

### THE FLOATERS STAYED AT HOME.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

The "practical politicians" who were in such a fever of apprehension a few days ago lest an election would not be practicable under the Australian system will sing another song to-day. The election was altogether the quietest, honestest and most satisfactory ever held in this state. The floaters generally stayed at home and the "trusted men with the necessary funds" cut no figure worth mentioning. But the decent people of all parties were out in force, and regardless of their political affiliations, expressed themselves as delighted with the workings of the new system. The law has come to stay. It worked like a charm yesterday. It has ushered in a new and a better era in the politics of Indiana.

### THE END ATTAINED.

Syracuse Courier (dem.).

So far as the experience of Syracuse goes, the new ballot law proved a success. It may be unnecessarily fussy, and the red tape may be rather longer than the necessity of the case seems to require; but the end sought is the end attained, namely, a quiet and peaceful election and an assured secrecy of the ballot.

### BALLOT REFORM HAS COME TO STAY.

Buffalo Courier (dem.).

Ballot reform has come to stay. In this city the approval of the masses of the people is quite general and earnest. The freedom from solicitation and espionage is grateful and pleasing to most men, and the removal of the act of voting from its former disagreeable, obstructive, and repulsive surroundings lends it a new dignity. So far from the new plan decreasing the number of votes polled, it will almost certainly increase the number.

### GROVER CLEVELAND'S OPINION.

New York Times.

In answer to an inquiry as to his views on the operation of the ballot reform law, Mr. Cleveland said:

"I think there should be no more opposition to the principle of ballot reform. The evidence of its usefulness and benefit to the people I regard as conclusive. In some matters of detail the law in our state might, perhaps, be improved. It seems to me that it would be well to obviate the necessity for so many separate ballots. But, after all, even this or other similar objections are not vitally important. The thing upon which every honest man should congratulate him

self is that we have a law which protects our voters from corruption and intimidation, and it is one of those measures of relief which once adopted will not be surrendered."

#### OUR ONLY HOPE.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Australian method of preserving the secrecy of the ballot is the only hope of a free and uncorrupted ballot box in our cities.

#### A SUCCESS WHEREVER TRIED.

Toledo Blade.

The Australian ballot system was a success wherever tried this year. It is bound to be the method of voting in the future.

#### RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

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

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

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

Five subscriptions . . . . . \$1 00  
Twelve subscriptions . . . . . 3 00  
Thirty-five subscriptions . . . . . 5 00

THE STANDARD,

No. 12 Union square, New York city.

#### A MONUMENT TO DEMOCRACY.

Harrisburg Patriot.

TEXAS.  
KANSAS.  
INDIANA.  
ILLINOIS.  
FLORIDA.  
GEORGIA.  
VIRGINIA.  
ALABAMA.  
MONTANA.  
MISSOURI.  
ARKANSAS.  
COLORADO.  
NEBRASKA.  
KENTUCKY.  
LOUISIANA.  
NEW YORK.  
WISCONSIN.  
DELAWARE.  
MARYLAND.  
TENNESSEE.  
MINNESOTA.  
MISSISSIPPI.  
NEW JERSEY.  
CONNECTICUT.  
PENNSYLVANIA.  
RHODE ISLAND.  
WEST VIRGINIA.  
NORTH DAKOTA.  
MASSACHUSETTS.  
SOUTH DAKOTA.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE.  
SOUTH CAROLINA.  
NORTH CAROLINA.

TAX REFORM, BALLOT REFORM.

#### LIGHT AND SHADE.

London Christian Commonwealth.

There comes a time to every life,  
When heart-sick, weary of the strife  
And toil of living,  
We fain would lay us down to rest,  
And feel that we indeed are blest.  
Hands folded over the troubled breast,  
And God forgiving  
Our sins and errors of this life  
Which we are living.  
But life is not all dull and gay,  
For after midnight comes the ray  
Of early morning;  
And after darkest nights of pain  
Our eyes behold the day again,  
As rainbows follow after rain,  
The sky adorning  
With hues which chase away the gray  
Of early morning.

#### IT BRINGS FREEDOM THE FASTER.

St. Louis Republic.

If the McKinley bill stands for four years as the protectionists have made it, there will not be a custom house left by 1900. It was found impossible to reform chattel slavery. The McKinley bill is to industrial slavery what the repeal of the Missouri compromise was to the milder chattel slavery. Its arrogant injustice, its insolent aggressiveness, thrusts moderation aside and forces forward to the struggle of radicalism against radicalism.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE SAID IT.  
Indianapolis Sentinel.

Yes, the tariff is a tax.

## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

### THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The single tax therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for specu-

lators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

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

### HENRY GEORGE IN THE SOUTH.

HE STARTS ON HIS LECTURE TOUR IN THE SOUTHERN STATES—A WARM WELCOME TO MEMPHIS.

Henry George started on Wednesday evening for the south to fulfill engagements to lecture in Tennessee, Texas and perhaps other southern states. The Memphis Avalanche of November 2 thus alludes editorially to his visit to that city:

It is to be regretted that a larger hall could not be secured for Mr. Henry George, who will deliver two lectures in Memphis the latter part of this week.

He is beyond question the most entertaining writer on political economy who ever lived. His works on that subject are as entertaining as any novel, and those who read him are carried away irresistibly at the time, however much they may differ with him in colder moments. His English is nearly pure and his style exquisite. To give color to so dry a subject requires genius of the highest kind.

Few men have impressed themselves more on the times than Mr. George. The issues he discusses are living, burning ones, and if his plans are not wholly adopted the utility of many of his ideas is so patent that they cannot lightly be put aside.

This is a great country, a free country and a liberty-loving people, and the free and full discussion of all the questions of the day ought to be encouraged.

Mr. George will never live to see his theories adopted, but he presents them in a very entertaining way, and is almost certain to have large audiences at both his lectures.

### SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

As the petition will probably be presented to the next house, where our friends will have an enormous majority, we should, stimulated by our recent victory, increase our enrolment as rapidly as possible. If we all choose to work we can have 200,000 names by the time the newly elected congress meets. I would therefore urge every letter writer to inclose a petition for signature in each letter hereafter written to an individual. The remarkable campaign in Indiana, where, according to all the local republican papers, the democratic victory was a single tax triumph, affords us our best opening for effective work there. All our targets this week are taken from THE STANDARD of November 6, which please see.

Journal, Indianapolis, Ind.,  
Journal, Evansville, Ind.,  
Courier, Lafayette, Ind.,  
Gazette-Tribune, Kokomo, Ind.,  
Advocate, Tipton, Ind.,  
News, Middleton, Ind.,  
Hoosier State, Newport, Ind.,  
Herald, Monticello, Ind.,

All these republican papers have asserted that the single taxers wish to injure the farmer by taxing his land and letting personal property go free. Now that the election is over, they will probably permit the use of their columns for brief corrections of their mistakes.

Professor Francis A. Walker, New Haven, Conn.—Said in November Forum: "It (Georgeism) means that no man shall ever own a house and the ground on which it stands, since the value of these would be liable at any time to be enhanced by the growth of the community in wealth and population." Ask him to give an instance of houses increasing in value in the way he mentions.

Advocate, Topeka, Kan.—A Farmer's alliance paper. The startling story of Kansas mortgages in last week's STANDARD is from statistics compiled by the Advocate. We should direct the editor's attention to the remedy the single tax affords.

Please don't forget to inform all our friends that it costs nothing now to join our corps, and merely means a pledge to write at least one letter weekly.

W. J. ATKINSON,  
Box 371, Haddonfield, N. J.

### SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COM., 12 UNION SQUARE,  
NEW YORK, NOV. 11, 1890.

The national committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of

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

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

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work for the week ending November 11 are as follows:

Alex. Reed, Philadelphia, Pa. . . . . \$12 00  
Through G. H. Eggleston, N. Y. city . . . 9 00  
Jeff A. Bailey, Cornwall Station, Cal. . . . 3 00

\$24 00

Subscriptions previously acknowledged . . . . . 1,136 90

Total . . . . . \$1,160 90

Cash contributions for same period are from:

Wm. A. Garrison, Lincoln, Kan. . . . . \$1 00  
T. W. Wright, Cincinnati, Ohio . . . . . 2 00  
James Dickson, Glincoe, Ore. . . . . 1 00  
Edwin Platt, Irving, Ill. . . . . .42

Total . . . . . \$4 42

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . . . 687 65

Total . . . . . \$692 07

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . . . . 91,840

Signatures received since last report . . . . . 345

Total . . . . . 92,185

For news budget see "Roll of States."

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

### NEW YORK CITY.

THE MONTHLY BUSINESS MEETING OF THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB—THE POLITICAL SITUATION DISCUSSED—ADDRESS BY DR. CLARK OF CAITHNESS, SCOTLAND—FATHER HUNTINGTON WILL LECTURE TO-MORROW EVENING.

When Chairman Post called the monthly meeting of the Manhattan single tax club to order last Thursday evening he had to order the adjournment of a number of debating groups scattered about the rooms. The managing board reported that a meeting had been held on the previous evening, but that little had been done beside electing six new members. The chairman of the board said that in his opinion the members of the club ought to devote their energies for a time to adding to the membership, and thus still further strengthen the organization.

Mr. Post reviewed the campaign made in the Seventh congressional district, and spoke of the magnificent democratic tidal wave that had swept over the country. Mr. Post thought it would be well for the members to consider seriously the place the club should take in political affairs, so that at a future meeting the matter could be intelligently discussed.

Mr. Post reported for the committee on investigating the present methods of levying taxes, which was appointed nearly a year ago. Six months ago he had, he said, prepared a brief, at the request of Mr. Ivins, containing the questions which the club desired should be asked by the Fassett investigating committee when they had reached the matter of taxation in their investigations in this city. Mr. Post said that Mr. Ivins had put the questions to Michael Coleman, tax commissioner, and that the whole matter had been printed, as fully as space would allow, in THE STANDARD. He recommended that the members of the club should take that issue of this paper and read the testimony closely, so that they could do propaganda work.

At this point it was discovered that Dr. G. B. Clark, member of the British house of commons for Caithness, Scotland, was present, and he was invited to speak to the meeting. He delivered a magnificent address, in which he went thoroughly into the social question in Great Britain, and brought out what he considered to be the points of difference in the conditions in our young and progressive country and his conservative Britain. All through Dr. Clark was listened to with the closest attention, and he was time and again interrupted with applause; and at the conclusion of his address a vote of thanks was cordially and unanimously voted to him.

Almost all the remainder of the evening was spent in discussing the late campaign and in listening to suggestions for future work. The club delegation to the New York ballot reform league was instructed to ask that a meeting of the league be called immediately to consider the improvement of the present election law.

A telegram was ordered sent to Congressman Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, and to Congressman John De Witt Warner of this city, congratulating them on their election.

Mr. Post announced that at the next meeting the annual report of the officers and man-

aging board would be presented to the club. Mr. John Breunig announced that a single tax club would shortly be organized on the east side.

The Manhattan club's bunting was flung to the breeze on last Sunday morning in honor of the promised visit of Congressman-elect Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, Ohio, and John De Witt Warner of New York city, and in the afternoon the members began to assemble. At six o'clock in the evening Mr. Johnson appeared at the rooms, accompanied by his father, Colonel A. W. Johnson. He was warmly received and introduced by Mr. Post to all the friends present. Then Mr. Post rapped for order and called on the congressman-elect to say a few words. Mr. Johnson spoke for about twenty minutes. His campaign had been a lively one and he had led his ticket. The protection democrats had scratched him to the number of over five hundred, but the free trade republicans had voted for him to the number of over two thousand. The country was to be congratulated over its tremendous protest against the McKinley bill. Mr. Johnson hoped for great reforms when the new congress got to work.

When Mr. Johnson finished, the members drew up their chairs and had an informal talk. They were waiting for Mr. Warner. He came in shortly after Mr. Johnson left. A sociable chat began in which the tariff and ballot reform were discussed, which lasted until after 9 o'clock, when Mr. Warner bade the members good night. It was a very pleasant and instructive evening.

The agitation committee has issued a new programme of social Thursdays. To-morrow evening there will be a sketching party. Thursday, 20th, there will be a lecture by Father J. O. S. Huntington on "The church militant." Tickets for this lecture have been sent to all the members, who are asked to invite their friends. Any of the members desiring more tickets can get them by addressing the agitation committee. On Thursday, 27th, an entertainment will be given by the Elker's dramatic club.

Miss Katherine J. Musson of Philadelphia spent three hours at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club last Friday. The Philadelphia single tax club has rented a four-story and basement house on one of the principal thoroughfares of that city, and is fitting it up for club purposes, after the manner of the New York city club, and Miss Musson was sent here to get points for the Philadelphia club. She was shown over the rooms, and all her questions answered. Miss Musson said that she was much delighted, and surprised to find our city club in such a prosperous condition.

#### BROOKLYN.

LOUIS F. POST TALKS TO THE BROOKLYN SINGLE TAXERS ON THE POLICY OF PROTECTION—OTHER NEWS.

W. F. Withers.—At Avon hall on Sunday night Mr. Louis F. Post made an assault on the policy of protection. His amusing illustrations kept the audience in good humor, while the popular sophisms in favor of the tariff were made so transparent that the most obtuse mind could not fail to see through them. Several persons who had been halting between two opinions confessed after the meeting that they now saw the inwardness of tariff legislation.

A dramatic reading by Professor Hamlin Garland is on the programme for next Sunday night. The professor promises to read for us his latest production, entitled "A Member of the Third House." Judging from the cast of characters, it will be highly amusing.

To-night (Wednesday) another reception similar to that of last Wednesday week will be given at the club house, 198 Livingston street.

The ladies in favor of a woman's single tax club will meet at the club house on Friday, the 21st, for organization.

Association hall has been secured for a concert on the 10th of December. This concert will stand on its own merits, entirely. Reserved seats can be secured at the club house, or at Spaulding & Kornder's music store, 487 Fulton street.

Adolph Pettenkofer.—A meeting of single tax men was held last Sunday afternoon at 253 Evergreen avenue and organized the Eighteenth ward single tax club. Mr. J. J. Faulkner was elected president and Mr. Adolph Pettenkofer secretary. The club endorsed the principles as laid down in the national single tax platform as adopted at Cooper union, New York, September 3, 1890. The secretary was instructed to apply for enrolment of the club in the National single tax league of the United States. Regular meeting of the club will be held every Thursday evening at 253 Evergreen avenue. The members of the club feel they have great cause to rejoice in the triumph of our principles at the polls last Tuesday. Particularly in the election of our single tax exponents, Tom L. Johnson of Ohio and De Witt Warner of New York. Also at the gallant and successful fight of Congressman-elect John G. Warwick over the author of the condemned tariff measure. The result shows the wisdom of Henry George and the single tax men in endorsing the tariff message of Grover Cleveland in which he says: "Unnecessary taxa-

tion is unjust taxation." "Freedom is not yet here, but she is coming."

William Spaulding.—The election kills off all question as between high and low tariff. From now on it is simply protection or free trade, with free trade a long way in the lead, and that means the single tax or a tax on incomes as the next move. Can any one doubt which those with incomes will choose.

#### NEW JERSEY.

THE CART-TAIL CAMPAIGN IN CAMDEN—RISING FROM THE ASHES OF DEFEAT—GOOD NEWS FROM PATERSON.

William M. Callingham, Camden.—With the echoes of the campaign still sounding we rise from the ashes of defeat (locally speaking) with the knowledge that we have accomplished considerable work for our movement in this section. Mr. Hand, our vice-president, though beaten for county clerk, kept well up with the ticket, and by his fearless attacks on protection, while on the stump, has made many friends for himself and our club.

Our first experience in tail-board campaigning has proven in every way satisfactory. Owing to the stormy weather of the ten days previous to the election we did not get out on the streets but two Saturday evenings, but we went in great shape on those occasions.

Our outfit was a furniture van, with the side curtains thrown up over the top and the corner posts trimmed with colored muslin. On top we had a large transparency, on the front of which was lettered "Free Trade! Free Land! Free Men!" with a picture of our fellow friend in one corner. On the opposite side read "Reciprocity with the whole world!" On the ends were "Anti-Monopoly" and "Tax Reform." The sides of the wagon were covered with broad strips of white muslin on which were painted, respectively, "Protection is a Delusion"—William L. Newell (he was the democratic candidate for congress), and "Figh Tariffs—Low Wages;" "No Tariffs—High Wages." Over the speaker's head at the tailboard was the sign of the "Camden single tax club." Add to this ten chairs, occupied by as many enthusiastic single tax men, a string of sleigh bells on the horse, and the whole lit up with torches fastened to the wagon, and you can judge of the appearance we presented as we rattled along the streets.

On the first evening, which was very pleasant for outdoor work, we caught a crowd of about 300 on the main thoroughfare in the lower section of the city, and they listened patiently and interestedly for an hour and a half to straightout free trade, single tax doctrine. We then moved uptown, where we caught about seventy-five men, most of whom were returning home from Philadelphia, and held their attention from 10.30 to 11.15 p. m., an evidence in itself that men will listen to clear and unbacked arguments.

On the second evening, which was very chilly and few people on the streets, we went into the negro quarter and tried to show them the position they held in the social compact as at present conducted. A few listened attentively and asked questions, but the masses of them seemed indifferent and unconscious to their condition and expressed the thought that they might as well get all they could out of politics by selling their votes to the highest bidder. A later meeting at the same point where we had previously had such large audience was held with good results.

We feel much gratified with our efforts and thoroughly endorse this method of campaigning. We have made ourselves known, and the open, fearless utterances of our speakers, Messrs. H. V. Heitzel, T. McCaffrey, William Horan, George F. Stephens, John Torrey and others, have shown the public that we possess brains as well as pluck.

We rejoice in the election of Tom L. Johnson to congress, which accomplishment should inspire single tax men everywhere to greater endeavor along the line we are now proceeding.

M. J. Flynn, Camden.—I have sent thirty-four signed petitions to the national committee. I should like very much to be of more assistance to the cause in a pecuniary way; but I am sorry to say at present the wolf hovers uncomfortably close to my door. But, with the help of God, good luck and my own perseverance, I will assist our growing army to place our cause on an electric current that will electrify the inhabitants of the whole civilized world. Inclosed you will find the names of fourteen men. Some of them are full bloods, others are just beginning to hear the gentle purring of pussy.

#### ILLINOIS.

FREE TRADE TALK AROUSED THE PEOPLE—SINGLE TAXERS ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, Nov. 7.—Mr. Charles Newburger of Washington City was to have addressed us last night on "The Malthusian Theory," but in the afternoon he telegraphed from Wisconsin that illness would prevent him from fulfilling his engagement, so we were thrown upon our own resources, the president suggesting that the results of Tuesday offered both a text and the inspiration for the evening's discussion. The suggestion took, and the audience called

loudly for John Z. White to explain the overwhelming catastrophe to the grand old party. Mr. White responded very happily, in the course of his remarks giving a humorous account of his experiences during the campaign, evoking considerable laughter by describing the terrible dread of some of the more weak kneed democrats in Moline and other towns where he had spoken lest he should talk "free trade;" but he said it was simply impossible for him to talk tariff reform; sooner or later he always switched off to tariff abolition. He said further that he found that the greatest enthusiasm was always produced by clear cut free trade arguments, and stated his firm belief that the recent election was an out and out victory for the free traders of the United States.

Mr. Clinton Furbish being called for responded with an inspiring account of the recent fight in Minnesota, and brought down the house by his reference to the election of a single tax man as mayor of Minneapolis. He gave his experiences in Duluth, Madison, Ashland, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and declared his agreement with the theory of Mr. White that the recent landslide was evidence of a perfect revolution in public sentiment upon the free trade question. He said that everywhere the single taxers were becoming, as they rightfully should be, the file leaders of democratic thought, and assured the meeting that the stiffening of the party spine was directly owing to the infusion of good, rich single tax blood into the democratic body.

A number of other speakers followed in the same strain, Mr. Jonathan B. Taylor and Mr. Walter Thomas Mills being particularly happy in their descriptions of various phases of the great fight against organized monopoly.

One of the speakers having stated that we were doomed to experience the "benefits" of the McKinley bill for a number of years to come, Mr. Furbish, always pugnacious, declared that if we had one-half of the spirit that the English house of commons had shown in a crisis of an almost similar character, there would be no necessity for us to suffer from this outrage one moment after the assembling of the Fifty-second congress, for the democrats, secure in an unprecedented majority in the house of representatives, can say to the senate and to the president, "Not one dollar of supplies, not one cent for any purpose whatever, until you pass a revenue tariff measure such as shall be satisfactory to the majority in the house of representatives, standing for the popular sentiment of the United States." He therefore moved the appointment of a committee of five to seek the co-operation of the free traders of the United States in urging this belligerent proposition upon the newly elected congress. After some discussion, this proposition, somewhat modified in its terms, was unanimously adopted by the club, and a committee, consisting of Messrs. J. T. Ripley, Jonathan B. Taylor, John Z. White, Soughton Cooley and E. A. Curtis, was appointed by the president for the purpose named.

A more enjoyable or more enthusiastic meeting has never been held in this city.

But the Chicago single tax club was not the only one in the city which heard a single tax discussion last night. The Sunset club also enjoyed an eloquent presentation of the true gospel, our good friend Mr. Buck, recently of Colorado, showing how the application of the single tax would settle the much-vexed labor question and render trades unionism unnecessary. The subject under discussion was "S. rikes."

At least two single tax men are included in the new Illinois legislature—Senator Noonan of Cook and Senator Siebert of St. Clair. We thus have additional encouragement for prosecuting the agitation of an amendment to the constitution on the subject of taxation.

Mr. Joseph T. Ripley will give a single tax symposium at his elegant suburban residence on the evening of December 1. Mr. Edward Osgood Brown and Mr. Ripley himself will be among the symposiasts.

Prof. Hamlin Garland writes me that he is coming west in December, and it is probable that arrangements will be made for a meeting in his honor. He promises to read "Under the Wheel" or "A Member of the Third House."

The following telegram, prepared by Mr. Joseph T. Ripley, was sent to Tom L. Johnson by the club last night:

Chicago, Nov. 6.—Hon. Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland, Ohio: The Chicago single tax club offers congratulations on your magnificent victory. Our leader's majority campaign in New York was our Bunker Hill; your election our Saratoga. Hurrah for Yorktown in 1892!

Phank W. Irwin, Sec. A similar telegram was sent to the Hon. John De Witt Warner, in whose election we greatly rejoice, and from whom we expect much in the great crusade for freedom and equality. If Mr. Croasdale had been successful, our cup of joy would surely have run over, but with Johnson and Warner we have a good beginning. Let us hope that they will keep the standard well to the front.

By special invitation John Z. White will lecture on "The Single Tax" next Thursday evening. On the following Thursday evening Mr. Benjamin Reese of the American society of civil engineers will speak on "The Railroad Problem." December 4 Walter Thomas Mills, the celebrated prohibition and free trade orator, will be the attraction, and on December 11 Mr. Charles W. Phillips

will deliver an address entitled, "What is Socialism? and Who are Socialists?" General M. M. Trumbull's lecture on Richard Cobden is expected soon and Henry D. Lloyd has promised an address before the close of the season. I hope our friends in the city will assist in making our future meetings more successful than any we have ever had.

It should be mentioned that, while the democrats gained two congressmen and four or five members of the general assembly in the city, they lost their county ticket. But as single tax men pretty generally voted against the democratic county ticket by way of rebuke, the result is not at all surprising.

Charles E. Mathews, Braceville.—The pioneer single taxer of Illinois—Mr. Robert Cumming of Du Quoin, formerly of this place—was with us yesterday and made a ringing speech on free trade and the single tax. He handled the question with ability and made friends to the cause in this locality. He also pointed out the evils of our ballot system and explained so clearly and thoroughly the remedy for the same in the Australian ballot that all could see and understand. I have read and heard much on those subjects, but nothing more forcible and clear. Mr. Cumming is billed to speak in Gardner. We have need of just such earnest speakers in the field, in the coal fields especially. We are no longer "tariff reformers," but free traders in this section. The term "tariff reform" is dropped. We had hoped to enlarge the circulation of THE STANDARD here, Mr. Cumming intending to canvass the miners, but the superintendent, a republican, refused to grant him the privilege.

#### MINNESOTA.

A FREE TRADE SINGLE TAXER ELECTED MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS—A SINGLE TAXER ELECTED TO CONGRESS, CHANGING 14,000 VOTES.

C. J. Buell, Minneapolis.—The election is over, and we have won. For the first time in weeks I feel as if I could sit down and take the time to write you a few words about our campaign here and its outcome. I have addressed twenty-six meetings since the contest opened, speaking almost every night, and some nights two or three times, in as many different parts of the city.

We fought the issue squarely on the city platform and opposition to the McKinley bill. The result is as follows:

P. B. Winton, a single tax free trade democrat, is elected mayor by six thousand majority or more where he was defeated by over three thousand two years ago. We have carried nearly every ward in the city for aldermen who stand by our platform.

The entire democratic county ticket is elected. We have elected nineteen out of twenty-one members of the legislature, all pledged to the platform and many of them good single taxers.

J. N. Castle, a radical free trade and single tax democrat, will be the next congressman from this, the most populous district in the United States, by about 4,000 majority, where his opponent, S. P. Sawyer, was elected two years ago by nearly 10,000 majority. Every one of the railway company's candidates for the legislature are deeply buried beneath the avalanche, and they will have hard work to get their \$5,000,000 franchise confirmed—a franchise that a republican council gave them for nothing.

Well, that is good enough for one city at one election.

The state is still in doubt as between Wilson, democrat, and Owen, Farmers' alliance, with the probabilities strongly in favor of Wilson.

Merriam, the boodler, who bought and paid for his nomination and election two years ago, is badly defeated, so much so that he will never rise again.

O. M. Hall, a radical free trader and warm personal friend of P. J. Smalley, our platform writer, is elected to congress from the Third district. A free trade democrat is also elected from the First, and the Farmers' alliance have possibly elected their man in the Second and Fifth (Kaute Nelson's old district). The legislature is anti-republican.

What did I tell you about the North Star state at the conference? The descendants of Thor and Olof are waking up, and we propose to give the vote of Minnesota in 1892 for Cleveland and free trade, with a solid free trade congressional delegation.

In the language of Billy Ratchiffe, let me remark: "Bully for we!"

#### MISSOURI.

A NEW CLUB ORGANIZED IN ST. LOUIS—CONGRATULATING TOM JOHNSON—A SINGLE TAXER ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE.

W. B. Addington, St. Louis.—Here is a notice of a meeting held November 5:

At the Office men's club last night there was a meeting of single tax advocates, who organized the West End single tax club, to meet in some convenient place in the West End for the dissemination of the single tax doctrine among residents of that section. The officers elected were: President, James H. Dillard, principal Mary institute; secretary, W. B. Addington; treasurer, Nathan Kaufman; first vice-president, B. C. Keeler; second vice-president, A. B. Denton; third vice-president, Rev. Samuel Sale; executive committee, N. O. Nelson, Hamlin Russell, John M. Durre. Addresses were made explaining in general the single tax question by Professor Dillard, Judge T. J. Fortis, Rabbi

Sale and Hamlin Russell. Among others present were Judge John Grether, Professor Hosmer, G. H. Moll, Rev. P. G. Robert, Dr. George H. Man, Dr. F. R. Everole, H. H. Hoffman, J. W. Steel, Henry Bernd, Joseph T. Tatum, J. C. Addington, Edward Dierkes, J. L. Stern, Melville H. Sterns. The meeting was a very pleasant one and all present were hopeful of good results from this first meeting. About forty were present.

From the above you will see that St. Louis single taxers are on the move. And the organization of a new club will help the old league to spread the single tax question. The existence of the St. Louis league has made possible the organization of the "West End," and we both together expect to stir things up this winter. We hope to have Father Huntington stop and lecture for us this month. The West End meeting was very encouraging to single taxers. Ten new members were added to our membership from those who were "almost persuaded."

The following telegram was sent:  
Hon. Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland, Ohio.—The St. Louis single tax league and the West End single tax club, St. Louis, congratulate you on your victory, and also upon your entrance into congress as the first straightout single taxer to attain this honor.

J. W. STEELE,  
Sec. St. Louis single tax league.  
W. B. ADDINGTON,  
Sec. West End single tax club.

#### MISSOURI.

Thomas W. Lodge, Gunder.—I've just returned from a tramp to our county seat, where I got three petitions signed. No. 1 is a clerk in the store of Mr. T. B. Morris. No. 2 is Mr. George W. Miller of Linn Creek, who asks me to send him a copy of "Social Problems." I have strong hopes of making these gentlemen and, through them, many others of their friends in and about Linn Creek, true worshippers of "the cat." To begin with, even now they are strong anti-McKinleyites, and are what I may term "young" or "kid democrats" already! No. 3 is Mr. John J. Crall, the leader of the Knights of Labor, etc., in this region; a firm follower of T. V. Powderly. When Tom Hart (who first led me to read Mr. George's works) over a year and a half ago tried to get Crall to sign one of these petitions he met a flat refusal, but Powderly's attitude having become more in line with the "land question," so has Crall's since then. He made "no bones" about signing this one when I was spending a night at his house lately; and on my producing my copy of "Social Problems" and reading to him Henry George's ideas, in the chapter "Functions of Government," on the subject of issuing of all moneys—both of paper and coin—and on the governmental control of railways and other monopolies, I found him in entire sympathy therewith. If he once catches on to "the cat" he'll lead and influence many.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—The St. Louis portion of the political landslide is especially gratifying to the single taxers. The city and the state send a solid delegation of anti-protectionists to congress, and by great majorities. Single taxers were on the democratic platform during the whole campaign talking free trade and the single tax. Dennis A. Ryan, the single taxer nominated for the legislature in a district largely republican two years ago, was elected by over 1,000 majority.

The single tax league opened its season's lecture course Wednesday night with an address by W. L. Sheldon, lecturer of the Ethical society, on "Compensation to landlords."

The league's new headquarters, 307½ Pine street, are to be fitted up comfortably and kept open every night.

Henry Ware Allen, Kansas City.—At our last meeting Lee Meriwether was with us and made a short address at Turner hall upon the issues of the campaign. H. S. Julian, our former president, has been elected to the legislature by over 500 majority, a gain of over 1,000 democratic votes. He will do good work at Jefferson City, not only as the city's representative, but as a single taxer. Marcy K. Brown, another single tax man, has been elected prosecuting attorney. We also rejoice at the election of T. L. Johnson to congress as the first real free trader, and only regret that Mr. Croasdale failed to get there. We appreciate the splendid fight he made and attribute his defeat to the general coarseness of New York city politics.

Through the persistent energy of Mr. Charles E. Reid our "locals" are at last a practical reality. At these weekly district meetings we first read the New York platform, then some tract which is afterward distributed, a copy to each person present. In this way we hope to enlist the interest of each individual, and thereby to influence the entire community.

Benjamin E. Bloom, from the St. Louis club, attended a recent meeting, and upon request made an interesting address, telling about his work among the mining people, and of how many single taxers there were among them. His visit was very encouraging to us.

#### MASSACHUSETTS.

D. Webster Groh, Boston.—The Question club and the open air meetings on the common still attract very large crowds of peo-

ple. Just before election large pictorial posters showing the empty seats on the democratic side of the national house of representatives were plastered all over town, not even the voting booths escaping. When the new congress convenes they can now take another picture. Tom Reed caused the former picture, the people caused the latter. A republican friend in an enthusiastic letter written on election day, having a few days previously been in Mr. Reed's company, wrote me that "Tom Reed is an able man." I have since replied granting that he has proved himself abundantly "able"—able to lead the republican party to overwhelming defeat. Protectionists with their cry that the tariff was a "dead issue," were holding over it a hilarious Irish wake which they called a campaign.

The phenomenal revival of the "corpse" and its burying the head undertakers and chief mourners in the grave they had dug for it, would form an interesting and instructive subject for your artist. He might give us two scenes:

1. As it was intended to be. 2. As it was. It is a condition and not a theory that confronts the protectionists. The campaign of education begun a few years ago is now beginning to bear fruit. Because a scholar does not read eloquently his first lesson is no proof that he never will.

Instead of squarely meeting the facts and logic of their adversaries with candid arguments, protectionists here relied mostly on barefaced false assertions, ridicule and clownish jokes, and thus lowered their side of the campaign to the level of a common circus. But like the Irishman who, conceiving that it would be a roaring joke on a mad bull that he saw pawing the dust and bellowing to take him by the horns and rub his nose in the dust, laughed heartily first and then went to put it in practice with disastrous results to himself, it was well they had their laugh first else they would have missed it entirely.

S. T., Boston.—Professor Moses True Brown delivered an address on the land question at the public meeting of the Social science club in Barnard memorial, 10 Warrenton street, last Saturday evening.

#### CONNECTICUT.

S. A. M., Danbury.—Danbury, although a democratic town, has elected state officers, and often "local," repeatedly in the recent past, notwithstanding the acknowledged fact that there are more democratic voters than republican by hundreds. Yesterday, with a secret ballot, and the plain statement before the people, the count showed an overwhelming democratic majority, electing everything on their ticket. At the end of the day, when the box closed, the most astute of our politicians declared that everything was republican; but when the count was over we found the reverse to be true. Was it the defeat of corruption by the secret ballot, or because of the opening the eyes of the people, and that they see that "protection does not protect?"

#### NORTH CAROLINA.

Locke Craig, Asheville.—I inclose five signatures to petition to congress. Four of them are among our most prominent men and four of them believe in the single tax.

#### GEORGIA.

Garratt Mahan, Savannah.—I send four signed petitions. The corporations are working every Sunday and are making it the dog's day of the week, against the law of the state. You might think it strange, but both black and white are appealing to me to try and have it stopped; and you see that if I can accomplish this it will give our cause a boom, as there seems to be a determined effort to be made in this direction. It is one thing that we all agree—that Sunday work should be stopped, but we have a hard gang of Wall street hirelings to fight.

#### IOWA.

R. Spencer, Burlington.—Owing to the engrossment of the public attention with the pending election, and to the other fact that in your letter of October 10 you said you hoped to send me "next week a supply of letter paper with the committee machinery for my use," I have as yet communicated with but few of the single tax men of this state.

I desire so soon as the election is over to write to all clubs and individuals I know of in this state concerning organization.

Our local club has been stirred up recently, and we hope to have a public meeting before long.

L. G. Booth, Cedar Rapids.—What means I have to spare I have thus far invested in "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and "Protection or Free Trade?" of which I have purchased quite a number and keep in circulation; also, a good many copies of THE STANDARD. Our campaign does not end with an election.

#### KANSAS.

C. H. Allen, Kansas City.—I think if Henry George would start out as soon as the election is over, and make a tour of the western states, giving the people single tax hot shot in every town of ten thousand or more inhabitants, that he would accomplish more toward bringing the single tax ideas into

prominence and into favor with the people than any other thing that could be done.

Last Sunday we found a man preaching the gospel to a crowd on the street in front of the building in which we hold our meetings. We discovered from the drift of his remarks that he had seen the cat, and at once invited him to address our meeting, which he consented to do. We captured the crowd and repaired to the hall, where we listened to an able address on the single tax. In the evening he gave us one of the most eloquent single tax sermons the writer has ever had the pleasure of listening to. The audience was very attentive and undoubtedly very much enlightened on the subject of the single tax. So you see the single taxers hereabouts are enterprising, and disposed to use every weapon that will further the great reform in which we are engaged.

#### WASHINGTON.

W. A. Whitney, Douglas.—I inclose six signed petitions, being the first I have sent in for some time. Will say in regard to progress of our ideas in this part that they are not dead by any means, if we have been silent for some time.

#### BRITISH COLUMBIA.

George Pollay, Vancouver.—I wish to acquaint the many readers of THE STANDARD, through its columns, with the progress the single tax doctrine is making in this far away province of the Pacific coast. In general, I am enabled to say that there are a great number of people here who are not only acquainted with the main outlines of the single tax as presented in "Progress and Poverty," but who also acknowledge the justice thereof and are eager for its adoption to some extent, yet seem to see many obstacles in the way for its immediate introduction. The greatest objection, however, according to my way of putting it, is simply the "spirit of speculation among the masses," blinding them even as to barter away their future comfort, peace and happiness. There are, nevertheless, in the cities of Victoria, New Westminster, Vancouver and Nanaimo earnest men and women who are working faithfully in spreading the new gospel of peace and prosperity. At the last election of members for the province legislature, we succeeded in getting a few good men elected who will explain and strongly advocate the subject of taxation "as the most pressing question" to be legislated upon at the next meeting of the house. For municipal purposes, several of the above named cities have had the subject of reform in taxation brought before their respective boards of civic governments. Here in Vancouver one of our aldermen introduced the single tax by way of a motion at a recent council meeting; and although the motion "to exempt all buildings and improvements from taxation" was defeated, yet the single tax men are hopeful of success with the next year's council. A provincial conference will be held during the coming month to combine our forces, enabling us to work more systematically for the good cause.

#### RICHARD COBDEN'S DEATHBED.

Sir Louis Mallet.

I remember that on the occasion of my last interview with Mr. Cobden (he was then on his deathbed, and it was within two days of the end) he said to me, with a peculiar earnestness I shall never forget, "I believe that the harm which Mill has done to the world by the passage in his book on political economy in which he favors the principle of protection in young communities has outweighed all the good which may have been caused by his other writings."

Experience amply justifies Cobden's sound instinct, and the history of the United States ought to serve as a warning to all those who have to guide the destinies of the rising states of the Australian group. It would be impossible to estimate the loss already caused to the American people by this fatal system, and the evil has not been confined to their material welfare. Corrupt interests have grown up everywhere. Congress is demoralized by lobbying and log rolling on every side, and a huge national effort will be now necessary to extricate the country from an evil which is rapidly becoming a source of grave disorder, both social and economical.

Mill's theory has led in the states, as it will wherever it is applied, to an intolerable system of class legislation, well described by General Turbull of Chicago, as "building up monstrous monopolies under the impudent imposture that they are useful in extending the area of industrial employment, which nourishes a whole poorhouse of infant industries out of the public taxes, and pretends that it is a wise and prudent policy to nurse and sustain these infants at the public expense until that impossible time, which never comes, when they shall be able and willing to support themselves. It is a perverse quality of these infants that they never come of age."

#### THE CAUSE OF THEIR OVERTHROW.

Harrisburg Patriot.

The causes which led to the complete overthrow of the republican party are not difficult to discover. From the moment this party returned to power their efforts have been directed to squandering the surplus, perpetuating their lease of power and protecting the interests of monopolists.

#### AN ACCURATE AND PHILOSOPHICAL STATEMENT.

Harrisburg Chronicle-Telegraph.  
Senator Quay attributes Delamater's defeat to a lack of votes.

#### "ONLY FORTY SIX CENTS"

CHEAP PRICES DUE TO LOW WAGES, AND "THE SONG OF THE SHIRT" TO-DAY—A STARTLING COINCIDENCE.

Chicago Signal.

Walking leisurely up the main business street of a city the other day I saw that the display window of a large clothing establishment was entirely filled with an artistic adjustment of white shirts. On a spacious cardboard was this notice, which I give verbatim:

"One hundred dozen of these unlaundered shirts, all linen bosoms, cuffs and bands, at only forty-six cents."

Nothing strange about that! To the average passerby, perhaps not. It might not attract attention, save to one in need of the article, or to a competitor in the trade. To me, however, it meant a great deal.

Entering the store I saw the proprietor, and asked if those goods were a part of a sheriff's or assignee's sale, as the reason for their very low price.

"No, sir; they are a regular made shirt, and come from a first class house in New York."

Continuing the conversation I added: "You expect to realize something for handling these goods, don't you?"

"I expect to; yes."

"And the jobber that took your order had a margin of profits, I suppose?"

"That's what I argue."

"What about the wholesaler who sold to the jobber; doesn't he receive something for his trouble?"

"He intends to make a living, no doubt," was the terse reply.

"There's the manufacturer; he is to have some share of the profits, isn't he?"

"That's what he makes shirts for, I believe."

"Yes; then there is the raw material, spinning, etc.; all must be added to the original cost. Now, how much do you suppose the girl receives that made one of those shirts?"

The merchant shrugged his shoulders, gave me a searching look, and in a distant manner, as if he intended that he should not be misunderstood, said, "I don't know, and it is not my business."

"Yes, it is," I rejoined; "it is everybody's business. Only forty-six cents for a shirt, bosom, cuffs and bands all linen. The girl that made that shirt must soon starve, sir; go on the streets, commit suicide, or go mad. I wouldn't wear one of them if you were to pay me for it; my conscience wouldn't let me."

Noticing a look of incredulity, not unmingled with scorn, I read him the following that I had only an hour before cut from an eastern newspaper:

"BANGOR, Me., July 27.—On the 18th instant Blanche M. Abbot of Bucksport, eighteen miles down the river, shot herself in this city. She had formerly worked in a ready-made clothing factory. On the very morning that the unhappy girl shot herself a man purchased a pair of trousers at a store in Brockport, Mass., and in one of the pockets he found this note:

"Bucksport, Dec. 2.—I wonder into what part of the world these pants will roam, and hope that the one who buys them will send me a penny, as we have to work at starvation wages to make them."

BLANCHE M. ABBOT."

"Now, after reading this message do you tell me that it is not your business?" He turned on his heel and left me.

A set of men like a hungry horde of human wolves, conscienceless, heartless as to who goes down—whose life goes out—would crush between the teeth of avarice, greed and gain all hope, every honest and honorable impulse of the heart for a noble and a pure life, and like the galley slave of imperial Rome death would be the "surcease of sorrow" to these poor working girls. Are they not as those who in the morning say, "Would God it were even!" and at even say, "Would God it were morning?"

Talk about "the cry of the outcast of London!" The cry of starving sewing girls of America almost makes one to say, "There is need of another Christ to die for the world!"

#### THE HUMORS OF INDIRECT TAXATION.

London Christian Commonwealth.

Here is a funny story from France of the absurdities into which red tape and a vicious system of taxing industry and business lead an otherwise intelligent people. In 1887 a little boy picked up a purse containing 10*fr.*, and took it to the police office. At the end of a year it was still unclaimed, and the lad was informed that he was entitled to the purse, which was handed to him upon his giving a receipt for the same. A few days ago, after the lapse of two years, he received a letter from the revenue collector calling upon him to pay a fine of 62*fr.* for non-compliance with the act of August 23, 1871, requiring a penny stamp on all receipts for 10*fr.* and upward, with a threat of legal proceedings if the fine were not paid within a week. The boy's parents will have to pay, and no doubt the boy, who now hears for the first time of the provisions of the stamp act, will be duly impressed with the wisdom of his country's legislators.

#### THEY WOULD GET STILL LESS WAGES, THAT'S ALL.

Chicago Herald.

Succi, the Italian faster, is to give instructions in the art of fasting to a class in New York. A great deal of suffering might be relieved, perhaps, if this art could be acquired by the "protected" laborers in the non-aided mines of Pennsylvania.

#### CONFERENCE

#### PHOTOGRAPH.

A 12x16 inch picture, containing nearly 250 delegates to the single tax national conference, taken by Andrew Wilson, by mail, 75c.

Address THE STANDARD, 18 CHURCH ST., NEW YORK.

## TOM CAMPBELL'S BAIRNS.

A PICTURE OF OUR PRESENT CIVILIZATION,  
AND TWO PICTURES OF THE FUTURE.

Walter Rauschenbusch in For the Right.

Tom Campbell was going home from work one Friday night. Tom is an iron molder and gets what his friends call very fair wages. He was in a hurry that night. The streets were slushy and the air was heavy. It was the kind of day when everybody feels more than usually inclined to growl at everybody else. Tom wanted to get out of the slush and get home. No wonder; he had a lovely home. He was just a red-headed Scotchman with as many freckles on his face as there are seed in a watermelon, but somehow he had managed to get the prettiest and sweetest girl in all the neighborhood to fall way over her little ears in love with him. Perhaps it was because Lizzie MacDermott had sense in her head as well as a dimple in her chin, and knew how to appreciate a clever, steady fellow like Tom. Anyway, they courted and were happy after the old approved style, and after a time they married.

That was nine years ago. They have had their experiences since. They have—well, yes, they confess that they have quarrelled a few times, but have got the upper hand of selfishness and bad temper every time, and now they have come to understand each other. There were trying times, too. The children came and there was sickness. One little grave belongs to them on the other side of the river. It was a little girl, just beginning to talk, a winning little thing; she died of diphtheria, choked to death; bad drainage, you know. But taking it all together they have been happy together, and Tom thinks the world and all of his wife and "the bairns," as he calls them in his Scotch language.

So he was hurrying home. He knew just how the fried potatoes would smell when he opened the door; how little Ellen, the baby, would croon in her high chair and stretch out her chubby fists to greet him; how Robbie, the four-year old, would stop playing with the cat, get his arms around papa's leg and nearly lift him off his feet. And Jamie, the eldest, the pride of his eyes—he would be sitting by the lamp doing his sums, with the little freckled face (just like his father's) all puckered up and thoughtful, for Jamie went to school and stood high in his class.

It was a great comfort to have such a family. And yet sometimes the very love he bore them made Tom's heart heavy. He used to wonder about the future of the bairns. Would he always be able to provide for them well and keep them in the comfort that he loved to give them? So far things had gone fairly well, better than with most of his friends. He had even managed to lay by a little for a rainy day, but it was not much. Sickness always cut it down again. And the worst of it was the work was not as steady as it used to be. During the last few years there had been weeks and weeks when they worked only half the time, and then again there would be a rush of work and they had to work overtime. They got nothing extra for it. The boss had told them that he was pushed by some western firms who used natural gas for fuel and so could do the work cheaper. Some of the men had been talking of striking against the long hours, but most of them felt that the boss was doing as fairly by them as he could and that he was not alone responsible for the way things went in the world. And yet it made Tom feel anxious. Suppose things got worse. Suppose there should be a cut in the wages, as there had been in several other shops in town. Or suppose the shop should close altogether. Tom and Lizzie talked it over together often in the evening when the children were in bed. Another thing was that Tom did not feel as strong as he used to. He was only a little over thirty and ought to have been in his prime. But he got tired sooner than he used to. When Saturday night came around he was about fagged out and very glad for the Sunday's rest. His work was bringing on rheumatism gradually, and last winter he had a cold that he found very hard to shake off in the draughty shop.

It wasn't for himself that he worried. He could stand it. But the little ones, the bairns, and Lizzie! The time would come when the children would have to go out and make a living for themselves. How would they do it? What if the hard ones should last right on? What if they should get worse yet? What if he should have to take his Jamie out of

school by and by and put him to work in the shop, to grind along with never a stop, wearing out his sweet, young life in that way? There had been a time when Tom had more hope. He had dreamed of "getting on" in life, of having a house of his own and money invested. But he had given that up. Some of his friends had succeeded in it, but they had done it in ways that Tom Campbell had no desire to imitate. All he could do was to earn the daily bread and keep clothes on the backs of his family and pay the rent! Ah, yes, the rent! And how about the bairns? Poor little bairns!

That was what Tom Campbell was thinking of as he trudged home that slushy night. That is what made the smile on his face change to a dark look of anxiety. Close the door behind him as he climbs rather slowly the three flights up to his tenement. Let him pat the heads of his children and listen to their careless prattle. But was he not right in thinking about their future as he did? How about Tom Campbell's bairns? How about your children, my reader? If you feel safe enough about yourself, how about those who are coming after you?

Let me roll the curtain of the future away and show you Tom Campbell's bairns thirty years from now.

**First Picture.**—Tom Campbell is sitting by the fire, only just past sixty, but broken down, bent up by rheumatism, a lonely old man. Lizzie is dead; she had to work too soon after a confinement, and that killed her and the child. Tom is living with Jamie and his wife. They are kind to him, but it is hard to make both ends meet. Rent is higher than ever and they had to move into a two-room tenement at last. Jamie is a barber, and the five-cent shave is the rule now; the scabs are doing it for three cents. Everything is dear. Shoes are high, for there is a shoe trust now. Bread is dear, for there is a syndicate that controls all the grain. Clothes are shoddy, for the tariff still keeps wool out of the country, and our home industries are as "infant" as ever, and need still more protection. Robbie went west to "try his luck," but his luck has tried him. He found the real estate boom had been there before him and land was way up everywhere. He is working as hired man now on a 10,000-acre farm owned by a New York syndicate. Little Ellen is a cloakmaker. She was engaged to a nice young man for six years. He was clerk in one of the great stores that are the pride of New York, but his wages never rose and he never seemed any nearer to making Ellen his wife. At last he yielded to a temptation and was caught in stealing. He is serving out his term now, and Ellen is stitching, stitching, stitching, working with seven others in a hall room. She has got a cough, and Tom Campbell strokes her head with a tear in his eye when she comes to see him.

**Second Picture.**—Tom Campbell and his wife are celebrating the fortieth anniversary of their wedding. Their hair is gray, but their eyes are still bright. And why should they not be? All their children have come to see them to-day, and the way the grandchildren are crawling all over the flat is a sight to see. Jamie is there, well dressed and handsome, with his matronly wife. Jamie is a builder, and the builder's trade is a great thing now. Since taxes were taken off from wool and sugar and houses and were placed on the value of the land alone, men found it unprofitable to keep their land lying idle, so the upper part of the city began building up like magic, and the landlords down town had to alter their houses, if they wanted to have any tenants at all. What a time that was for the building trades and everything connected with them. Then there is Robbie with his young wife. Ten years ago, after a hard fight, the city got control of the street cars, and is running them now for the benefit of the people. Robbie is a starter, has good wages, seven hours a day, and a steady job. And here is Ellen. Tom Campbell's eyes light up every time he sees Ellen. She is a blooming young wife, the very image of his Lizzie when she was twenty. For since the better times have begun women do not wear out so fast any more. They have ceased to be mere drudges, and have become even more than formerly, the light and joy of their homes.

These are two different pictures of what

PURE, SOLUBLE, DELICIOUS. THE STANDARD COCOA OF THE WORLD. A SUBSTITUTE FOR TEA & COFFEE. Easily Digested—Made Instantly. HIGHEST AWARDS AT PRINCIPAL EXHIBITIONS. The Original—Take no other.

# VAN HOUTEN'S COCOA

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

may become of Tom Campbell's bairns in thirty years from now, are they not? Which of the two comes nearest the truth, I do not know. That depends on the working people of the United States. They may get sense, and they may not.

## M'NALLY'S STORY.

HIS BADNESS WAS NOT INHERITED, BUT WAS ACQUIRED THROUGH ENFORCED ASSOCIATION WITH CRIMINALS.

Pittsburg Press, Oct. 11.

In criminal court to-day an unusual scene took place and a dialogue of absorbing interest to students of social science occurred between judge and culprit.

Owen McNally was called before the bar of the court shortly after the court convened. The prisoner was well dressed, had a face betokening anything but that of a hardened criminal, and looked the court full in the face, which would have been convincing of innocence had the court not known him to be a thief of more than unbearable depravity.

McNally was tried early in the week charged with larceny, and was found guilty. The proof was so strong against him that he pleaded guilty to the other three charges, and this morning came before Judge White for sentence. The counsel for McNally made a plea for his client, stating that the prisoner was a kleptomaniac, and that he had been such from childhood. He thought the court should for this reason be very lenient with him.

The judge did not feel inclined to be lenient, and said he thought such a hardened criminal, who had time and again been in penal institutions, should receive anything but favor from the court. The cunning with which all these larcenies had been committed did not correspond with the ideas of the court as to kleptomania, and the court was rather inclined to look upon the prisoner as a confirmed culprit. Then, turning to McNally, the judge said:

"Now, I will hear anything you have to say, and before you say anything, I shall tell you that I am inclined to give you the full extent of the law, and will send you to the penitentiary. What have you to say?"

Then a speech was made, a more remarkable one than which has seldom been heard in any court of justice. It was couched in language of the purest English, and was made in a manner carrying conviction to the mind of almost every auditor. He said:

"Your honor, while I know that my counsel and friends have done the best they thought in the case, yet I differ with the stand they took. I am not a kleptomaniac, or at least I do not think I am, and will try to give your honor my reasons for thinking so. I was not born a thief. My father and mother were as honest people as ever lived, and I would rather go to the penitentiary fifty years than have it said my disposition to steal and be a thief was inherited. I consider that my inclination to steal has been due greatly to my associates. In the first place I pilfered some little things, then the police officers had me sent to the reform school at Morganza. That was the first real step downward. Up till that time I might have been reclaimed and saved from my future wrong doings, but the associates I found out at that place taught me how to steal and pilfer with expertness. It was the first lessons I received in real badness, and I received them well. When I got out I pilfered again, still confining my crimes to the taking of little things, when I was picked up and sent to the work house. There I learned lessons in meanness and depravity, of which I never dreamed before. Then when I got out I followed up these lessons, and I was picked up again and sent six years to the penitentiary by this court. There I received my crowning lesson of all, and stepped out a graduated thief had I been inclined in that direction; but I wanted to do better. There never was a man slipped out of a prison with better intentions. I had learned the trade of shoemaker and intended to follow it up. You would not believe me if I were to tell you the number of places I asked for and was refused work. I started out to be honest, and when I was asked where I learned my trade I would tell them and that settled it. Finally, I got work and for five months kept at it, though I received but four dollars a week, scarcely enough to pay for my necessities."

"Where was that?" interrupted Judge White.

"That was in a shoe shop in Chicago." "Chicago! Why, Chicago is the next place to the lower regions!" said his honor, and he sank back in his chair with a look of disgust.

The prisoner continued: "After I gave up that work, because it would not pay, how could I be honest? It's not easy to find work, and I know that from experience. I drifted back into my old habits, and am here before you for my sentence. I committed these

larcenies because I wanted something to eat, not that I could not have got them in another way, but I was ashamed to go to my sister and beg something to eat of her. For four days before I committed these larcenies I walked the streets almost without a bite. Then I gave war and entered houses and took the goods charged. That's my story. I feel now that I ought to get along honestly, and will try when I get out to do it, but I have explained to you all I know of myself."

Judge White was visibly affected by the words of the prisoner. He said: "Your story is indeed a sad one, and I am sorry for you. I shall reduce the sentence and make it more lenient than I intended. You are now twenty-seven years of age and I hope you will make another attempt to be honest and reform. It's not too late and when you get out you can show the world you can be a man. The sentence of the court is that you pay six and one-fourth cents fine, and costs of the prosecution and undergo an imprisonment in the western penitentiary for eight years."

The prisoner walked away, his head bowed and his eyes upon the ground.

## THIS M'KINLEY FARCE.

Boston Globe.

The law which used to exempt from duty articles for the use of the government was repealed by the McKinley farce, and now even Uncle Sam must go down in his pockets and pay taxes to himself whenever he imports anything. This absurdity is not more absurd than the rest of the scheme, however. The whole tariff business is a taking of money from one pocket and putting it into another—only the two pockets are not generally in the trousers of the same man.

## OH, WISE YOUNG MAN!

Mail and Express.

Merchants who are (as a result of the passage of the McKinley bill) engaged in marking up prices should remember that that is not selling their goods.



Children  
always  
Enjoy It.

## SCOTT'S EMULSION

of pure Cod Liver Oil with Hypophosphites of Lime and Soda is almost as palatable as milk.

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## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

## ARKANSAS.

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

## CALIFORNIA.

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

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

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

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

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

## COLORADO.

**STATE.**—Colorado State single tax association, 303 16th st. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

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

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

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

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

## CONNECTICUT.

**DANBURY.**—Single tax club. Pres., John E. Jones; sec., W. E. Grumman. Address for the present, Sam E. Main, 10 Montgomery st.

**NEW HAVEN.**—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 104 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day.

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

**SHARON.**—Single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

## DELAWARE.

**WILMINGTON.**—Single tax association. Pres., Geo. W. Kreier; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

## FLORIDA.

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

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

## GEORGIA.

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

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

## ILLINOIS.

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

**SPRINGFIELD.**—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 628 Black ave.

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

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

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

## INDIANA.

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

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

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

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Sunday, 3 p. m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., A. V. Hahn; sec., Chas. Kraus.

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

**RICHMOND.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 915 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 305 N. 5th st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 400 Hedge ave.

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

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and third Sunday of each month, 4:30 p. m.; 704 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Alverson; sec., L. E. Kinnahan, 316 Broadway.

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

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

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

**BOUZA CITY.**—Single tax committee, 3rd

and third Monday each month. Pres., Jas. A. Ford, 316 Nebraska st.; sec., H. H. Hoffman, Hotel Rooge.

## KANSAS.

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

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

## LOUISIANA.

**NEW ORLEANS.**—Louisiana single tax club. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday night at 8 p. m. at Natchez st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

## MAINE.

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

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

## MARYLAND.

**BALTIMORE.**—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday, at 8 p. m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; sec., John W. Jones, 29 N. Caroline st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1433 Baltimore st.

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

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

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**STATE.**—Single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. Pres., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st., Boston; sec., G. K. Anderson, 30 Hanover st., Boston.

**BOSTON.**—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st.

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

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

**ROXBURY.**—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Ruggles st.

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

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

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

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

**HYDE PARK.**—Single tax club. Meetings first Monday evening of each month in Lyric hall, Bank building. Pres., A. H. Grimke, 60 Milton av.; sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

**MARLBORO.**—Single tax club. Pres., G. A. E. Reynolds, 14 Franklin st.; sec., Chas. E. Hayes.

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

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

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

## MICHIGAN.

**ADRIAN.**—Tax reform association. Sec., E. C. Knowles.

**DETROIT.**—Single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., John Bridge; sec., J. R. Burton, sec., room 14, Rutherford building.

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

**SAGINAW.**—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 303 State st.

## MINNESOTA.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 300 Lumber exchange.

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

**ST. PAUL.**—Pres., H. C. McCarty; sec., Geo. C. Madison, 339 E. 7th st. Second and fourth Tuesdays at 41 W. 4th st.

## MISSOURI.

**ST. LOUIS.**—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307 1-2 Fine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. E. Hoffmann; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gable street.

**WEST END.**—Single tax club. Pres., J. H. Dillard; sec., W. B. Addington.

**"Benton School of Social Science."** Sunday, 4 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

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

**KANSAS CITY.**—Kansas City single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 3 p. m., at Bacon Lodge hall, 1204-6 Walnut st. Pres., Curtis E. Thomas; sec., Warren Wasson, 110 E. 15th st.

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

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

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

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

**SAFE.**—Glen single tax club. Meets second Saturday evening of the month. Pres., W. H. Miller; sec., H. A. Sunder, Safe.

## MONTANA.

**STATE.**—Montana single tax association. Pres., Will Kennedy, Boulder; vice-pres., J. M. Clements, Helena; sec., Wm. McCandrick, Marysville; treas., C. A. Jackson, Butte; ex. com., C. A. Lindsey, J. R. Knight, Samuel

## NEBRASKA.

**OMAHA.**—Omaha single tax club. First and third Sunday, Gate City hall, cor. 13th and Douglas sts. Pres., Rufus S. Parker.

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

## NEW JERSEY.

**JERSEY CITY.**—Standard single tax club. Meets every other Thursday evening at the National assembly rooms, 643 Newark ave. Pres., James McGregor; sec., Joseph Dan, Miller, 223 Grand st.

**FOREST HILL.**—Essex county single tax club. Pres., John H. Edelman; sec., Geo. M. Vesceius, Forest Hill, Newark.

**NEWARK.**—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathbone; sec., M. J. Gaffney, 43 Warren st.

**PATERSON.**—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 193 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Thursday evening at 169 Market street.

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

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

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

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

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

**WASHINGTON.**—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., H. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morrison, Washington.

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

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

## NEW YORK.

**NEW YORK.**—Manhattan single tax club. Business meeting, first Thursday of each month, at 8 p. m.; other Thursdays, social and propaganda. Club rooms, 73 Lexington ave.; open every day from 6 p. m. to 12 p. m. Pres., Louis F. Post; sec., A. J. Steers.

**METROPOLITAN.**—Single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 Eighth av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred C. Keller.

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

**BROOKLYN.**—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings. Club house, 193 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., G. W. Thomson; sec., W. T. Withers, 41 Willow st.

**THE EASTERN DISTRICT.**—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Mondays, 384 Broadway. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.; sec., Emily A. Deverall.

**EAST BROOKLYN.**—Single tax club. Meets every Tuesday, 8 p. m., 1263 Broadway, in Women's Christian temperance union. Pres., Herman G. Loew; sec., James B. Connell.

**EIGHTEENTH WARD.**—Single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m., at 253 Evergreen ave. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pelienpolder, 253 Evergreen ave.

**TARIFF REFORM.**—Club of Flatbush, Kings Co. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p. m., Town hall. Pres., H. G. Seaver; sec., Geo. White.

**BUFFALO.**—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Central labor union hall. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, 324 Clinton st., E. Buffalo.

**ROCHESTER.**—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynolds Arcade. Pres., W. Wallace; sec., Albert S. Campbell.

**ALBANY.**—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday, 7:30 p. m. Pres., J. C. Roshirt; sec., George Noyes, 368 First st.

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

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

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

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

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

**FULTON.**—Fulton single tax club. Pres., Edw. C. Rogers; sec., L. C. Foster.

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

**NORTHPORT.**—Single tax committee. Sec., J. K. Rudyard.

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

**TROY.**—Single tax club. Meetings weekly at 576 River st. Pres., Henry Starling; sec., B. B. Martis, 576 River st.

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

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

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

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

## OHIO.

**STATE.**—Ohio single tax league. State executive board: Pres., W. F. Bien, 1633 Wilson av., Cleveland; vice-pres., J. G. Galloway, 263 Samuel st., Dayton; treas., Wm. Radcliffe, Youngstown; sec., Edw. L. Hyneman, room 3, 348 1/2 N. High st., Columbus.

**CLEVELAND.**—Cleveland single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m., rooms 301-3 Arcade, Euclid avenue. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Siemon, 7 Greenwood st.

**CINCINNATI.**—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's hall, Lincoln's Inn court, 227 Main st. (near P. O.). Pres., James Seiple, 475 Central av.; sec., W. H. Beecher, Carliak st., Mt. Auburn.

**COLUMBUS.**—Central single tax club. Sec., Edw. L. Hyman, 348 1/2 N. High st.

**COLUMBUS.**—Single tax club. Meets Monday at 3:30 p. m. Pres., H. S. Swank, 51 Clinton building; sec., E. Hullinger.

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

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

**DAYTON.**—Free land club. Pres., John Birch; sec., W. W. Kile, 108 E. 5th st.

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

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

**MANVELD.**—Mansfield single tax club. Pres., Dr. T. J. Bristol; sec., W. J. Huggins, 66 W. 1st st.

**TORONTO.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets at 119 Summit st. every Sunday at 10 a. m. Pres., A. R. Wyun; sec., J. P. Travers.

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

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

**OREGON.**

**PORTLAND.**—Portland ballot reform and single tax club. First Monday of each month, Real Estate Exchange hall. Pres., T. D. Warwick; sec., Wallace Yates, 193 Sixth st.

**PENNSYLVANIA.**

**PHILADELPHIA.**—Single tax society of Philadelphia. Every Thursday, 8 p. m., 904 Walnut st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 314 Chestnut st.

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

**PITTSBURG.**—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every 1st and 3d Sunday evening at 7:30 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec

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'Gainst surprise or a sudden attack of their foes.

When a low mellow note on the night air came stealing;

So soothingly over the senses it fell—  
So touchingly sweet—so soft and appealing—  
Like the musical notes of an aerial bell.

The sleepers arouse, and with beating hearts listen;

In their dreams they had heard that weird music before;

It touches each heart—with tears their eyes glisten;

For it tells them of those they may never see more.

Bright visions of home through their memories came thronging;

Panorama-like passing in front of their view;

They were homesick—no power could withstand that strange longing;

The longer they listened, the more homesick they grew.

Each looked at the other, but no word was spoken;

The music insensibly leading them on.

They must return home, ere the daylight had broken;

The enemy looked, and behold they were gone.

There's a magic in music—a witchery in it,  
Indescribable either with tongue or with pen;

The flute of Chang Liang, in one little minute,  
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