

THE STANDARD

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

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

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

THE MENACE OF PLUTOCRACY.

Thomas G. Shearman's Masterly Speech in Muscote Hall, Portland, Oregon, June 17, 1889.

From the ethnographic report by C. H. Sholes in the Portland Regonian.

It is an old adage that there are two sides to every question. This is an adage which has a truth in it much deeper than is generally supposed. It is not merely that there may be some rational doubt about every question; it implies a truth of much wider scope and reach. There are two sides to every question in the sense that you can approach every question from at least two apparently opposite points of view, and that when you arrive at the true solution of any question the answer will be the same, no matter from which side you approach it. There are two sides even to a plank; and if one of you looks on one side and the other on the other side, and you do not agree as to the dimensions of the plank, one of you is certainly wrong. There are two sides to every room, and if one man approaches from one door, and another from the opposite door, and the two do not meet, it is because they have not got into the same room. If the description of a room given by a man who undertakes to describe it viewed from one door is utterly inconsistent with the description given by another man who professes to have seen the same room from the opposite door, you may be sure one of them is wrong—perhaps both; you have no guaranty that both are not wrong until their accounts agree.

Now, my dear and honored friend, Mr. Henry George, has approached this greatest question of economics—the solution of the problem as to the remedy for the growing evils alike of riches and of poverty in our midst—from the point of view of land and its rent. Beginning with the discussion of the question of land ownership and of the right to rent of the bare land, he has arrived at certain conclusions with regard to taxation. If those conclusions are correct, precisely the same conclusions can be reached by taking up the question from the opposite point of view; and without discussing the right of private property in land, it will be possible to come to the same results, and to prove them just as satisfactorily by approaching them solely from the side of taxation. And therefore it is (and not, as some appear to think, because I repudiate the doctrines of Mr. George in other respects), that I always prefer to approach this great question from the side of taxation; and to ask what is the best, the wisest, the most honest, the most efficacious, the most equal system of taxation. What system of taxation will do no injustice either to rich or to poor; what system of taxation will avoid all corruption of morals, will avoid perjury, will make bribery useless, will require no superhuman wisdom on the part of assessors and tax collectors? What system of taxation will collect equally from the honest and dishonest, and will not oppress the widow and the orphan, nor make the poor poorer or the rich richer?

VIEWED FROM THE TAXATION SIDE.

It is from this point of view that I propose to discuss this question this evening. And as far as possible, and until I give you special notice to the contrary, I propose to state only facts which are universally agreed upon, and as nearly as possible, inferences from which there is no dissent. I will endeavor frankly to tell you whenever I am stating any matter of fact in respect to which I differ from the greatest authorities among both political parties. Some things are certainly agreed upon. No matter where I go, in every city, in every town, I meet both gentlemen who

have no opportunity of expressing their views in public and gentlemen who have opportunity of expressing their views through the newspapers—and all alike agree upon the same fundamental facts in our situation.

THE SOCIAL CHASM.

Some cause has been at work during the last twenty-five or thirty years, which has resulted in a tremendous widening of the social chasm between the rich and poor. Some cause has been at work which has, within my recollection and within the recollection probably of the majority of those who are present, entirely transformed the face of American society. Our old equality is gone. So far from being the most equal people on the face of the earth, as we once boasted that we were, ours is the most unequal of civilized nations. You talk about the wealth of the British aristocracy, and about the poverty of the British poor. There is not in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland so striking a contrast, so wide a chasm between the rich and the poor, as there is in these United States of America. There is no man in the whole of Great Britain and Ireland who is as wealthy as one of some half a dozen gentlemen who could be named in this country; and there are few there who are poorer than some who could be found in this country. It is true, I think, even yet, that there is a larger number of the extremely poor in Great Britain and Ireland than there is in this country. How long that will remain true it is difficult to say; but it is not true that there is more desperate poverty in any civilized country than there is in ours; and it is unquestionably not true that there is any greater mass of riches concentrated in a few hands in any country than in this.

THE ENORMOUS AGGREGATIONS OF WEALTH.

Whereas, forty years ago, a man worth \$100,000 was, even in our great city of New York, an object of some remark and envy, such a man is now utterly obscure and unnoticed, and is considered to have laid merely the beginnings of a very moderate amount of the capital which would be necessary for him to make a living.

Whereas, forty years ago, there was but one man in the United States who was even supposed to be worth \$5,000,000—I refer to John Jacob Astor, who was famed on that account, and who proved not to be worth quite that amount when he died—there are several Astors now, each of whom is generally reputed to be worth at least \$50,000,000, though they are very quiet about it. And there are probably ten times as many men to-day who are worth \$20,000,000 as there were forty years ago who were worth \$1,000,000.

Whereas, forty years ago, the novelists who wrote in the Dumas and Jules Verne style, and who wanted to draw a picture as extravagant as that which Jules Verne draws in his story of "A Voyage to the Moon," imagined men worth about \$20,000,000 as able to overturn the whole world by their wealth; there are now several men who are worth over \$100,000,000 each. This state of things is developing more and more rapidly. In every corner are men and women buried in obscurity, until we learn by some accident that they are worth their ten or twenty millions. A single member of a banking firm in the city of Philadelphia lately died leaving six daughters with more than \$21,000,000 to divide between them. One lady in my own city of Brooklyn is worth certainly not less than \$30,000,000; some say as much as \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000. We see evidences of this enormous accumulation on every side. And it can be demonstrated with great ease by statistics which are undisputed, that at the present day less than 100,000 persons, constituting as a matter of fact only about one 200th part of our working force, are possessed of incomes which enable them to save about three-fifths of all the wealth that is annually saved in this country. And as wealth is principally all reproduced within less than thirty years, this means that within thirty years 100,000 persons are destined to own about three-fifths of the entire wealth of the United States; land, houses, improvements, goods, chattels, personal property of every kind.

THE CURSE OF GREAT WEALTH TO THE RICH.

Everybody knows that this state of things is undesirable. This enormous amount of wealth concentrated in a few hands brings to them no particular pleasure, no additional comforts, certainly does not bring to them anything like proportionate happiness. A sad commentary on the very instance I mentioned, and which I would not mention if it were not public, that of the banker's daughters, is that every one of them is afraid to marry because she cannot believe any man will love her on her own account, and she will not be married for the sake of her money, and that at least one of them will go into a convent and bestow her \$4,000,000 upon some order of saints which she hopes can use

it more wisely than she can. Every lawyer who is concerned with the affairs of wealthy men knows that they are as anxious to tie up their property to prevent their children from squandering it as ever were the aristocracy of England. The most ingenious methods are resorted to in order to prevent the sons of rich men who have been brought up in idleness, with no expectation of doing anything for their living, and who cannot in this country really enjoy this enormous wealth as the possessors of enormous wealth have learned in a certain low sense to enjoy it in Europe, from squandering it. It is a most unhappy state of things.

Those of you who are in tolerably good circumstances, who can see your way to earn your living comfortably and peaceably through life without special anxiety, may well thank God that you are not so rich as these rich men. For, with a somewhat extended experience among them, I have yet to find the first man who was one particle happier—I make no reference to his being better, but who was one particle happier—for being in possession of more than or even as much as \$1,000,000.

THE BRINK OF A SOCIAL CATASTROPHE.

But what is the result of this state of things upon the community at large? You all know that there is widespread discontent among the poor who are deprived of the pleasures which they see the rich enjoy. You all know that, while it is very easy to cast reproaches upon those who call a temptation to these facts, by saying they are exciting popular discontent, the public discontent is already excited—is already universal. You have seen for fifteen years at least a continual seething tide of discontent rise and dash itself against the barriers on every side; sometimes shown in the granger movements; sometimes by the farmers, by the miners, by the manufacturing workmen, by the laboring classes generally. In one form or another this surging roar of discontent is continually heard. I am no such alarmist as are many gentlemen whom I have heard, distinguished in public affairs, whose names I would not venture to use. I have heard in every quarter, and from wealthy men, from men who do not believe in popular government, the gravest expressions of alarm, and the gravest fears for the future, expressed in every direction. Only a few days ago I sat with six or eight of the most distinguished gentlemen of California. I will not, of course, mention a name; I would not mention it in this manner if I thought you could even guess who they were; and one of those gentlemen expressed the opinion, quite involuntarily and without the slightest suggestion from me, and without my approaching the subject, that the wealthy people of the United States were, as he put it, "on the brink of a social catastrophe" which (he thought), like a great flood, threatened suddenly to descend upon them and sweep them all into ruin. No doubt that is a strong expression, but there was not one at that table who dissented from it, and at least one nodded his head in assent. This expression of opinion we hear in all parts of the country; and the rich men are putting their heads together and whispering: "What are we to do about popular suffrage? What will become of our property if we allow universal suffrage to go on? Can this government last under such an arrangement?" And they whisper to each other: "It cannot."

GOVERNMENT BY PLUTOCRACY.

Now I have a different opinion, and still, my opinion is not very much more favorable upon the whole, to the future, than theirs. I do not believe they will ever abolish popular suffrage; but this I do venture to predict, without fear that the future will falsify it, that if this state of things continues unchanged for thirty years, or at the most, fifty years more, while you will retain the form and shell of popular government, you will in reality be subject to an absolute plutocracy. There will be twelve to fifteen, possibly twenty or twenty-five, million votes cast; and so long as a plutocracy can manage that of the 25,000,000 votes cast, 12,600,000 shall be cast on their side, they will count the remaining 12,400,000; but the moment there is a change, and the men who control, as they will control at that time, from two-thirds to three-fourths of all the wealth of the country, find that 12,600,000 are going to vote against them, the last 200,000, somehow or other, will not be counted. You have seen this before your eyes. You make a great ado about that condition in the south, and are devising measures to cure it, and it is proposed to put an act through congress which will put your elections, such as the elections of South Carolina, under the rule of a dominant central officer. I do not discuss the question upon its merits at all; I only say that you see this difficulty right there, and you see how the men of wealth, the owners of property, have solved it down there. They have solved

it by putting the majority under their feet; they have done it openly, and you could not prevent them. You had the whole force of the army and navy on the side of the poor and propertyless; but you could not keep them on top; and you cannot do it. If you intend to maintain the republic, you have got to keep the majority of the wealth of the country in the hands of the majority of its people. Now, as things are going on, you are not going to do that, and all admit this. Republicans, democrats, greenbackers, anti monopolists and monopolists, railroad men and anti-railroad men, capitalists and anti-capitalists, all agree upon this. The fact is indisputable that this country is progressing at a more rapid rate toward the centralization of wealth than any other country under the face of the sun. This tendency toward concentration has been checked in Great Britain, though not cured; it goes on far more slowly than in this country; and yet so strongly do they feel it that there is a much stronger feeling in favor of measures to check its progress altogether, now rising in Great Britain, than there is in this country. But you will have your attention called to it by the inevitable logic of events, and you will be compelled to take hold of this question, at a very early day, and to deal with it in a most thorough manner.

THE CAUSE OF THIS STATE OF THINGS.

How are we going to cure this? It is useless to talk about evils if we do not see any way out of them, and if we never can see a way out of them we may as well shut our eyes and go down Niagara in a dream. Is there any cause upon which all men agree? There is. You can hardly find ten intelligent men who will not have nine different opinions as to what the remedy for this state of things shall be; but you will not find among those ten one, if he is intelligent and has studied the subject, no matter what may be his politics, who will dissent from a few of the propositions I am about to state. Whatever other causes there may be in existence, it is indisputable that the general system of taxation which prevails in this country and which has prevailed for a hundred years, is such as to take very much more largely from the pockets of the poor than it does from the pockets of the rich. Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, pointed this out some fifteen or sixteen years ago in an eloquent speech; Congressman Seymour of New York pointed it out some forty-five years ago in another eloquent speech; Mr. Miliken, congressman from Maine, a personal friend of Mr. Blaine, pointed it out in a speech five years ago. Other gentlemen of the same political party have been pointing this out; in fact, more of those who belong to the party now in power have referred to this subject than of those belonging to any other party whatever. Singularly enough, they have contented themselves with saying, in substance: "The people insist upon having a form of taxation, which produces these evil results—all we can do is to give such a turn to the existing system of taxation that the poor shall receive some compensation for what is taken away from them."

INDIRECT TAXATION.

The system thus referred to is generally called indirect taxation. When taxes are laid upon any article that is produced by man, that tax is not paid finally by the person who pays it in the first instance, by the manufacturer, the importer or the other person from whom the government collects it. That person acts only as a tax collector; and whatever he pays to the government he collects from his customer with a profit. From this it follows that every tax of this kind, every tax laid by the tariff, every tax laid by the internal revenue law, and every species of tax which is laid upon personal property, such as chairs, tables, clothing or food, is paid by the consumer, by the person who finally and in the last instance, uses that property and does not attempt to sell it to another. So long as any one sells such property he does not pay the tax; he collects it from the person who buys from him. This is all elementary.

Now see what follows. Compare the incomes of the rich with the incomes of the poor; and remember all the time that you are taxed upon what you spend for the support of your families; not on what you spend for the maintenance of your store, of your factory, of your shop, of your business in any form; because that you charge over. No matter what the form of indirect taxation is, therefore, no matter how much you appear to pay heavy taxes on what you sell, the man who sells pays no taxes on what he sells, but the man who buys to use and keep, pays taxes upon everything.

Now, bearing that in mind, compare the lot of the man with the small income with the lot of the man who has the large income. Compare the condition of men whose incomes (and there is an abundant number of them) are \$100,000 a year, with the condition of more than four-fifths of the working people

of this country whose incomes are less than \$300 a year.

MEN WHOSE INCOMES ARE LESS THAN \$300 A YEAR.

I dare say you don't believe that statement, but the census proves it. Statistics of the agricultural department in the hands of a gentleman interested in maintaining, and a most eloquent and ingenious advocate in favor of, the present state of things, show that the average earnings of agricultural laborers of this country during the year 1888, which was at a time when they were very nearly at the highest point, amounted to less than \$220 per annum, assuming that they were at work the whole year round, which you know very well they are not. The income of agricultural laborers in the state of Ohio, according to the returns of the census—and surely that is a pretty good authority; it is a state entirely in the hands of gentlemen who believe in the present state of things—was shown to average only \$250 a year, even if they were at work the whole year round, which they are not. The income, therefore, of more than four-fifths of the people of this country with the average family of three is less than \$300 a year. If you chose to take the family of five, you would only bring the average incomes up to about \$450 a year for five persons. Now take that \$450 and ask yourselves on what sum can a man maintain a family of five persons? How much of that can he save if he were not taxed at all, meanwhile living with bare comfort and decency? We will reduce him to a pretty small figure and say that he can do it upon \$350, \$70 to each member of the family. Statistics do not justify that conclusion, but we will take it. Then, if he were not taxed, he would be able to save \$100.

Now comes taxation; and during a period of about twenty years the average taxation imposed upon such a family was over twenty per cent upon their expenditure, that is, \$70. Out of what can a man pay that tax? Out of what he spends? You might as well say he can pay taxes out of what he has eaten; the thing cannot be done; what is spent is spent. He pays his taxes only out of what he can save. He has then been taxed \$70 out of the \$100, which is seventy per cent.

STARTLING CONTRASTS.

Contrast his condition with that of the man whose income is \$100,000 a year, and who is required to expend, in order to support his family in modest decency, \$15,000 a year. That leaves him \$85,000 out of which to pay his taxes. His tax at twenty per cent on his expenditures is \$3,000. Out of what does he pay it? Out of the \$85,000. How much is that? It is a little more than 3 per cent, perhaps $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The poor man you will see is taxed on his savings, which is all the source of property he can have, 70 per cent per annum; the rich man is taxed on his property $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum.

Now carry the contrast higher; because the question really is, what is the effect upon men at the very top, financially speaking, of society. I personally knew a gentleman whose regular steady income many years ago (it is much larger now) was \$600,000 a year. His incidental income, which was of an uncertain nature, averaged much more than that, but we will leave that out of the calculation altogether. I knew also the nature of his expenses; he lived in very good style, but never spent more than \$30,000 a year upon his family. That left him \$570,000 at least, out of which to pay his taxes. At twenty per cent on his expenditures, his taxes were \$6,000, which is about one per cent of his income.

When such a state of things exists, when upon the average seven-tenths of the property of the poor is taken from them by taxation, and only two or three per cent is taken from the savings of the very wealthy class, can you wonder that in the course of a few years the savings of the rich should, without any particular skill or effort on their part, immensely increase, while the savings of the poor should shrink away? Do you need any other explanation in order to account for this growing discrepancy? This simple fact explains the whole of the enormous discrepancy (the extent of which I have greatly understated) between the condition of the rich and the poor of this country.

WHY THE GULF BETWEEN RICH AND POOR IS NOT WIDENING.

It explains more; it explains too much, in one sense, because an explanation that explains too much is no explanation at all. And if these facts stood alone, the fact that this difference in taxation would explain more than all the discrepancy between the condition of rich and poor to-day, would perhaps be fatal to the explanation. But it is not, and I will tell you why. There is one more fact with which many men comfort themselves, which thus far we have not taken into account, and that is the extravagance and wastefulness of the rich. There are actually sober-minded men to-day all over the country who rejoice in the thought, and hug to themselves the idea, that all of this evil discrepancy between the very rich and the very poor will be wiped away in one or two generations; or, as the San Francisco Chronicle aptly put it, "There are but three generations in this country between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves." The man who leaves \$50,000,000 to-day, they flatter themselves, will leave it to a son who will squander \$25,000,000

before he dies, and leave the balance to his son, who will squander the remaining \$25,000,000, and then his descendants will start on an equality with the poor.

Now, something of that kind does go on, because the rich are extravagant and wasteful, and in effect throw vast quantities of their wealth into the sea, giving neither to themselves nor to any other rational being any enjoyment, and not recreating wealth as they would do, and as wealth rightfully applied always will do. That is the reason why the discrepancy between the rich and poor is not greater than it is, and that is the reason why the explanation I have given seems to be too large an explanation and accounts for more than the actual discrepancy now existing. The facts harmonize all around; they show conclusively that the secret of the widening chasm between rich and poor in this country is to be found in our system of taxation, and that you do not need to look any further.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Now, as I have to say repeatedly, this is conceded; and then among those who admit it the question arises, first, What are you going to do about it? and secondly, Is there any use trying to do anything about it? Some have answered it in this way, Mr. Milliken, for example. He says this system of indirect taxation is so unjust to the poor, is in effect such a robbery of the poor, that it never could be justified for a moment if we did not supplement it with some system which awards compensation to the poor; and he says that his favorite system of a protective tariff has some magic by which it extracts the money from the pockets of the rich after it has been taken from the pockets of the poor, and puts it back into the pockets of the poor, with some interest to boot. Now that is all of his justification of this system. Does the justification justify? Do the facts prove that this is the result? Mark you, Mr. Milliken admits distinctly that the poor are plundered wholesale by this system, and on an enormous scale, for the benefit of the rich. Have the poor, as a matter of fact, got this plunder back again? Look around you; answer the question for yourselves. The answer is as plain as day; they have not, and they never will.

Then what system shall we adopt? We freely admit, say Mr. Milliken and Mr. Sherman and other shining lights of the dominant party, that we ought to have a system of direct taxation. And they insist sometimes—less strenuously of late than they used to do—that if we had a system of direct taxation this discrepancy would largely cease, and the poor would no longer be taxed for the benefit of the rich. We arrive, then, without having any want of harmony among people of different views and different political faiths, at this simple answer: That which is needed to remedy this state of things—that which is needed above all else to relieve the poor from this unjust oppression—is a system of absolutely direct taxation.

WHAT IS DIRECT TAXATION?

It is easy to say people will not submit to direct taxation. We have never tried it. I think they will. They do submit to what they suppose is a system of direct taxation in the states; and the only effect of that is, that while it pretends to be direct it is not, though in large part it is just as direct as that maintained by the nation. But whether they will submit to it or not, shall we not look the facts in the face, and shall we not tell them honestly that what they need, whether they like it or not, is a system of absolutely direct taxation; a system which will tax men in proportion to what they have, and not in proportion to what they had day before yesterday and never can have again? A system which will tax them in proportion to their property, and not in proportion to what they are compelled to spend in order to keep their families barely living. I think that when people once understand this question, when it is fairly presented to them, the only real question in their minds will be: What system of direct taxation is there, and how can it be accomplished? And therefore I pass at once to that branch of the subject.

You commonly call the taxation of real and personal property which prevails in this state (Oregon) the indiscriminate taxation of land, houses, chairs, tables, merchandise in store, stocks of corporations, bonds, mortgages, and everything else, things which you tax over and over again—direct taxation. Now a tax on a chair is indirect taxation. It will be paid in the first instance by the chairmaker, who passes it over to the wholesale dealer, with the commission; the wholesaler passes over to the retail dealer with another commission, and the retailer sells the chair to you, and he collects the tax and the two commissions that have gone before, and adds his own commission, which is larger than both of those that went before, and ought to be. There is nothing wrong about individual action; the fault is in the system.

So whenever you tax any article made by man, that tax is turned over with a profit upon the final consumer; hence it is not a direct tax.

THE ONLY POSSIBLE DIRECT TAX ON PERSONAL PROPERTY.

The only means by which a direct tax could be levied on personal property would be by doing exactly what the assessors will never do—that is to say, visiting families and taxing their chairs and tables, their bedsteads and bedding, and not taxing the same things

in the store waiting to be sold to them. You would make a great outcry against that, but that would be the only possible form of really direct taxation on personal property. As this is impossible and for other reasons unjust, we will not discuss it; and you may therefore set aside the question of a direct tax on personal property, because it is just as bad a tax at foundation as any other tax we have been talking about; it is indirect, it is crooked, it is finally paid by the consumer, and therefore paid by the poor in ten times as large a proportion as by the rich.

But there is an additional reason. What assessor can ever estimate the value of personal property? Grant that he can estimate the value of a few chairs in the farmers' home, but let him go into the home of the rich man, and he cannot tell the difference between a \$30 and a \$15 chair; he cannot tell the difference between a table which cost \$500 and one which cost \$50; he cannot tell the difference, unless he is an expert, between a carpet that cost \$10 a yard and a carpet that cost \$5 a yard; the \$5 carpet might be much better looking than the \$10 carpet. I know a gentleman of fine taste in art matters, whose parlors are filled with fine paintings. If you were to enter his house the first thing to attract your attention would be a large magnificent painting by Bouguereau, a famous French artist, entitled "Charity," of world wide fame. Suppose the assessor heard that this was a Bouguereau, and had the notion that a Bouguereau always sold at auction for \$3,000 or \$4,000, and had heard that this was a particularly valuable one, and therefore estimated it at \$5,000. He would think he was doing the owner an injustice, but being very conscientious, and determined to tax the rich man, he would reluctantly raise it to that figure. Then he sees a little daub which he values at \$250. This little "daub" is a Rousseau. At an auction not long ago an immense Bouguereau sold at \$5,000, which was considered a high price. Then a little "daub" like that by Rousseau with a few trees, one cow and something to look like a man, some clouds and a little grass, was offered, and the bidding was so quick the auctioneer could not possibly follow it; it was like a hailstorm; it began at \$5,000 and ran to \$6,000, \$7,000, \$8,000, \$9,000, and so on, to \$19,000, before anybody took breath, and was knocked down at \$20,000. How is the assessor to know that? There is not an assessor on the face of the earth, unless he was specially informed by some one who knew the facts in the case, that could know it. You must have omniscient assessors; you must import them from the kingdom of heaven.

ASSESSORS CANNOT BE INFALLIBLE.

That is what results when you try to tax personal property. You may reply that these differences are greater in the east than here. Not at all, not at all. I can perplex you equally on almost anything else. Take a piece of cloth and you will be just as far astray. Take anything you please, tables, chairs, millinery goods, dress goods; the ladies know what ridiculously false estimates men will make as to the value of a piece of cloth or silk. You cannot assess these things equitably, even if a man could see them; and if you employ women assessors they never could find the time to see them all; besides, they must weigh and measure, know what material they are made of, burn a piece of wool to ashes and determine by the microscope whether it is shoddy or cotton, because not even the most expert could ascertain without that test; all these clever operations you want from the assessor for \$400 or \$500 a year! Do you think you are going to get it? Now, who will suffer on that basis? Will the shrewd business man? Will the capitalist? Do you think you can catch him in that way? Why, in the city of Denver, where they have a tax list as long as your arm, and require every man to swear in detail to all the property he owns, there was one gentleman who, I was told, was worth more than \$1,000,000 in personal property; however that might be, one thing was not guesswork; he certainly had paid over \$200,000 for furniture alone, which he still owned and used for commercial purposes. He was called upon to make out his return, and required to put down furniture, jewelry, watches and everything else in detail, no generalities about it; and he returned in detail, which he swore to like a good and pious citizen—how much do you think? Five hundred and forty dollars. (Laughter.)

See how conscientious he was. He was like the man in the story who said he had killed ninety-nine ducks with one shot. A friend said "Why didn't you make it a hundred while you were about it?" He drew himself up with dignity: "Do you think I would tell a lie for one duck?" So you see our conscientious Denver friend could not return an even \$500 as many an ungodly man might have done, but makes a return of \$540, to the last dollar. I believe assessors take no account of cents, so he could not be more exact than that.

THE BEAUTIFUL CONDITION OF THINGS IN CALIFORNIA.

The state of California has almost a perfect system for collecting taxes on personal property. It works splendidly, doesn't it? Every property owner is called upon to make a statement in full and swear to long lists, containing more than fifty questions. I looked over the report of the board of equalization lately, and I found most remarkable and amusing examples of the wonder working way of na-

ture in that state. There are some 235,000 bee hives in California. Every county in the state has from one thousand to many thousand bee hives; but, strange enough, there are only four counties in all of California where those bees produced any honey. Is not that strange? I have been wondering what those bees were about. I never knew so many drones in proportion to bees in my life. There are millions of cows in California; cows can be seen and counted by the assessor; the owner can't make them jump as fast as the Irishman's pig, that jumped round so fast he couldn't count it. Cows can be counted, and there are millions of them in California; thousands in every county; but in less than one sixth of the counties of California is there any butter. This is a problem of nature over which I have been wrestling, and which I have not been able to solve. The new constitution of California was adopted in 1879 for the express purpose of securing the taxation of money. The first year they got hold of \$28,000,000 and made it pay taxes. The second year it dropped to \$14,000,000, the third year to \$9,000,000, and the fourth year it dropped to practically nothing, except in one particular, to which I will call your attention by and by. Now a very mysterious thing about this was that the banks, which are supposed to be the proper depositories of money, turned out to have less money than any other part of the community; there was no money in the banks. The board of equalization, with a view to discovering how this happened, called a cashier, and he was compelled to testify. His story, reluctantly given, was very edifying. The assessment is taken on the first Monday in March. On the Friday previous the bank wired its New York correspondent: "Do you want gold? We are badly in want of government bonds." Government bonds are not taxable; but it was a mere coincidence. The New York bank telegraphed back, "Yes; there is nothing we want so much as gold. We have a perfect plethora of government bonds." The California bank telegraphed, "We want \$1,000,000 of government bonds." New York bank telegraphed back, "Done." The California bank telegraphed, "Tie up those bonds, keep them for us, and we will tie up the gold and keep it for you." "All right." (Great laughter and applause.) I am not joking I am telling solemn facts. (Renewed laughter.) Thereupon the New York bank carefully took out \$1,000,000 worth, par value, of government bonds, carefully put them in the vault, labeling them the property of such and such a California bank. The California bank carefully counted out \$1,100,000 in gold coin, put it in a tin box, indorsed "Property of the New York bank," and put it in its own vault. Then came the first Monday in March: the bank cashier made out a written statement that his bank owned no money at all, had no money on hand, nothing but government bonds, which are not taxable, signed that statement, and went home and slept the sleep of the just. The next Wednesday he telegraphed back, "Great pressure for gold in California; have you any to spare?" "Oh, yes," telegraphs the New York bank, "there is a sudden demand here for government bonds; have you any bonds you can sell?" "Yes, certainly, got \$1,000,000 of them to sell, same price as Friday." "All right, we will make the trade," and the trade was made, the California bank took the gold out of its box, poured it into its own general fund, the New York bank released the bonds, all was serene, and there was no tax. I related this in San Francisco, and a friend of mine who was in the audience afterwards said to me, "You have been exposing my business; that is just exactly what I have been doing every year." I said, "I did not know you were one that had been doing it, but I know others have been;" and a third cashier who told me that he was doing the same thing, came with me from San Francisco to Portland.

A PERSONAL PROPERTY TAX A FRAUD, A FARCE, A FAILURE.

Now this is only one of the million ways of avoiding the tax on personal property; yet our farmer friends think they are smart enough to circumvent these usurers, these shysters, as they call them, and compel them to pay taxes on their personal property. At one time they undertook to make men pay taxes on corporate stocks. What was the result? I remember perfectly well; it was about nine years ago. I bought some Central Pacific stock, and saw it was made out with coupons representing dividends—which, by the way, never came due—and no dividend could be collected without assigning this coupon. I inquired the reason of it, and also inquired whether the stock could be transferred in my name, or in the name of my broker friend. They said, "Oh, yes, it can be, but better not." The stock stood in the name of John Miller, who was a clerk of the company; but as soon as all the stock of the company was put in the names of about three clerks, they emigrated to Nevada, where the state of California could not tax them, and were there employed by one of the agents of the company. They never intended to return to California as long as this system of taxation prevailed. When this stock is taxed, the state has got to find John Miller to get the tax from him; but he cannot be found, because there is no one connected with the company that knows how to find him. So

effectual is this method of evasion that California has finally abolished its tax upon corporate stocks on the ground that it is double taxation, which it no doubt is, and also for the more important reason that it has given up trying to do that which it cannot do. This tax upon personal property, therefore, is a fraud, a farce, a failure, and always has been.

THE WAY THE ROMANS DID IT.

In the days of the old Roman government the Romans had a better idea of how to do these things than you ever had; yet they resorted to no such farce as giving men long lists to make out and take oath on. The tax collector came around attended by gentlemen such as are seated around me to-night, but more bashful looking; they were not anxious to be seen; in fact, some of them wore black veils over their faces. Then a gentleman known by all the citizens to be a man of integrity, with his clerks, was required to keep the record; and the leading citizen was invited to the place of honor. Then the tax collector called up Julius or Marcus Aurelius: "How much personal property do you own?" "Oh, my lord," says Marcus, trembling, "I own thirty thousand sesterces." The tax collector turns to the leading citizen and says, "Is that true?" The leading citizen does not dare to trifle with the assessor; he knows this man had sixty or seventy thousand sesterces, and he says so. Then the assessor turns to one of the disguised gentlemen sitting near him, saying, "Take that man!" and the man begins to howl and his wife to wail and scream, and fall at the feet of the assessor. But he is immovable; he resorts to the proper and legitimate method of collecting tax on personal property, namely, to give Marcus 200 lashes on his bare back. He soon gets up to 50,000 sesterces, presently 60,000, and by the time he has had 200 lashes he gets up to 70,000. The assessor then turns to the leading citizen and says: "Can't we get 75,000 out of that man?" And the leading citizen is afraid to say no, for fear it might be taken out of himself, so he says yes, and it takes perhaps 200 more lashes to get that remaining 5,000 sesterces. So perverse was human nature that many of those patriotic citizens would not, even after they were scourged, account for their personal property, and the assessor had to resort to other means of persuasion. They had a rack by which they twisted men's bodies out of shape; they had thumb screws; they had various implements of torture; and when all failed, after they had tortured the citizen as much as they thought necessary to bring everything out, there remained one resource, they could put the screws on the leading citizen. So, after the assessor hadn't got as much out of the people as he thought necessary, he said to the leading citizen: "You have got to make up the rest," and then it came his turn to suffer, and he had to go through the process of scourging before he could be made to inform against his fellow citizens and incur their everlasting hatred.

THE WIDOWS AND ORPHANS PLUNDERED.

I told you there was one case in which you could collect the tax on personal property. You can collect it of widows and orphans—and you do. Now, to collect the full rate of taxation from one small part of the community, while not collecting half as much from the rest, is what I call not taxation, but robbery. That is the proper name for it. And in this enlightened United States of America, there is systematic and universal robbing of the widow and orphan. They do it in every state in the union; they plunder the widow and the orphan, sometimes taking the last dollar they have. This is your enlightened system of taxation on personal property. Is that the kind of direct taxation that will rectify these wrongs? I think you will all agree that it is not. All men who are engaged in the business of assessment will agree that these are facts, that this is no overstatement, and they will admit that this system is a failure.

THE INCOME TAX.

You may say, Why shouldn't we have the income tax? How are you going to collect the income tax? You have to rely very largely upon the oaths of the men who make the returns. It has been found in this country, as in every other country, that the oath of a man is very elastic. We have not, never had, and never can have, a system that is nearly so effectual in the collection of the income tax as that which they are able to maintain in old, long-governed countries like England and Germany; and yet it is admitted by leading authorities in England and Germany that about one-third of the income tax falls to reach the government. Consider what that means. It does not mean at all that one-third is deducted from every man's income, not a bit of it. It means that about three-fourths of the people, at a wide estimate (supposing they are right in saying that the government is not defrauded of more than one-third), and those the smaller taxpayers, pay honestly what they ought to pay; it means that of the remaining one-fourth about one-half pay nothing at all and the other half systematically cheat the government and deprive it of its just dues.

THE GREAT DISPROPORTION OF THE BURDEN.

What does that mean? It means that those who have paid honestly have paid far more than their due share, because when the government wants \$1,000 and undertakes to col-

lect it by means of any tax, it stops when it has got the \$1,000, and the men who have not paid anything have escaped altogether, so that again is a system of injustice and inequality. Moreover, both of these systems promote perjury, increase corruption, put a premium upon the demoralization and bribery of officials, and tend very largely to degrade the morals and conscience of the people. I will not enlarge upon this; but as many cite the system of England, asserting that it is successful, I will mention one instance which Mr. Gladstone referred to in public utterance, although he supports the income tax on the ground that it is an evil necessity or a necessary evil. When certain great improvements were being made in London, certain streets were torn up; and by reason thereof several firms claimed compensation on account of loss of profits; they proved that loss by their books, and damages were awarded. When they gave in their income tax the assessors compared their statements of profits for those years with the tax returns for the corresponding years, and found that the returns were at least one-third less than they had recovered from the city, and which they had really and honestly proved that they had earned during that period. So you see that even in England, where, I repeat, they have means for enforcing the income tax which you would not endure and could not enforce here, they cannot collect this tax.

I will not go through the other forms of taxation. If any one in the audience desires to call my attention to a particular form which I have overlooked, I will be very glad to meet that question, because I have studied all of them. I will pass by what is called the succession tax, that is, a tax on the property of dead people, which it is true can be collected rather more efficiently than any of those I have mentioned, with the simple remark that it would be insufficient to meet the demands of the government, would be fluctuating in amount, and that it could, by methods not necessary to be referred to, be managed so as to defraud the government of it.

THE WHOLE GAMUT OF TAXES.

What then remains? If you tax personal property, the poor pay it. If you tax houses as distinct from the land upon which they are built, the poor will pay that, because the landlord will collect it in his rent. He can add the tax on his house to the rent, for the simple reason that if tenants will not pay the tax, landlords will build no more houses. If you will not pay it, and another tenant will, the landlord will let the house to that tenant. If all tenants combine and refuse to pay the additional amount in rent, then, there being no more houses built that year, as soon as a few emigrants come in and find no vacant houses, the landlord is asked, "Why don't you build more houses?" "Because tenants will not pay us the taxes with the rent." Well, people cannot live in the street, and they agree to pay the rent and the taxes; the landlord turns out the old tenant, who goes to the next landlord and says, "I didn't want to pay the old landlord rent and taxes, but I will pay it to you," and so the whole combination is shattered. It only needs the entrance of one new man into the community to break up your whole tenant conspiracy against the payment of rent and taxes.

Now we have excluded from the scope of taxation all taxes upon personal property, upon houses, upon any article of human production, as ineffective and impracticable. We have disposed of the favorite income tax, though I have not told you one-tenth of what I might tell you to demonstrate its impracticability. What remains? No tax! The government must be supported. Human society cannot exist without it.

THE LAW OF NATURE.

Now pray observe a beautiful provision made by the law of nature, which is wiser than all human laws. In spite of some of my economic, philosophical friends who deny it, the law of nature provides a science of taxation. The law of nature recognizing that society cannot exist without government, and that government cannot be supported without expense, has provided a natural fund, which at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances, is fully equal to the expense of maintaining the government. It is in the nature of things. You need no law to raise it; you need no ingenious legislation to protect it. You need only look at the law of nature. What is it?

One of you may go out upon the wilderness, somewhere in that flourishing state of Nevada, and if you are content to live alone you may have land for absolutely nothing. As soon as ten families get together, somehow or other you begin to find there is a value in that land; you find that economic rent arises; when a hundred families get together, it increases; when forty or fifty thousand congregate, it goes up rapidly; when two or three hundred thousand are congregated in one city, then economic rent goes up like a rocket; and when two or three millions get together, as in and around New York city, land, which in Nevada, though of equal quality, is not worth one cent, is in New York city worth \$45,000,000 an acre. Why is it? Because the law of nature creates rent; that is, the rent of an acre of bare land wherever society exists, increases in proportion to the increase of society, and side by side with that goes the

fact that where society concentrates the expenses of government necessarily increase.

You will notice another most remarkable thing, namely, that rent does not increase in the precise ratio of population; it increases faster; also that the expenses of government increase faster than society increases. To illustrate: The state of Ohio in forty years increased 100 per cent in population; its assessed wealth increased about 1,000 per cent; taxation and expenses of local government increased 1,400 per cent. A further examination will disclose that taxation and rent increased about equally; the difference between the two is practically inappreciable.

Here is a plain indication that nature has provided a resource for the expenses of government. It has provided a fund which men raise and have to raise; because, even if all agreed not to pay rent or to receive rent, rent would nevertheless exist all the same, and some one would put it into his pocket. Any man that had land more favorably situated than another would be receiving rent and virtually collecting it from the latter.

Rent is in the law of nature and never can be abolished; we do not want to abolish it; at the same time the rent of land is the natural resource of taxation. It is the fund which God has provided, and which he meant should be used so far as it is necessary for the expenses of the government.

A TAX ON RENT OF LAND CANNOT BE SHIFTED.

When you come to put your tax upon the rent of land, all the other difficulties we have met with vanish. The tax will be collected directly; it cannot be turned over upon anyone else, because the landlord cannot increase the rent of his bare land, no matter how much you add to his taxes. He can give up his land, if he chooses, but he cannot make nor unmake the land. If you tax all the landlords to the full amount of the rent they can not say to the tenants, "If you do not pay that we will not rent you this land." The simple answer is: "Here is any quantity of land, the owners of which have abandoned it because they cannot pay the taxes; we will work to pay the taxes, and we will take that land." This tax, therefore, is direct; it can be collected evenly and fairly by any assessor of common sense and common education who is half fit for the place. Anyone could easily ascertain whether his neighbor was paying his fair proportion of the tax; and you would get rid at once and forever of the system which now exists, under which the rich are made richer and the poor poorer, through laying an enormously disproportionate part of the public burden upon the shoulders of the poor. And you do it peaceably, without any revolution, without communism or anarchism, without any social or political disturbance.

Moreover, see what other advantages would exist. When all land was taxed according to its value, the unoccupied just as much as the occupied land standing next to it, the owner of the vacant land would, on the morning after you adopted this system, be clamorous to have laborers come and improve his land, because that would be the only way by which he could obtain the revenue from it. So long as he did not improve, he would have to pay taxes out of his own pocket, and it would be ruinous to him; as soon as he improved, he would have sources of revenue from which he could afford to pay taxes and conduct the business of landlord, a not useless or injurious business in its way.

TAXING LAND VALUES WOULD DESTROY LAND SPECULATION.

Another thing would happen, which some of our friends perhaps would not like. The wild real estate speculation now going on would stop; there would be no more southern California booms. Men would select real estate with reference to the wants of the community. This is not a system of taxation which would bring about absolute equality; it is simply a system which would leave in the pockets of every man that which he had fairly earned; a system which would leave to every man the full advantage of those opportunities which God had given him, the full benefit of his natural abilities, without any attempt on the part of the government to take away from him an unfair proportion of that which he owned.

JUSTICE OF THE REMEDY.

I have stated these things in this simple manner thus far, on purpose. I have not tried to excite you by any appeals to what might be called demagogic considerations. If I have, Senator Sherman sins quite as much as I do, because the main point here raised is derived from speeches made by him. I have not even questioned the propriety or advantages of land owning. I have only said that it is just and fair that necessary taxes should be taken out of that fund which nature has provided, the fund of land values, or to use another term, the ground rent of land. That rent, as provided by nature, is abundantly equal to all the cost and value of the privileges of society; and is there anything unjust in saying that those who receive the value ought to deliver the goods? I think not. It appeals to the plain and simple principle of equality and justice, that those who own the land having, by force of that fact, received the full consideration—the cost of government—they ought to defray that cost without a murmur.

If you will not adopt this view you must be content to take things as they are. You must be content to see the great mass of the people in this country fall, relatively, lower and lower. Do not comfort yourselves by the delusion that because the poor are rising a little, that because their wages are a little higher and they get a little more comfort for a dollar than they used to do, this is going to make them content. No! when the poor are degraded, crushed and powerless, when they are so miserable they have no time to breathe, to confer, to conspire, then the rich can trample them under foot; but when they begin to rise, when they begin to improve a little, that is the hour of danger. If you do not crush the poor beneath the hoofs of tyranny, but nevertheless do injustice to them, you may depend upon it that the poor will rise and overturn the system which has so long oppressed them.

I appeal to you on behalf of the future; I appeal to you on behalf of simple justice; I appeal to you in the name of common sense, to say whether there is any simpler, any better or wiser system than has been suggested for the remedy of these universally acknowledged evils than this simple remedy of putting the expenses of government upon the rent of land.

UNJUST TAXATION MUST BE DESTROYED.

In conclusion let me say that while I sympathize with charity, with kindness, with philanthropy; while I highly appreciate education, especially in the new forms it has assumed; while I appreciate the value of hospitals, universities, colleges and schools, and of all means which are offered for the amelioration of the human race, nevertheless I say here, as I said on another occasion, that I am reminded of the saying of old Cato in the Roman senate, who, at the close of every discussion, no matter what had been the topic, no matter how widely other senators had disagreed with him, would always close by saying: "But, senators, whatever may be our conclusion with respect to this particular question, one thing is certain: Carthage must be destroyed." And so, after discussing education and relief for the poor, charity and co-operation, and all the thousand schemes which are devised, many of which have great merit, I always come back to this proposition. No matter, Americans, what may be your position upon each or any of these questions, one thing is certain. If you would save this republic, if you would save society, if you would preserve free government to the end of time, unjust taxation must be destroyed. (Great applause.)

"The Standard" is Glad to Be Corrected.

POPULAR, Mon. Ter., July 1.—The excellence of THE STANDARD makes me regret inaccuracies which I should deem of little account in an inferior paper.

In No. 26, page 9, I think you inadvertently did injustice to two good and true men. I refer to the statement, "Thanks to the zeal of the Detroit Evening News the assessors have been forced to reduce the assessed value of personality," etc. Two of the three assessors are men whose hearts are in it, and have of their own accord applied the principle of the single tax as far as the law allows. One of them, J. D. Long, was in the custom house four years ago. During a visit in Canada I ordered a hundred copies of Mr. George's lecture on "The Crime of Poverty," and got them from the Windsor post office on my way to Detroit. The inspectors at the ferry insisted on my opening the parcel in my hand, but charged no duty because they saw that it was printed at Burlington, Iowa, not in Canada. Mr. Long, however, "confiscated" one copy for himself and one for his colleague. I was not sorry to begin distributing them at the custom house. He was glad to get light on the subject. He has not "been forced" to do the faithful work he has done, but is quite as much in earnest as the editor of the Evening News. And I believe one of his colleagues in his present office is in sympathy with him.

GEORGE W. WOOD.

Fifty Dollars Reward.

I hereby offer a reward of \$50 to any person who will show from the present assessed valuation of any county in Minnesota, that a majority of all the actual farmers and workmen in such county would not pay directly less money in taxes under the single tax plan than they now pay under the present plan. The single tax men propose to get the same revenue as now by simply raising the rate, and exempting all products of industrial enterprise. Thus an improved farm would be assessed at the same rate as the wild land around it, and all buildings, crops, animals, machinery, etc., would be exempt.

C. J. BUELL,

President Minneapolis Single Tax League.

To Organize in Roxbury.

ROXBURY, Mass.—All single tax men of this district who are in favor of organizing a single tax club please send name and address to the undersigned.

H. C. ROMAINE,
250 Ruggles street.

Humorous, Yet Sad to Contemplate,
Terre Haute Express.

Progress and Poverty—Driving street car at \$1 a day.

LOOKING FORWARD.

In a recent article in THE STANDARD I expressed the opinion that the "George men" are those who are really striving to restore to the people the right of common ownership in land by the method explained and urged by Mr. George in "Progress and Poverty." These are the men who are jocularly called single tax men, unlimited, to distinguish them from those described by Mr. George as "single tax men, limited." The latter only look on the single tax as the most just, economical and convenient means of raising public revenues and care little or nothing for the idea of restoring to the people their common right in the land. Yet, so far as the present is concerned, the broad difference between these two sets of people does not offer the least obstacle to their perfect union in work for the single tax, and the more thoroughly a man understands the ultimate object of the so-called "George men," the more will he rejoice that a large body of those who would otherwise be our opponents, are willing for any reason to work for the establishment of the single tax.

It is true that the "single tax men, limited," do not accept our philosophy, and that the time may come when they will be our opponents, but they are one with us now, and are willing to postpone future differences for the sake of achieving the object they and ourselves now have in common. This could be said, perhaps, of others whose philosophy differs even more widely from ours, provided that they were also willing to work for the same object that we have in view. Our own experience and their own oft repeated declarations show that this is not true of the great body of those in this country who call themselves socialists. It is true that they declare that the land belongs to all, but they do not intend to attempt to restore it to its common owners by the process advocated in "Progress and Poverty." They have a perfect right to thus differ with us, but the fact that they do thus differ as to the one thing that we propose to do is sufficient to preclude all thought that we can work together. It is not chiefly our indifference as to ultimate ends but our difference as to immediate objects that separates us, and the socialists understand this perfectly. A year or two ago, when, perhaps, each hoped to capture the other, there may have been some room for doubt in this matter, but since then the differentiation has been so marked that no man who understands the aims of either would think of proposing a union of state socialists and advocates of the single tax in any practical work.

Of late a small body of people who call themselves Christian socialists have started in Boston a paper called The Dawn. In its proclamation of principles it puts the restoration of the common ownership of land at the head and recognizes the importance of the single tax as a means to such restoration, but the declaration goes on to proclaim most of the ideas of the state socialists. Some of our friends have jumped to the conclusion that we have a new set of allies with whom we can work without regard to our differences as to ultimate aim. This would probably be true if these people proposed to work for the establishment of the single tax as the first step, but in the declaration of their practical programme in the first issue of the Dawn they put first the enactment of an eight hour law, and bring in woman suffrage and legislation to restrict the sale of liquor ahead of the single tax as objects to be immediately sought. What may be hoped from these good people after awhile no man can say, but at present we could not work with them for the single tax without dividing ourselves on questions that have no relation to our accepted programme. By the way, why is it that those who have hailed the Dawn as a new and important supporter of the single tax movement have studiously refrained from quoting its programme for practical work?

The recognition of the fact that we can only work with those who are striving for the same things that we are ourselves seeking, does not suggest to any logical mind the idea that men who are united in working for the establishment of the single tax cannot differ in opinion as to the final form that the benefits to flow from the establishment of the single tax will take. To me that tax is simply the best, and, so far as I can see, the only practicable plan for restoring to mankind their right of common ownership in the earth without resorting to the discredited

method of common occupancy. The proposal of this great act of justice is sufficient to arouse in any of its advocates the highest enthusiasm without regard to the subsequent question as to how this common wealth is to be most conveniently and equitably divided after the people have once acquired it. This question of division is one of convenience and not one necessarily involving any great principle.

When the people once acquire their own they may, if they find that the most convenient and economical plan, impose on their government duties they do not now demand of it. The rental value of the land will be theirs, and the government is their agent and creature, and it is within their power to charge it with the duty of using the common revenue for various purposes of general utility now necessarily left to individual initiative and activity. Should such be the decision of the people the government would perform many functions now demanded of it by the socialists, and yet this would not be state socialism, since it would not take from the individual, for the benefit of others, the product of his labor applied to his exact share of natural opportunities, but simply give him his share of the values created by the people in common, and which will be created by the people in common under any possible system.

On the other hand, if the tendencies that now make it seem undesirable to increase the sphere of governmental activity shall continue, or if it shall appear that such activity, though otherwise beneficial, enervates men and destroys their individuality, the system can be changed without violating any principle. The object sought will be a just division of the common income, and if there be any surplus left after meeting such expenditures for government as may at that time appear desirable, it can be divided among the inhabitants per capita, if the people so desire. This was what William Saunders meant when he declared to an astonished parliament that he was in favor of no taxes at all and a pension to everybody, for it must always be remembered that the single tax is only a tax in name and appearance, and is in reality simply a ground-rent paid to the public.

Furthermore, perhaps there may be no surplus. No one can say with certainty what are the necessary expenses of government economically and efficiently administered, nor what will be the true rental value of land after speculative monopoly has ceased to force up rents. The matter is of slight consequence, for if rents are low the individual will have less to pay into the common fund, and if rents are high the surplus to be used for the common benefit or divided per capita will be higher. Certainly the questions as to whether there will be a surplus, and as to how it shall be used, if it exists, is one we can postpone to the future.

The thing that concerns this generation is to see to it that some progress is made toward restoring to the people their natural heritage. The thing that concerns single tax men is the establishment of the single tax, as the one particular agency through which the greater object can be accomplished, and we can safely leave to the future all questions as to the best practical means of collecting and using their common revenue as coheirs of nature's bounties and equal joint owners of the earth. WM. T. CROASDALE.

An Indiana State Conference Suggested.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—It has been suggested by a number of the friends throughout the state that a state conference be called at this point during the state fair week, when rates will be reduced.

It is argued that it would be well to take some action relative to the enforcement of the Australian system of voting, which is a law in this state from and after July 1 next year, and for this, if nothing more, there ought to be some effort to organize the state.

There is no idea of trying to organize a party movement, and it seems to me that a call for this conference should plainly state that it is not for the purpose of forming a third party or in any manner recognizing existing parties. We can run it with better success by confining it to principles and let future action of political parties determine our course.

All the friends throughout the state are earnestly requested to send their names to Thomas J. Hudson, No. 155 Elm street, this city, who has volunteered to act as preliminary secretary.

Papers friendly to the cause, both in this state and at Chicago, will confer a favor by inserting the above. L. P. CUSTEN, President Single Tax League.

TO WELCOME HENRY GEORGE.

Delegations to Meet Him at the Steamship Pier, and a Modest Little Dinner to be Tendered Him by the Seaside.

It being impossible to charter a steamer for Sunday, July 28, the plan to go down the bay to meet Henry George has had to be abandoned. Delegations from single tax clubs and friends who do not belong to clubs will gather on the Cunard pier on the morning of the arrival, however, and greet the traveler as he steps on the wharf.

Further than this the joint committee of single tax clubs is arranging for an informal and modest little dinner at the seaside on the evening of the next day, Monday, July 29. It will be held at one of the big hotels at Manhattan or Brighton beach. Full arrangements will be concluded by Friday of this week. The expense of the dinner, including transportation, will not exceed \$2.50 for each person. All who are desirous of securing tickets should make application at once to the secretary of the committee, Edwin A. Curley, care Union printing company, 15 Vandewater street, or at THE STANDARD office.

THE NIAGARA FARMERS IN COUNCIL.

They Are a Little Muddled in Their Demands, But Lawrence McParlin of Lockport Points the True Remedy.

The Niagara farmers' club of Gasport, Saturday, June 29. They had come together to discuss methods of relief to the farming interests. The drift of opinion seemed to be that less real estate, and more personal property, should be taxed. Lawrence J. McParlin of Lockport, who was present, stated that he did not agree with the suggestion that the personal property should be taxed, for the reason that it was the result of labor, and that he was a Henry George man, but for lack of time did not attempt to give the views of Mr. George.

After the adjournment, however, Mr. McParlin was interviewed.

He was asked if he thought the farmers and knights would join hands in the coming movement. He answered there is no reason why they cannot, the alliance and knights both aim at the same objects.

When asked if he believed the farmers would be benefited by the Henry George system of taxation he replied, yes, for the following reasons:

First—It is not a political measure, it is purely a business or fiscal question.

Second—It would reduce their taxes fully one-third.

Third—It would result in the destruction of the coal monopoly and other trusts.

To illustrate, the other day land covered by the ruins of a burned building on Broadway in New York city was sold at \$555 per square foot, not frontage, remember. That was unimproved land. Under the single tax that would be taxed on its full value. Four square feet of that land would equal the valuation of 100 acres of farming land in Niagara county. We only favor taxing the bare land value; and on forced sales in this county recently land and improvements only brought about \$40 per acre, and that was good property not far from Lockport. We do not favor taxing houses, barns, fences, orchards, or anything which is the result of labor. You will see that we do not tax land at all, only land values, and nothing that work or industry or labor created enters into that valuation.

The rental value of land embraced on an area one-half mile up from the Battery in New York city is over \$200,000,000. So you see, under the single tax system every foot of land could be equitably taxed throughout the state and the farmers could be the greatest gainers. Residents in cities would also gain by the destruction of speculative values in land; the people would have less to pay for land near cities, and could spend the amount thus saved in building more and better homes. Besides, they would not be fined or taxed for their buildings as at present; speculative values being destroyed, rents would be cheaper. Under the present system if a farmer builds a barn, or a citizen paints his house, his tax is increased. This is unjust and is a tax on industry.

Personal property never can be all reached by any system of taxation; it is easily put under cover. Not so with land. You tax money or capital, it will go elsewhere for investment, or invent some means to recoup the tax.

The single tax was in vogue in England 200 years ago—the present system is a modern invention to despoil the farming, industrial and mercantile masses for the enrichment of a class. When the farmers, manufacturers and business men understand the far-reaching effects of the single tax, it will soon thereafter be adopted. The liberal wing of the Gladstone party has adopted it as a political plank in their platform in England. In Port Jarvis, N. Y., Mr. Vail, the assessor, has been elected three times on that issue. He has gradually increased the taxation on the unimproved lands on the outskirts of his town. The result is that taxation on homes and manufacturing establishments there has decreased, and now lots sell at very reasonable figures. Detroit, Michigan, has also begun to put the system into practice. When it becomes adopted by all the states, this na-

tion will outstrip the world, for dead capital will not then be rewarded, and industry freed and hampered.

A Highly Successful Meeting in Chicago.

CHICAGO, July 12.—Our club had perhaps the greatest meeting in its history last night, all things considered.

To begin with, it was a case of standing room only. Every seat was filled, and while some found perches on tables, others rested one foot while standing on the other.

In the second place, there was an admirable paper by George V. Wells, a new member. He is a Union stock yards commission merchant with a great deal more brains than assurance. In fact, his fault is modesty. He doesn't realize his own abilities. His paper was lucid, thorough and moving. It had imagination and literary quality. Without pretensions, it covered almost the whole ground, and did it so effectively that little was left to be desired.

And in the third place, we had two able ministers with us—the Rev. Charles F. Goss, pastor of the famous Moody church, and the Rev. Charles Ferguson, the brilliant young rector of the Episcopal parish of Ravenswood.

Their presence was a glad surprise to the members. Hardly one was expecting either, and the great majority had never so much as thought of Mr. Goss as a sympathizer. But there he was and there was Mr. Ferguson. It would have done your heart good to have seen how warm a welcome they got when I made their presence known. And when they talked! Ah! how hopeful it all was—how encouraging—how eloquent.

Mr. Ferguson is a polished orator. His voice is musical. It is deep and rich, and he controls it with an artist's skill. It was a revelation in itself, and we listened with rapt attention while he told us how deeply he sympathized with our movement, and how thoroughly he believed in it. He said he had seen the whole cat, and that he was enlisted for the war. But he warned single tax men against over enthusiasm and extravagance. The problem of poverty was not the only problem confronting mankind. That of individual life—the regeneration of the human heart—is the greatest problem of all, and that must not be ignored.

Mr. Goss followed. His talk was easy and familiar. It put him *en rapport* with the audience instantly. He said he thought poverty a removable evil, and that he sympathized with all who honestly sought to remove it by peaceful means. He was not acquainted with our views as he would like to be, he said; he rather thought he was more radical than we—that he went further—but his heart was with us; he was glad to be among men honestly seeking the truth; his help, his best endeavors, should go with us as far as opportunity shall offer and circumstances permit. He has not seen the cat, but he has seen its tracks, and he is hot on the trail. You will hear more of him, I think, as time goes on.

Edwin O. Brown spoke for a minute only. He said he had just come from a meeting at the Palmer house, where the subject for discussion was: "What of the Future." In his speech Mr. Brown said: "I will answer that question. The future is ours!" He then gave them the single tax unlimited and showed them that the future is ours.

Mr. Van Ornum, Mr. McFarland, Mr. Place and Prof. Orchardson also spoke briefly. The remarks of the three first named were peculiarly felicitous, as were those of Mr. Hornstein and Mr. Ripley.

The arrangements for the supper in honor of Mr. George's return are progressing. Nearly a hundred tickets were subscribed for last night. We expect to dispose of 200.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

Jersey City Grove Meeting.

The meeting at Salter's Woodbine grove on Sunday afternoon, July 14th, was not so largely attended as some of the previous gatherings. But the audience was quite as responsive, and a number of the congressional petitions were signed with very little persuasion. Mr. Herbert Boggs of Newark spoke of the fall of the Bastille, and contrasted the French revolution with the one that is approaching. He showed that the fight for human freedom there began remained for us to complete. Mr. J. J. Barnard of Passaic followed, outlining the single tax and relating his attempts to gain consideration for the proposition in his own township. The treasurer of the Jersey City Standard single tax club, Mr. John Moley, sang and recited to an appreciative audience.

On Sunday next Mr. Ireland will speak, and Mr. A. P. Brown of Jersey City will tell how from being a protectionist he grew to be a free trade single tax man. Members of the Manhattan club are notified that their presence is desired. There is no more delightful place to spend a Sunday afternoon. There is perpetual feast of reason and flow of soul. It is one of the fairest spots in all the state, and the landlord, though belonging to an obnoxious class, is personally a gem. Mr. Salter, who owns the grove in which we meet, is not, so far as we know, a single tax man, but he keeps a good cigar and he passes temperance drinks with a deftness and courtesy which has endeared him to the hearts of the thirsty.

JOSEPH DANA MILLER, corresponding secretary.

FOREIGN NOTES.

The Liverpool Financial Reformer announces that Henry George will deliver a farewell address in the Rotunda lecture hall, in Liverpool, on Friday, July 19, under the auspices of the Financial reform association.

The Yorkshire Post grows merry over the George-Hyndman debate. It says: "While all London—all gay and frivolous London—was lionizing the shah and casting longing thoughts in the direction of Covent garden theater, a faithful, select and serious few sat listening to a debate between a couple of grim politicians, Mr. Henry George and Mr. Henry M. Hyndman, at the St. James's hall, on the merits respectively of 'The Single Tax' and the programme of the Social democratic federation. Fancy sweltering indoors on a hot July night under two such fearful and wonderful subjects as these! Mr. Henry George's patent medicine for all the ills to which the body politic is heir is the nationalization of the land; that is to say, the taking of the land from those to whom it belongs, and giving it to somebody else. That is his prime specific for ameliorating the condition of the lower orders of society and for abolishing poverty from the face of the earth. The revenue derivable from the land, he argues, is sufficient to bear the entire expenses of government and to sweep away the last vestige of imperial taxation. Mr. Hyndman pooh-poohs this theory. The total land rent only amounted to about sixty millions, and would not be enough. Its transference to the nation would not materially benefit the working classes. The people whom Mr. Hyndman would compel to 'disgorge' are capitalists—railway and bank shareholders, manufacturers, and the like. His 'federation' aims at 'the abolition of the wages system, and the taxing not merely of land but of all monopolies, as well as the abolition of competition'—a very modest programme, and, in Mr. Hyndman's opinion, perfectly capable of realization. Mr. George, when his turn came to reply, declared that to abolish competition would be to abolish liberty—a sentiment which the socialists cordially hooted. Both speakers then went at it, on the question of competition or no competition, Mr. George being treated with such scant courtesy by the audience as to suggest to an impartial critic the idea that he was getting decidedly the best of the argument.

The Pall Mall Gazette gives this interesting account of the opening of the model Phoenix mills at Dartford by Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome & Co., the great London drug firm. Mr. Burroughs, it will be remembered, is one of the most active single tax men across the Atlantic: "The town of Dartford presented a lively appearance yesterday afternoon. Mr. Henry George and a large party of his friends had come down to assist at the re-opening of the Phoenix mills, now owned by Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome & Co., of Snow Hill, London, manufacturers of pharmaceutical goods. The beautifully laid-out grounds which surround the mills were filled with persons who had come to hear the one-tax question explained and discussed by its originator. The Phoenix mills are very picturesquely and, for the firm's purpose, usefully built on a strip of land which divides a Thames canal from a fresh running stream, which has been utilized to form the large ornamental lake dotted with small islets in front of the buildings. From the wharf at the back of their warehouse, Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. can send their goods direct by barge to their shipping offices on the Thames, while the spring in front is utilized in the manufacture of the goods, being almost chemically pure. Dartfordians contend that there is one spot in the gardens where you may stand with a red in each hand and bring up in a few minutes a fine pound trout with the one and a fine pair of soles with the other. Isaac Walton's ghost ought surely to haunt the Phoenix mills. The inside of the factory is, of course, all that a model factory ought to be. There are storing rooms, mixing rooms, drying rooms, boiler rooms and packing rooms galore. We are shown the face-simile of Stanley's traveling medicine chest, containing every conceivable drug that can be taken in a compressed shape. Seeing it there in the middle of the laughing, careless crowd one wonders where its original may be.

"At 8 o'clock Mr. Henry George made a speech, declaring the mills open, which was received with enthusiastic cheers, and no wonder; when the Phoenix mills are in full working order the town will benefit to the tune of some £20,000 a year. Later in the evening Mr. George enlightened us on the land question and made many converts. He was in splendid form, looking all the better for his late visit to Paris and the Eiffel tower. "Those who did not manage to get into the crowded lecture room had an opportunity of seeing the one-tax hero in fireworks, sent up from one of the islands on the lake, 'every feature faithfully reproduced' in colored fire. This was the portion of the proceedings which excited the greatest enthusiasm, and was certainly a brilliant idea on the part of the fete's originators. Chinese lanterns hang on every tree, the islet shone like glowworms on the lake, illuminated with countless little lamps, Dartford—even those without the paling so strictly guarded by two policemen—had a glimpse of fairyland last night, thanks to Messrs. Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. and Mr. George.

The Belfast Morning News thinks that the "steadily increasing support" which the single tax movement is receiving from the British public warrant it "in believing the taxation of landlords or economic rent is within the range of practical politics." "The return to the public revenue from such a tax," it continues, "must in England be enormous, and no doubt the consequent shifting of financial burdens from the shoulders of the masses to the shoulders of the classes must prove very beneficial to industry. It is possible the economic changes naturally follow-

ing on the raising of the national revenue from taxation of economic rent may so strengthen the hands of British industry as enable the producers of home-grown food to put their commodities into their markets as profitably and as cheaply as can any others who supply our common markets. We have always maintained that our industry, soil and climate are well fitted for competition with all others, and that the causes which we now find hindering Englishmen from underselling foreigners in English markets are artificial and removable. We may remind our readers that Henry George's scheme proposes to touch nothing but landlords or economic rent, consequently his method of taxing land cannot increase cost of production. Neither within certain limits can it become a burden or a snare for men who may have become the owners of land which has ceased to yield economic rent."

Belfast Morning News: "Henry George has been much impressed with the wonderful change of opinion which has taken place in Great Britain with regard to the Irish movement. Every mention of Parnell's name is received with ringing cheers, and other Irish leaders receive the heartiest possible recognition. Home rule, Mr. George thinks, is near at hand, but its precise form is as yet undiscernible. He suspects, however, that Lord Salisbury's government will devote all their energies to bringing out a drastic purchase scheme which shall have the effect of recouping the Irish landlords, and he thinks it very probable some measure of home rule may be promised in order to bribe the Irish to accept the purchase scheme. Mr. George has no hesitation in saying that the British masses will bitterly oppose all schemes of land purchase. 'Not even Mr. Gladstone,' says Henry George, 'could now lead the active men in the constituencies to support such a scheme.' Nevertheless, the servile parliamentary majority at the disposal of Lord Salisbury may enable him to pass a purchase bill, but should this be done the feeling and the discussion it will arouse will wind up British landlordism."

Manchester Examiner: "The question of land nationalization is very much in the air at present. Diverse are the solutions already submitted for national acceptance, and doubtless more remain to come. The glad tidings of three acres and a cow sounded grateful and comforting to the ears of the long-suffering English farm laborer, whose wants are few and whose ambition is limited. The prospect of relieving the landlord of the burden of the land on payment of the pittance value appeals forcibly to the livelier imagination of the quicker-witted Irish tenant farmer. But, acceptable as these solutions may appear to some at least of the parties more immediately interested, they can hardly be considered as satisfactory, or as offering more than an interim instalment of the desired reforms, in the eyes of the nation at large. We cannot all be English farm laborers or Scotch crofters or Irish tenant farmers, and yet we all live and move and have our being on and from the land. How is it proposed that the people of the United Kingdom should jointly participate in the fruits of the soil of England, Ireland and Scotland? Mr. Henry George, who lectured a few weeks ago on the subject in the Free Trade hall, under the auspices of the Financial reform association, has a plan which he considers at once simple and beautiful. Tax the landlords out of existence, he says in effect, and the thing is done. The rents which are at present paid to the landlord would speedily be diverted into the coffers of the state, and by virtue of this magical single tax, the national bills, heavy though they be, would soon be more than met."

The difference between the French school of land reformers, as represented by M. Albert Toubeau, and single tax men does not, on close examination, appear to be so great that it cannot easily be settled. According to The Church Reformer (London) M. Toubeau advocates the abolition of these taxes and the substitution of a single tax—a tax upon land. But he is also as anxious as Mr. George is, not to tax the value which may have been added to land by labor. By a curious process of reasoning he arrives at the conclusion that it would not be just to tax the value of land, and he proposes to avoid injustice by taxing land according to its area. In form this seems entirely opposed to the teaching of Mr. George. But it soon becomes obvious that the "land value" which M. Toubeau thinks it would be unfair to tax, stands in his mind for (so to speak) the gross value; or, to put it in another way, for the rack rent of the improved farm instead of the economic rent of the land apart from improvements. And M. Toubeau, recognizing that a tax upon area only would fall very unequally upon lands of widely different value, proposes to divide the land into different categories according to fertility, etc., and to vary the tax according to the categories. This brings him very near to Mr. George, for it is only necessary to "let the land classify itself into categories," as one speaker put it, by making the value the standard throughout, and M. Toubeau's plan becomes identical with the "single tax" as understood in England.

The following from the London Christian Commonwealth indicates how the advanced religious periodicals are breaking away from things as they are: While the land question is to the front it may be well to consider how the land is used and to whom it belongs. The largest owner of sporting ground in the kingdom is the duke of Sutherland, who owns about a million acres of grouse moors and deer forests, from which he derives an annual income, for shooting rights alone, of £60,000. The largest tenant of shootings in the kingdom is Mr. W. L. Wiggins, the American millionaire, who until lately, rented over 200,000 acres of moor and forest, at an annual rent of close on £20,000 a year. Now, it is simply impossible to justify these 'acts while

so many poor men are without homes. It may be that the people of this country will never accept Mr. Henry George's doctrine of the single tax, nor his notions about the ownership of land. Nevertheless, we cannot doubt that if land could be free from the present law of entail and put upon the market so that every Englishman could own at least a sufficient amount of land on which to build a home, the result would be most favorable to the poor man as well as to the patriotism of our people generally. While it is true that home life is the center of every worthy influence, it must be also true that everything that will make home happy and give the idea of permanency will be of incalculable advantage. We do not profess to know how this land reform is to be brought about, but we do sincerely hope that some solution of it may be arrived at in the near future.

The reception accorded to Henry George at the Paris conference, the Church Reformer says, was remarkably enthusiastic. "His works are evidently well known and highly appreciated among social reformers on the continent, and this is not less true of France than of Germany, Holland, Denmark, etc. His election as honorary president of the congress was proposed by a German delegate, but a leading French member immediately entered a humorous protest against the way in which he had been forestalled in his intention to make the same motion; and the congress saved the chairman the trouble of putting the resolution by carrying it 'by acclamation.'"

At another time the Belfast Morning News says: "Farmers who may buy economic or landlords' rent need not hope to cut short the decay that has set in for such land valuers. Purchase can do nothing more than transfer the seller's loss to the unwary buyer. We prefer to see our landlords and their creditors dividing their damaged securities among themselves to seeing hard-working farmers called in at the eleventh hour to share in the inevitable losses in store for holders of land in the United Kingdom. We must not altogether omit from our calculations the possibility of a land tax on Henry George's lines. We think such a tax has come within the region of practical politics, and supposing our home rule to remain in abeyance, some hard-pushed Tory minister may throw this boon to the wolves to gain time for his own ends. We suspect that any such English statesman would not hesitate to ruthlessly sacrifice property sold to Irish farmers on the responsibility of the British government, provided his so acting could uphold his party. Should a policy of this kind be considered expedient Irish purchasers must not only lose the vanished economic rent, but must pay a government tax on its bogus values, and find themselves crushed out of all form by the very same legislation that must be of inestimable benefit to the industrial world of London whose hard-won wealth is the fund which supplies the flaunting luxury which disgraces our civilization and wastes our resources."

South Australia Register (Adelaide): "On Sunday evening, Mr. L. H. Berens gave an address at the democratic club. In his opening remarks he alluded to the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Hastings in this colony. As that gentleman came here with a splendid reputation as a true, earnest democrat and staunch Georgian, he hoped that he would do as good political work here as he had done at home in the old country. The lecturer alluded to the late Single tax conference in Sydney as a sign of the growth of sound principles, and appealed to his audience to do their utmost to welcome Mr. Henry George on his arrival next October in a way worthy of that great thinker. After the lecture many other speeches were made, and several questions asked and answered."

"The best thing which the county council has done," says the London Star, "is the prompt way in which it has attacked the land question, so far as the land question affects London. The first step toward the taxation of ground values, which is itself only the first step toward the land reform which will revolutionize the face of England and of English society, is to get at the ground values. Accordingly on February 26, when the county council was still only in its provisional stage, a committee was appointed 'to consider the best method of ascertaining the value of land throughout the metropolitan area, irrespective of the value of buildings and of improvements made by the owners. The committee has now made its report, and a very valuable document it is, resting as it does on the evidence of surveyors, private and official, clerks to local authorities and assessment committees, and all sorts and conditions of authorities, both upon rating and upon land questions, up to Professors Thorold Rogers and Mr. Henry George. The first point to be noted is that neither among the witnesses nor among the committee—though there is of course a dissentient minority which has felt under the necessity of presenting an independent report, as will be seen hereafter—is there any difference of opinion as to the practicability of separating and recording the value of land apart from that of buildings or improvements. There has been some difference of opinion as to the best method of doing it; but the committee are practically agreed that an ordinary assessment committee is quite competent to undertake the work, though they will probably require paid professional assistance in drawing up the first valuation list. They further think that the present Metropolitan valuation act supplies a sufficient basis for going to work on, when once the requisite rating power is obtained from parliament—if it is really necessary to obtain it. Accordingly the chief practical recommendations made are (1) the appointment of a central assessment committee under the county council; (2) the vesting in such committee the necessary powers for securing uniformity of assessment through-

out the metropolis, and for separately assessing land irrespective of houses and buildings; and (3) immediate application to parliament (if necessary) for power 'to calculate for rating purposes not only the annual rent, but also the capital value of land, and to assess the property' either on the rent 'which a tenant might reasonably be expected to pay,' or on a statutory percentage of the capital value. We say that application for these powers is to be made 'if necessary;' but one of the most important discoveries which the committee have made is that it is an open question under the terms of the valuation act whether land ought not to be rated in all cases on its full market value—or rather the committee are strongly of opinion that the act requires it to be so rated. 'Counsel's opinion' is to be taken on this point, and, should it confirm the opinion of the committee it will be possible at once, without any application to parliament, to rate all land up to its full value, and to sweep away the unjust immunity from local taxation which owners of unoccupied building land have so long enjoyed, and which has enabled them to reap iniquitous profits by keeping their land out of the market and so extorting the uttermost farthing from the helpless victims of their monopoly."

At the Capital of Arkansas.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 1.—The single tax idea moves slowly here. We have no organized club as yet, although we have a list of fifteen to twenty who have handed in their names as supporters of the movement. We have learned also from visitors to the capital from other towns and cities that there are those everywhere who are reading the works of Henry George and others upon the land question and are catching a new inspiration. As the sources of the political and social evils which prevail—the causes of the poverty, wretchedness and strife—are unfolded to their minds they become more and more enthusiastic. In conversing with these the common exclamation is, "I never understood these things in their true light before."

I think the cause is receiving more attention and has a better prospect in the adjoining towns and cities than in Little Rock. And the reason is obvious. Little Rock is the focus in this country for money lenders and land speculators. Millions of capital is here to loan on security of plantations and city property from the great cities of the north. There are other millions to buy up the lands of the state—not to improve or put to any use, but to hold for a higher price. Farm improvements are not wanted, except as security for loans, and will hardly bring half their cost. Of course the city is on "a boom" from these causes. Town lots and wild lands are going up, and money is rapidly being loaned and mortgages executed. Anyone possessing an eligible lot can, if he desires, put on it a \$10,000 business house on borrowed capital at eight to ten per cent interest. Indeed, the city is rapidly growing up on such borrowed capital.

This, of course, gives employment to carpenters, brick masons and laborers for the time being. But the greed of gain seems to have taken possession of the men to such an extent—and the rush to get suddenly rich by speculation without labor is so great that any kind of reform measures can hardly be made to attract attention. Science, literature, philosophy are relegated to the back ground and talent in money getting alone can command any honors. This, I imagine, is more or less true of the whole country, but nowhere more so than in Little Rock. In a few years a reverse must come when the city will be found to be the property of northern capitalists, and farmers everywhere the tenants to landlords in the big cities. When that time comes, men, perhaps, will listen to warning voices, whose names they treat with ridicule. One is disposed to exclaim with the Texas orator, when hissed by the mob for sentiments they did not understand, "Think, damn you, think. You are like the beast driven to the slaughter, you never think." Do not, however, suppose from this that the cause is making no progress here. We have many men possessing the courage of their convictions, who are out and out single tax men and who are well posted. Not only so, but from the extent of the movement abroad, a conviction has crept through the minds of its enemies that there is substance and meaning in the cause, whether for good or evil, and that the subject must be studied in order to successfully combat it. The movement is more and more talked about. The great difficulty is to enlighten the minds of the masses with a thorough understanding of its principles, and this is slow work. Public discussions would be of great advantage, but we have here no good speakers, and to explain the cause to each mechanic is a slow process.

SOL F. CLARK.

The Single Tax in Minneapolis.

MINNEAPOLIS, July 10.—We were favored last evening with an address from Mr. Meagher of New York city, a tariff reformer, but an opponent of the single tax. To-day the single tax boys are all in high glee over the manner in which he was routed, horse, foot and dragoons. The papers this morning make great fun of him.

We have recently established permanent headquarters, open day and evening. The league meets every Tuesday evening with good success. New men are coming in all the time. We will endeavor to hold up our end of the movement. C. J. BUELL.

MR. PENTECOST'S VIEWS.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman has a long article in last week's STANDARD concerning my recent declarations that the single tax movement is losing its moral and religious character and becoming a mere fiscal reform, conducted by the ordinary political methods. By the courtesy of the editor of THE STANDARD I am permitted to explain in these columns my position, also. I commend the article spoken of to every reader of this paper as a model of gentlemanly courtesy, logical consistency, and fairness in argument. I have read nothing for a long time that pleased me more.

Mr. Shearman frankly states that he does not agree with Henry George in his idea that private property in land should be abolished—that land should be made common property. He announces his belief in landlords and landlordism. He defines his idea of taxation to be that the landlords should feed upon the people as aphids feed upon leaves, and then that the government should milk the landlords as the ant milks the aphids—that is to say, about sixty-five per cent of what the landlords take from the people should be taken from the landlords, leaving them thirty-five per cent of rent to encourage them in the business of land holding.

Mr. Shearman is not a philanthropist and makes no pretension to being one. He is a statistician and tax reformer. He is a free trader—in everything but land. Concerning the business of land holding he is a protectionist. But what is so admirable about him is that he is straightforward, and always dignified and gentlemanly. He differs with Mr. George, and says so. He doesn't pretend to believe in Mr. George's doctrine and then tell Mr. George's disciples that it is not expedient to bring that doctrine into prominence just now, while we have on our dress suits and are hobnobbing so charmingly with the four hundred. He says:

Mr. Pentecost is mistaken in his entire conception of the motives, methods and efforts of those who have deemed it wise to advocate the single tax as a cure for unjust taxation. [Not as a cure for poverty, nor as a means for abolishing land monopoly, you observe.—H. O. P.] His instinct is correct on one point. We can never work in harmony with socialists or anarchists; not because we do not recognize the honesty and good intentions of many such men, but because we consider the single tax as the surest guarantee that neither socialism nor anarchy will ever become the law of human society, and because this is one of its great merits in our eyes. We are quite able to perceive and admit that socialists, like William Morris, and anarchists, like some Russian philosophers, have excellent intentions and agree with us upon many points, just as all good men agree in desiring the welfare of the human race. But we do not even desire to see all competition abolished, as the typical socialist does, nor all government abolished, as the philosophic anarchist does,

but he indulges in no ridicule, misrepresentation nor abuse of socialists or anarchists.

The fact is Mr. Shearman is an eminent lawyer, a wealthy man, a Christian gentleman, an orthodox conservative, who is very well satisfied with things as they are, except in the single matter of taxation. And as such he has my profoundest respect. I recognize him as a most valuable ally in the great cause of industrial emancipation, and I hope he will permit me to work with him to obtain his sixty-five per cent single tax on land values. But all readers of THE STANDARD will henceforth understand, if they did not before, that Mr. Shearman is what is called a single taxer, "limited." And believers in the abolition of the business of land holding will see at once the absurdity of following Mr. Shearman as a "leader" in the new crusade that was set afoot by the publication of "Progress and Poverty."

I highly approve of Mr. Shearman as an able helper of Mr. George, but I protest, in the name of every man and woman who understands Mr. George's writings, and who looks upon his paper as the representative of a great philosophy, against THE STANDARD, in Mr. George's absence, going over, body and soul, to Shearmanism by declaring, as it has declared editorially, that the abolition of private property in land is not even the ultimate object of the single tax, and that only those who are working for Shearmanism *via* the democratic party, are in the straight and narrow way.

I make this protest also in the name of Henry George himself, who gave us his opinion of Shearmanism in THE STANDARD of July 28, 1888. Here it is. Let THE STANDARD readers ponder it well, compare it with Mr. Shearman's article of last week, and ask themselves whether THE STANDARD has been in tune with these words since Mr. George has been in Europe:

Every once in a while some one, thinking only of the opposition, writes me that he deems it a mistake that in "Progress and Poverty" I should have said anything at all about the right of individual ownership of land; and that it would have proved far more effective if I had contented myself with pointing out the economic benefits of concentrating taxation on land values. I know that this is not so. I know that the feeling that induced me to write that book is the feeling to which I have appealed. The success it has had and the forces it has set in motion, are to me proofs of the truth of what I wrote in it when I said:

"If you would move men to action, to what shall you appeal? Not to their pockets, but to their patriotism; not to selfishness, but to

sympathy. Self-interest is, as it were, a mechanical force—potent, it is true; capable of large and wide results. But there is in human nature what may be likened to a chemical force; which melts and fuses and overwhelms; to which nothing seems impossible. 'All that a man hath will he give for his life'—that is self-interest. But in loyalty to higher impulses men will give even life."

In the long list of men whom I know as having since then given money, time, influence, toil, to the spreading of the doctrine that book sets forth, I know of no single case in which the moving motive was any individual benefit, or even the idea of great and beneficial fiscal reform. In every case of which I know, the moving motive was the idea of overthrowing a monstrous wrong, the idea of making life better, brighter and fuller for those worse off than themselves, and for those yet to be born. I have known many who have recognized the fiscal side of the reform alone; but I have never known any efficient aid from them. The men who have worked, the men who will work, the men who can be counted on everywhere and every time till death closes their eyes, are those to whom this reform appeals from the moral, the religious side; those who see in it not a mere improvement in taxation, but a conforming of our most important social adjustment to the law of justice, to the will of God; a restoration to the disinherited of the bounteous provision which the Intelligence that laid the foundations of the world and brought them upon it has provided for them.—[Standard, July 28, 1888.]

And I also declare that, glad as I ever will be to work with Mr. Shearman, as far as he wishes to go in our direction—that is, for free trade in everything but land—I am more in sympathy with the rational enthusiasm for humanity that I find among the socialists and anarchists, than I am with Mr. Shearman's ambition to make capitalism stronger than it now is, or than I am with the democratic party, which juggles with the name of the great theoretical anarchist, Thomas Jefferson, but desires anything like real freedom as little as the republican party, and has absolutely no sympathy with the George movement.

I do not object to our "leaders," Mr. Croasdale and Mr. Post, using THE STANDARD in Mr. George's absence to "boom" Shearmanism. For as you see, I am disposed to boom it myself, for all that it is worth. I do not object to our "leaders" declaring that we should work with the democratic party. What I object to is their defaming other honest and earnest social regenerators and attempting to prevent them from working with us for the common object of abolishing the land monopoly by Mr. George's plan of confiscating economic rent. I am willing to work with free traders and single taxers as far as they go in our direction, and I would also welcome socialists and anarchists to work with us as far as we go in their direction.

An effort seems to be making to have it appear that I advocate working with socialists for the establishment of socialism. But that is absurd. I have not advocated organic union with the socialists for any purpose. I have only declared for sympathetic relations with our radical brethren, and a willingness and desire to have them join with us in our effort to destroy the private ownership of rent. The socialists and nationalists almost to a man, and very many anarchists, would be working with Mr. George to-day for the abolition of land monopoly by the confiscation of rent, if Mr. George and his "leaders" would lead the "movement" back to the plane of high, uncompromising principle upon which it once rested, and forego the soul destroying political tactics which our "leaders" say constitute the "adopted policy" of the "movement."

I know that our "leaders" think it wise to have the "respectable" American think that we bear no relation to socialists and anarchists. But it is never wise to deny the truth. Even Mr. Shearman's sixty-five per cent land value tax would lead inevitably to socialism or anarchism. It wouldn't "stay put," as Mr. McCready explains in this week's Twentieth Century. And as for the complete confiscation of economic rent—the result would either be the extension of the functions of government, as Henry George describes in the seventeenth chapter of "Social Problems," or the disappearance of economic rent entirely, by the freedom of the land.

For my part I think there is a thousand times more hope of success in uniting all the moral enthusiasts whose reason assents to the cry: "The land must be free!" upon the rent confiscation method, than there ever will be by inching along toward the commencement of a beginning which there is a shadow of a possibility that the democratic professional politicians may at sometime or other contemplate making.

Now let us clearly understand the case. Mr. Shearman's *ultimate* is a tax of sixty-five per cent on land values. Mr. George's *ultimate* is the abolition of poverty by destroying landlordism, as a first step toward that end. Shall we raise Mr. George's banner and call upon Mr. Shearman and all others to march under it? Or shall we lower Mr. George's colors and follow Mr. Shearman as our leader?

The whole discussion is simply a revival of the old controversy between the out-and-out abolitionists and the gradual emancipationists. In the old days there were men—just such admirable men as Mr. Shearman—who believed in a two-thirds reduction of slavery. But they are forgotten to-day, because specious as were their arguments, they were powerless to generate the moral and religious enthusiasm necessary to bring about a great

social revolution. Those who prepared the public mind and conscience for the downfall of slavery were such noble "impracticables" as Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, and James and Lucretia Mott—great souls who clamored for absolute, immediate and unconditional emancipation. Events made the occasion and Lincoln found the way to abolish slavery.

It seems to me that what we should do is to come with equal reason and zeal for the confiscation of rent for the purpose of destroying the business of land-holding. Let events determine how it shall be done. The thing to be done is our business. The how it can be done is the business of the statesmen and platform-makers. It is for us to create a public conscience on the subject, to make people abhor land monopoly as they came to abhor slavery. When that conscience is created the statesmen will find a way to accomplish its demands.

HUGH O. PENTECOST.

THE MENACE OF PLUTOCRACY.

New York Tribune.

"'Tis an ill bird that fouls its own nest!"—but has Mr. Thomas G. Shearman any nest or nation? Dwelling in America, he is practically counsel and agent for Great Britain. Yet his latest charge against American civilization will be copied and quoted in foreign lands as the admission of an American. In an address on the Pacific coast, according to accounts telegraphed, Mr. Shearman asserted that two-thirds of the entire savings of this nation yearly were accumulated by 100,000 persons. If this assertion is true, the cheap demagogue's outcry of plutocracy has more excuse, and yet not necessarily more reason, for the working people could save more than a thousand millions yearly if they chose, while living in greater comfort than is enjoyed by the workers of any other nation. If they, in fact, see fit to expend their money in useless drinking, or in any other unwise way, it does not follow that the laws or institutions of the country make the poor relatively poorer, or the rich relatively richer.

But Mr. Shearman's reported statement is not true, and it is so easy for a man of his information to satisfy himself of its error that he cannot charitably be held guilty of the assertion on telegraphic reports alone. If there is in this country any tendency whatever to a disproportionate concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, that tendency is not as great as in other countries, and the best evidence of later days leads strongly to the belief that, in this country at least, the accumulation of wealth is far more widely distributed than most persons have hitherto supposed.

The increase in the gold value of farms in this country from 1870 to 1880, according to census reports, was \$3,200,000,000. Adding live stock and equipments, the increase was about \$400,000,000 yearly for that decade. But this is half the estimated annual addition to the nation's wealth during the same ten years, which Mr. Mulhall calls \$800,000,000, and others have reckoned at a smaller sum. But this large addition to the nation's wealth was divided among 4,000,000 farmers, of whom over two-thirds own from 50 to 500 acres each. The returns make it most clear that much over half of the yearly addition to wealth by farming is divided among more than 2,500,000 people.

In 1880, a year of unusual prosperity, the interest and dividends actually paid to all owners of railroad bonds and stocks and national bank stocks, amounting to over \$6,100,000,000, were about \$230,000,000. But enough is known of the distribution of these securities to make it certain that no body of 100,000 persons owns two-thirds or even one-half of them. Moreover, these persons were obliged to deduct something for their living expenses out of their income from these and other investments. If it be supposed that half this income was saved and added to the nation's wealth, still only a part of the remaining accumulation could have gone to any small body of rich men.

At the other extreme there are found savings deposited in savings banks alone which amount to about \$1,400,000,000, and are deposited by 3,840,000 persons. Not even Mr. Shearman will affirm that any large part of these deposits is made by 100,000 rich men. But more than a thousand millions of these deposits are in seven states which have less than a fifth of the entire population. The working people of other states are not less thrifty, and average better wages and a lower cost of living than the working people of New England and New York, and it is impossible for candid men to doubt that these other working people also accumulate wealth in fully as large proportions, though through other methods—building and loan associations in many states, and houses and lands and securities of various sorts in all.

A more extended review of facts is not necessary to make it certain that Mr. Shearman's statement, as reported, was palpably and grossly untrue. But it is exceedingly discreditable to any American to strive, by misuse of his opportunities and intellectual powers, to destroy public confidence in the government and institutions of his country.

New York World.

Mr. Thomas G. Shearman having said that two-thirds of the wealth saved in this country every year goes into the pockets of 100,000 persons, the Tribune breaks out against the industrious people of this country with this taunting remark:

If this assertion is true the cheap demagogue's outcry of Plutocracy has more ex-

cuse, and yet not more reason, for the working people could save more.

That is to say the workingmen whose wages barely suffice for the support of his family deserves no pity. He has only himself to blame for not saving money. He ought to crowd his family closer in the tenement house, stint their stomachs and backs more sharply, deny them their occasional outing on the street cars, take the little ones earlier out of school and set them at work and make his wife bend one more hour a day over the washtub. If he would only do these things he might—barring illness or a lockout—save his share of a thousand millions, which we reckon at the princely sum of \$60 or so.

That is plutocracy's answer to the cry of tax-oppressed and trust-oppressed poverty. No, it is not all the answer. There is another insulting suggestion yet to come, for the Tribune goes on to say of the workingmen:

If they, in fact, see fit to expend their money in useless drinking, or in any other unwise way, it does not follow that the laws or institutions of the country make the poor relatively poorer or the rich relatively richer.

"'Tis an ill bird that fouls its own nest." Strangely enough, the article which thus brutally taunts poverty and deliberately represents the great body of American workingmen as drunken and improvident begins with that apposite adage. And yet this fouling of the American nest, this libel upon American manhood, is published as an editorial in a newspaper owned by the present American minister to France, who is a conspicuously good representative of the political party which made him a minister plenipotentiary. The utterance fairly represents the thought of the plutocratic class, which at present dominates that party, but it is not often that the thought is uttered with such brutal frankness.

Philadelphia Ledger.

It would be difficult to say authoritatively in what age or even in what generation of civilization it was not proclaimed by some one that the rich were growing richer and the poor poorer. The cry is as old as civilization itself, and likely to survive as long as society does. We should not like to be too positive and say that Mr. Thomas G. Shearman was the last person to make anew this ancient statement, because some one or other is always making it, but it is quite safe to say that it is the cry of Mr. Shearman against Plutocracy that is at the present time being discussed so warmly by our contemporaries. Mr. Shearman's declaration is to the effect that a hundred thousand persons receive three-fourths of the wealth which is annually saved in this country, and that, of course, the great industrious mass of the people grow poorer as the few grow richer.

It is as easy as lying to take a little truth, spread it thinly over all the surface and make the entire stack look like the truth. It is true enough that not only in this country, but in other countries, the present is the time of great individual fortunes. But it is not more true than that, in this country, at least, the present is the time of great prosperity among the industrious masses. The rich are growing richer. That part of Mr. Shearman's statement is unquestionably correct, but so are not the poor growing poorer. Here, as everywhere, there is a proportion of which are abjectly poor, but as a mass it is composed of incapables, of those whom disease, injury, drunkenness, old age, laziness have set apart from the great multitude of workingmen and workingwomen. This proportion would be to some, but not to a great degree, decreased in numbers if the demand for labor were greater and wages higher, but neither the most pressing demand nor the most liberal wage rate would make producers of the mass of idle consumers that we have always with us, and who cry for work, work, work, when there is plenty of work and which they do not really want.

But these incapable persons are quite apart from the rich and poor referred to by Mr. Shearman. His reference is to the men who employ workmen and the men who are employed. As a rule, taking the price of the necessities of life with the general average of wages paid, when, since the close of the war of the Southern confederacy, was the average wage rate better than it is at this present time? When before did the working men and working women of this country, or of any country on the face of the earth, live in such assured comfort as our working men and working women live? When or where were they so comfortably housed, fed, clothed, warmed? When before did so many of them own the snug, often fairly luxurious, homes as own them now? When before were the homes of working men so well furnished with all things necessary and many things not necessary? When before did our savings banks exhibit such enormous deposits as they are now doing—deposits which largely increase yearly?

If Mr. Shearman, if any one will go into the houses of our working people he cannot fail to see that they have grown in comfort, taste, and luxury almost correspondingly with those of the rich. The home of an industrious, frugal mechanic, or small tradesman of to-day, is in its general appointments not inferior to that of a well-to-do merchant, or lawyer, or physician of thirty years ago, and many of them are superior to it. The signs of prosperity about these tasteful homes deny the statement that the poor are growing poorer as the rich grow richer. The general average is still pretty well maintained, as it is to be remembered that only in rarely exceptional cases do large individual fortunes last longer than three generations in this country. Here if some rich men grow richer many other rich men grow poor, while all around us poor men are growing rich. The danger of the presence of a great plutocracy does not seem, at things considered, very imminent or great in this country at the present time.

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 Glendora, Mont.—H S Sawyer.
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 Gloversville, N Y.—Wm C Wood, M D.
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 Hot Springs, Ark.—W Albert Chapman.
 Houcksville, N Y.—C P Hammond.
 Houston, Tex.—H F Ring, corporation attorney.
 Hutchinson, Kas.—J G Malcolm, M D.
 Ilion, N Y.—George Smith, P O box 602.
 Indianapolis, Ind.—L P Custer, president Single tax
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 der Hardware store, E Washington street.
 Itasca, N Y.—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
 Janvier, N J.—S B Walsh.
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 son county Single tax league, 86 Lee avenue.
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 Kingston, N Y.—Theodore M Romeyn.
 Launceburg, N Y.—James McManis, 21 Eighteenth st.
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 Leavenworth, Mo.—John H. 3 Cottage street.
 Lexington, Ky.—James Kerwin.
 London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Cham-
 bers, Westminster.
 Los Angeles, Cal.—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street,
 W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or A Vinette, P O Station E.
 Louis Class.—Henry Robertson, 5 Melcalf block, Kid-
 der street.
 Lytle, Minn.—C F Weham.
 Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamsor, cor Fifth and Church
 streets.
 Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common-
 wealth street.
 Madison, Dak.—E H Evenson.
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 Mansfield, Conn.—J Higgins, manager Western union
 telegraph office.
 Marlboro, Mass.—Geo A Reynolds.
 Marlborough, N Y.—C H Bulkin.
 Mart, Tex.—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional
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 Marysville, Mont.—S F Halston, Sr., president Montana
 single tax association.
 Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East Sixth street.
 Mauritius, Indian Ocean.—Robert A Rohan, 8 Pump-
 street, Port Louis.
 Memphis, Tenn.—R B Brown, secretary Tariff reform
 club, 59 Madison street; Holton Smith, 325 Alabama
 street.
 Middletown, Conn.—John G Hopkins, P O box 580.
 Middletown, N Y.—Chas H Fuller, P O box 115.
 Milwaukee, Wis.—Peter McGill, 147 Fourth street.
 Minneapolis, Minn.—C J Buell, president Single tax
 league, 402 W Franklin avenue; E L Hyder, secre-
 tary.
 Mobile, Ala.—E C Norton, 33 South Royal street.
 Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A O Pitcher, M D.
 Mt Vernon, N Y.—J H Luttrell.
 Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic
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 Nary American, Tenn.—H Carroll, 235 N High street, secre-
 tary American land league.
 Neponset, Mass.—Q A Lothrop, member Henry George
 club, 43 Walnut street.
 Newark, N J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Orienta-
 street.
 New Brighton, Pa.—John Seitz, 1 North Broadway.
 New Britain, N Y.—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club
 238 Broadway.
 Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Mer-
 chandise assembly, Herald office.
 New Haven, Conn.—Willard D Warren, room 11, 10
 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 105 Dix street.
 New Orleans, La.—John S Watters, Maritime associa-
 tion.
 Newport, Ky.—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax
 league, 247 Southgate street; Will C James, 89 Taylor
 street.
 New Westminster, Brit Col—Alex Hamilton, membe-
 r Western association.
 Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha
 club, P O drawer 5.
 North Adams, Mass.—Willard M Browne, 13 Marshal
 street; H S Myers, P O box 337.
 North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1826 North
 Main street.
 Norwalk, Conn.—James H Babcock, lock box 52.
 Oberlin, O.—Edw B Haskell.
 Olean, N Y.—George Ball, pres Single tax association.
 Timothy Horan, sec, 35 Railroad street.
 Olympia, Wash.—John E. Ferguson, Adam store.
 Omaha, Neb.—John E Embien, 822 Virginia avenue; Perc
 Peppoon, pres single tax club, 1512 S 5th street; C
 Beckett, sec, n w cor 27th and Blondo streets.
 Oradway, Dak.—R H Garland, member Tax reform asso-
 ciation.
 Oswego, N Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
 Pasadena, Ca.—J J J Barnard, 181 Washington place.
 Paterson, N J.—E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic coun-
 ty Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North
 Main street.
 Parkersburg, W Va.—W I Foreman, member of Single
 tax league.
 Parkersburg, W Va.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
 Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.
 Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street;
 or A R Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary.
 Henry George club.
 Piermont, N Y.—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
 Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Barnes, 1727 Carey alley.
 Portland, Ore.—S B Jürgen, 48 Stark street, R H Thomp-
 son.
 Poughkeepsie, N Y.—William C Albira.
 Providence—R I.—Robert Greve, 32 Sutton street;
 Dr Wm Barker, pres, Rhode Island single tax asso-
 ciation.
 Pulaski, N Y.—C V Harbottle.
 Ravenswood, Ill.—W H Van Ornum.
 Reading, Pa.—Chas S Frizer, 1013 Penn street; Charle
 Corkhill, 15 N 4th street.
 Richmond, Ind.—M Gordon, John Carver, box 20.
 Richmond, La.—M Ritchie, 913 South A street; J E
 Bluff, 156 South Third street.
 Ridgeway, N Y.—D C Sullivan.
 River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
 Rochester, N Y.—Charles Avritt, 7 Morrill street.
 Rosine, N J.—Fred Leonard.
 Rockland, Me.—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
 San Diego, Cal.—A Harvey, 139 10th street.
 San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G Maguire, Superior
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 San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M Mine.
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 form club.
 Springfield, Ill.—James H McGraw, secretary Sangamo
 single tax club, 623 Black avenue.
 Springfield, Mo.—H A W Jeneman, 665 Nichols street.
 St. Louis, Mo.—Hamlin Russell, president Single tax
 league, 2763 Bacon street; Benj E Bloom, secretary,
 room 3, 214 Olive street.
 Stockton, Cal.—Leonard.
 Stoneham, Mass.—Dr W Symington Brown.
 Stratford, Ct.—George G Guenther.
 Syracuse, N Y.—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street;
 H R Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F A Paul,
 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single
 tax club, 29 Elm street.
 Staubeck, Wash Ter.—F P Morrow.
 Toledo, O.—P Travers, secretary Single tax club, No 1
 112 Summit street.
 Tacoma, Wash Ter.—F C Clarke, 1908 K st.
 Trenton, N J.—H R Matthews, 9 Howell street.
 Troy, N Y.—B B.
 Tuckahoe, N Y.—Albert O Young.
 Unimville, Conn.—John McAuliffe.
 Utica, N Y.—Thomas Swaney, 136 Elizabeth street, o
 Daniel M Buckley, grocer, south west corner First and
 Calbarline.
 Victoria, B C.—W L Sutton, E and N R R Co.
 Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and
 Opera block.
 Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
 Wakefield, R I.—David Harrower.
 Washington, D C.—William Geddes, 1719 G street,
 D B secretory Single tax league.
 Weatherford, Tex.—William M Buell.
 West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y.—A B Standard.
 Wheeling, W Va.—John L Frank, 2307 Eoff street.
 Whitestone Long Island, N Y.—George Hartwell.
 Whitman, Mass.—C P Bond, cigar store; Thos Douglas
 secretary Single tax league.
 Woodstock, Ill.—A W Cumins.
 Worcester, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
 Yonkers, N Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
 Youngstown, O.—Billy Radcliffe, Redcliffe house.
 Youngstown, Ohio.—John Langford, 71 Van Buren street.
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THE STANDARD.

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The protectionists are doing much ill-
advised crowing over the investments of
English capitalists in American busi-
nesses. They ask why, if protection is a
bad thing, is capital sent for investment
from a free trade to a protection country?
It is an extravagant assumption that the
capital is sent here because of protection.
There are other protection countries to
which capital does not flow in such a way,
and it may be that this country offers ad-
vantages because it is a new country, and
not because of protection. Let honest
protectionists consider that. Let them
also ask themselves why it is, if protection
is beneficial, that Americans are willing
to sell out; for it must be remembered
that these investments are not in new en-
terprises, nor even in new plants, but are
purchases of established concerns. May
it not be that the enterprising Yankee
sees breakers ahead, and is glad to sell
his cargo to Englishmen before the catas-
trophe. The besetting sin of the protec-
tionist is his proneness to think along the
logical lines of the little girl who sup-
posed that the saltiness of the ocean was
due to salt mackerel. He might just as
well attribute to protection the disposition
of Americans to sell to Englishmen as to
attribute to it the disposition of English-
men to buy them out.

The recent discharge of Herbert Rad-
cliffe from the position of paid secretary
of the Home market club brings out the
story of the forged quotation that in the
recent presidential campaign was credited
to the London Times. Mr. Radcliffe him-
self tells the story. He says that last
July he picked up a copy of the New York
Tribune, in which he saw a flag having
upon it these words from the London
Times: "The only time England can use
an Irishman is when he emigrates to
America and votes for free trade." This
recalled to Mr. Radcliffe's memory a
speech of Congressman Butterworth of
Ohio, in which that officially honorable
gentleman said, "A few years ago I read
in the London Times these words: 'The
only time England can use the Celt is
when he emigrates to America and votes
for free trade.'" Mr. Radcliffe then pre-
pared the flag and extract for documen-
tary publication; but soon after, being in-
formed that the extract was a forgery, he
wrote to David H. Gildersleeve, whose
imprint was on the Tribune flag, asking
him how he came to use the quotation.
Mr. Gildersleeve replied that he got the
idea from the extracts printed in the New
York Tribune and credited to the Norwich
Bulletin, and that it seemed so entirely
proper to have the democratic nominees
put under the British flag that at his sug-
gestion an English employee of his dictated
to his engraver, another Englishman,
"the style of flag best suited to excite the
ire of Irishmen," and he produced and
printed it with the quotation. It took
immensely and he printed 3,000,000 copies.
The part which the New York Tribune
and Mr. Gildersleeve took in this matter
is not of much importance. It was only

dishonest. But when it is considered that
thousands of Irishmen were deluded by
it, and that they are not indignant at
having their hatred of the English played
upon in this way, it is not strange if, Irish
Irishmen are like American Irishman,
that the Irish people have been so long
kept under the heel of British tyranny.

The Sun has its say about the move-
ment for an eight hour day, and with its
tendency to blunder in everything except
nice points in philology and courtship
etiquette, falls into an error which would
not deceive an intelligent school boy. Its
idea is that the eight hour day would in-
volve the sacrifice of two hours pay, be-
cause to suppose that in the long run
workingmen can get "as much for eight
hours work as for ten hours, is to suppose
that ten inches make a foot and two feet
and a half a yard." If workingmen re-
ceived the full value of what they pro-
duce the Sun would be right, unless
greater intelligence and skill resulted from
more leisure. But when no workingman
who works gets anything like the value
of what his work produces, it by no means
follows that a shorter day means lower
wages. On the contrary, if short hours
were general it would for a time mean
higher pay. Wages being regulated by
competition for opportunities to work,
shorter hours would, by lessening com-
petition, relatively increase opportunities
and consequently raise wages. But there
is a natural and more certain and per-
manent way of increasing opportunities
for work than by arbitrarily fixing hours
of labor. By making a commodity of
land, which in the last analysis is the
only opportunity for work, we initiate a
tendency toward reduction of opportuni-
ties with increase of demand. It is this
that reduces wages, and it is only by doing
away with it that they can be brought to
their normal level, which is the value of
the product. And we can do away with
this in a very simple manner. It is not
necessary to abolish ownership of land,
nor in any way arbitrarily to regulate the
management of business affairs. All that
is necessary is to take land values by way
of taxation, thus making the mere hold-
ing of land unprofitable and only its use
profitable; and by abolishing all other
taxes on production and trade, to give
free scope both for making and for ex-
changing things.

The administration is importing enam-
eled bricks for use in constructing the
congressional library. This is sound busi-
ness policy, for, since the government
pays no duty, it gets the bricks cheaper
than it could get them here. But it is the
worst kind of protection policy. Under
this administration, the correct policy
would be to encourage the home manu-
facture of enameled bricks, and when
home consumption was satisfied, to sub-
sidize ships with sufficient liberality to al-
low the surplus bricks to be transported
and the ships to return in ballast. It is
quite important that the ships should re-
turn in ballast, for if they brought over
anything that any one here wanted, it
would be detrimental to some American
industry.

The American Metal Market is among
the ablest of the protection periodicals.
Why a paper representing interests that
are so injuriously affected by the tariff
should support the doctrine of protection
it is difficult to understand; but if it is
persistently blind to the best interests of
its trade, it is at least logical in its de-
ductions and frank in its statements. A
recent issue contains a reply to a restive
correspondent who had the temerity to
selfishly complain of the destruction of
his business by the tariff. He says he
has decided to withdraw from the Swedish
iron business after twenty-one years' par-
ticipation in it in this country. The
business, he says, is "suffering from tariff
iniquity, being subjected to a specific
duty on bars of \$22 per ton while the Ger-
man basic steel is admitted at forty-five
per cent ad valorem on cost at the works
in Germany." In its reply the Metal
Market is kind but firm. It sympathizes

with its correspondent, but reminds him
that "it is the object of the protective
tariff to break up importing interests
wherever the latter can in any way con-
flict with American producers." What
the object of the tariff respecting ex-
porting interests may be, the Metal Mar-
ket does not say; presumably, however,
it is to break them up, too, since im-
porting and exporting are mutually de-
pendent. But the Metal Market is talk-
ing to an importer, and should not be dis-
turbed with irrelevant allusions to re-
lated questions. Its advice to its corre-
spondent is to engage "in the production
of iron at home in place of importing it
from abroad," which it assures him that
he, as a patriotic citizen, whether native
or naturalized, ought to be willing to do,
even at a sacrifice.

The candor with which the Metal Mar-
ket exposes the fact that protection is
for the benefit of landowners is not ex-
ceeded by any of its qualities. In dis-
cussing the high tariff on charcoal iron,
and the low tariff on basic steel, of which
its correspondent complains, it says the
true remedy is not a reduction of duty on
charcoal iron, but an increase of duty on
basic steel, the consequent increase in the
price of which would "make it an object
for some one who owns such beds of ore
as can be advantageously developed for
this purpose, to engage in the business of
supplying it to American consumers." No
doubt it would be of great benefit to make
it an object for the owners of beds of such
ore to engage in the business of digging
the ore and putting it upon the market;
but if these beds were taxed on the basis
of their selling value, and the product and
machinery were freed from taxation,
would not that make it an object to the
owners of the beds either to dig them-
selves or allow some one else to dig? We
think it would. What does the Metal
Market think about it?

Among the delegates to the constitu-
tional convention of Washington is Cap-
tain Edward Eldridge. According to the
Seattle Sunday Budget, Captain Eldridge
will advocate a clause in the constitution
requiring the uniform assessment of wild
and cultivated lands on the basis of value,
and another requiring the retention of the
school lands. What support Captain Eld-
ridge will have in the convention we are
not yet advised, but it is hardly probable
that he will be able to fully accomplish
his objects. Old errors are yet too deeply
rooted, and he may find it better, while
urging all and even more than he proposes
in the direction of single tax principles,
to exert himself chiefly to keep contrary
clauses out of the constitution. The dele-
gates ought to be easily made to see that
the school lands should not be parted
with, and from the experience of states
that have tried it they ought to know that
the attempt to tax everything from loco-
motives to shoe strings is bound to be a
failure; and if Captain Eldridge can make
them see this with sufficient clearness to
get them to leave modes of taxation an
open question, and to restrain the sale of
school lands for at least a fixed period he
will have accomplished a work for which
the people of Washington will soon be
grateful to him.

Phil T. South, a lawyer and single tax
man of Centerville, Indiana, writes that
the democrats of that region are discussing
the tariff question very generally and that
many of them are out and out free traders,
while the republicans, with the Clay
county coal mine strike as an object les-
son right before their eyes have nothing
to say. This is an illustration of what is
going on all over the country. The pro-
tectionists have led the republican party
into a quagmire, and both republicans and
democrats are beginning to find it out.

In an issue of the Pittsburgh Dispatch
nearly a month old, which has just come
in our way, that paper apparently falls
into an error which we trust it has cor-
rected or explained before this. But as
the error is a common one, a word or two
of comment will not be out of place,
especially as everybody cannot be ex-
pected to see the Dispatch's probable

correction. It has been informed that
the single tax would destroy the value of
land and at the same time would afford a
sufficient revenue for government. This
it regards as an incongruity, and while
courteously giving the single tax men
credit for sincerity, calls their attention
to the fact that "they cannot eat their
cake and have it, nor can they destroy
value and make it a subject of taxation
at the same time." The Dispatch might
have given single tax men credit for a
modicum of common sense as well as sin-
cerity. It has blundered through con-
fusing capitalized value with rental value.
The rental value of land exists irre-
spective of its selling value. For con-
venience, we propose to base taxes on
selling value. This would reduce selling
value, but it would not reduce rental
value except in so far as that was af-
fected by the greater amount of land that
would be brought into market. And no
matter how high the tax, it would not
destroy rental value, though selling value
might wholly disappear. Suppose a
piece of land yielded a rental of \$500, and
that its selling value was based on twenty
years' purchase. Then the selling value
would be \$10,000, and a tax of five per
cent would be \$500, or one hundred per
cent of the whole rental value. The
land would have no selling value for
there would be nothing to capitalize, but,
other things the same, the rental value
would be as much as ever. So, in a
sense, we should eat our cake and have
it, too; that is, we should destroy land
value and yet have land value for public
use. The land value we destroyed would
be selling value, and the land value we
had for public use would be rental value.

But, if the language of the Dispatch be
a little more critically read, it will be
seen that its remark about eating and
keeping cake may allude to the idea that
we cannot destroy selling value and yet
make selling value the basis of taxation.
This is true, and we fear some of our
zealous friends have thoughtlessly justi-
fied the Dispatch's supposition that single
tax men expect to do this impossible
thing. If land were taxed to the extent of
one hundred per cent of its rental value,
though there would still be rental value,
there would no longer be a selling value,
and a continuance of rental value or a
system of state leasing in place of nomi-
nal ownership.

The ideal of the single tax is the tak-
ing for public use of one hundred per cent
of rental value; but this ideal is practical-
ly impossible and unnecessary. No mat-
ter how the state appropriates rent, the
appropriation involves expense, and
whether that expense be incurred by pay-
ing salaries or commissions, or by leaving
a percentage of land value untaxed so
that it may be in part capitalized into a
selling value as basis of taxation, and
in part a compensation to the nominal
owner for the work of estimating and col-
lecting rental values, is purely a ques-
tion of expediency, in the decision of
which the community will no doubt be
governed by considerations of certainty
and economy in dealing with what by
that time will be regarded as common
property. Meanwhile, all the single tax
requires as a practical measure, is that
other taxes shall be abolished as rapidly
as possible.

The Chicago Sentinel is publishing a
series of articles on taxation, in which the
writer attacks the single tax. We have
been asked to reply to these articles, and
if they offered new objections or urged
old ones with exceptional plausibility we
should be glad to do it; but they do not
meet that requirement.

A writer who illustrates his contention
that taxes on land values would be shift-
ed from the land owner to the land user,
by showing that a tax on drvgoods would
be paid by the consumers, and who sup-
poses that a tax on the ground value of
a city lot would be apportioned among
the tenants the same as a tax on the
building, needs to be informed about the
incidence of taxation, and the distinction
between things that labor can reproduce
and things that cannot be reproduced;

but we cannot undertake the task. We appreciate the argument that such writers mislead their readers, and that we ought to furnish the antidote for their poison; but it is impossible for THE STANDARD to enter into a controversy with every writer who goes into print as he goes a-fishing, without much preparation and mainly for the fun of the thing. If these writers mislead, and we have no doubt they do, single tax men should meet them in the same papers in which their writings appear. We are willing to answer questions addressed to us, no matter from what source they come, or to correct false impressions, no matter how obscure the quarter in which they exist; but we cannot make a practice of entering into controversies with writers whose names are without weight, or papers without general influence, over stale issues feebly presented.

WHAT TO DO IN THE NEW STATES.

One of the best fields for single tax work at the present time is offered by the four new states, South and North Dakota, Montana and Washington, where constitutional conventions are now being held and the attention of all classes is being directed more or less to questions of taxation.

South Dakota has adopted a constitution framed for it some years ago—the one adopted by vote of the people and under which it applied for admission to the union. The constitutional convention now in session in South Dakota is therefore only authorized to propose amendments to the constitution. It is to be regretted that this instrument contains the usual western clause requiring all real and personal property to be taxed equally, thus putting a great obstacle in the way of the single tax. This point attracted no special interest at the election and was not made a subject of discussion.

The constitutional convention in North Dakota is under the control of the Farmer's alliance, which holds some narrow views upon taxation.

If it were possible for the single tax men to organize a lecturing campaign in these two new states there would be good hope of inducing these two conventions to at least submit to the people the question whether the legislatures should have discretion as to what they should tax, and it is to be hoped that even yet it is not too late to organize for this purpose.

In Montana the convention is very nearly equally divided between the two leading political parties, and with a little effort its action might be guided in the direction of common sense with relation to taxation. The example of Ohio, where after many years of fruitless efforts to tax real and personal property equally, the legislature has appealed to the people for liberty to arrange taxation as may be found most practicable, ought to be convincing to the people of Montana, and we believe that it would be if properly set before them.

In Washington the convention is largely republican, and we believe that no sufficient effort has been made to inform its members upon questions of taxation.

We would suggest to single tax men in all of these new states that their efforts should be directed to securing liberty of action to the legislatures. This is all that is necessary; and this is more than the constitution of South Dakota, as now adopted, allows. It ought not be difficult to obtain from the conventions at least permission for the people to vote directly on the question whether they will give their legislatures this option or not, and when this question is submitted there will be an opportunity for single tax men to make a useful educational campaign even if they are not immediately successful.

The Single Tax in Evansville, Indiana.

Charles G. Bennett writes from Evansville, Ind., that the cause is gaining ground, and that the single tax men intend to hold what they gain. Mr. Bennett has a strong article in the Evansville Courier on the labor problem, in which he points out the problem that the American people must solve before they can hope to be emancipated from industrial slavery.

MEN AND THINGS.

If we may believe the daily papers, Wall street has had a genuine sensation in the revelation of the giant sums at which some of the principal trusts have capitalized their businesses. It seems strange that Wall street should have waited so long for the information. It seems strange that men should have been buying and selling certificates of partnership interest in great productive enterprises without either knowing, or trying to know, what proportion of interest was represented by each certificated dollar. A one hundred dollar certificate of the lead trust, for example, ought certainly be worth more money if only 400,000 certificates were outstanding, than if 800,000 had been issued. There has never been any very serious doubt as to the amount of real wealth the various trusts possessed—the corporations represented in each were sufficiently well known, and information regarding their possessions was not difficult to get at. The doubt has been as to the amount of water added in the process of trust formation. And, as I say, it seems strange to an outsider that Wall street should have contentedly remained ignorant on this important point so long.

But, perhaps, it isn't so very strange, after all. There are gamblers in Wall street—actually, men who make a living, and sometimes a very handsome one, not by aiding production in any way, but purely and simply by betting. They bet that things are so, or are not so, that things will happen, or won't happen. They hustle round, and get what they call "points" and "tips." They study situations, and make abstruse calculations, and draw inferences, and really work and worry very hard indeed. And it seems to me that these men may have had a good deal to do with Wall street's lack of curiosity about the size of the trust capitals. You see, as long as a thing is uncertain, it can be gambled on. After it is once settled, the gambling has to stop—as when a race has been run and the winner declared. These gentry may have been buying and selling trust certificates, just by way of betting on what the actual capitalization of the trusts would turn out to be. Of course, I don't know that this is so. But if it is so, it would account for Wall street's lack of curiosity.

Anyhow, the trusts have declared their capitalizations at last, and the figures have staggered Wall street. In round numbers, the lead trust represents \$83,000,000, the sugar trust \$50,000,000, the cotton seed oil trust \$42,000,000, the distillers' trust \$30,000,000, and the American cattle trust \$13,000,000. To all, say \$219,000,000. This isn't all the trusts, by any manner of means, but it represents, I believe, all whose securities are dealt in on "the street." Two hundred and nineteen millions. It's an awful pile of money.

Ah! but it isn't money. It isn't even wealth, in the real meaning of the word—that is, it isn't all wealth. Only a part of it really stands for things. A great deal of it represents nothing but monopoly—it is the capitalized value of a taxing franchise. Of the \$83,000,000 of the lead trust, for example, a part—I don't know how much, but say \$40,000,000—stands for wealth in the shape of machinery, buildings, raw material and finished product unsold, and all the rest stands for nothing but monopoly—the power, that is, to hinder lead production. As to half of its nominal capital, the trust depends for profit on producing lead. As to the other half, it depends for profit on preventing lead production. To earn a dividend on its entire nominal capital, it must do two contradictory things. It must at once produce lead and hinder lead production.

This isn't any fanciful notion. It is a cold, obtrusive fact. It is the weakness of all our tariff fenced trusts, and will surely ruin them. They can eat their cake, or they can have their cake, but they can't eat it and have it, too. A corporation can make money by taxing lead production; but it can't make money by doing both at once.

There are a few things about monopoly that some monopolists will only learn by experience.

Science is telling us a good many things now-a-days. Some of them we accept with the proverbial grain of salt, but, on the whole, we are apt to have a good deal of confidence in science. We may not give her absolute faith in all cases, but

we generally think it wise to take her advice as far as possible. We trust our men of science far more implicitly than we do our butchers and bakers and candlestick makers. We know that people naturally want to speak the truth, and that men engaged in the pursuit of knowledge can afford to speak it, while men pursuing bread and butter cannot. Knowledge is gained by truth telling, but bread and butter isn't.

Science has told us two wonderful things of late, viz.: that consumption is a preventable disease, and how it can be prevented. These are decidedly good things to know, and the more widely they can be made known the better. The board of health understands this perfectly, and has printed for general distribution a set of simple rules, by observing which, it is hoped, that the spread of the most accursed disease that afflicts humanity may be effectually checked. Here are some of them:

Do not sleep in a room occupied by a person suspected of having consumption. The living rooms of a consumptive patient should have as little furniture as practicable. Hangings should be especially avoided. The use of carpets, rugs, etc., ought always to be avoided.

Do not fail to wash thoroughly the eating utensils of a person suspected of having consumption as soon after eating as possible, using boiling water for the purpose.

Do not mingle the unwashed clothing of consumptive patients with similar clothing of other persons.

Do not fail to consult the family physician regarding the social relations of persons suffering from suspected consumption.

Do not permit mothers suspected of having consumption to nurse their off-spring.

Household pets (animals or birds) are quite susceptible to tuberculosis; therefore do not expose them to persons afflicted with consumption; also do not keep, but destroy at once, all household pets suspected of having consumption, otherwise they may give it to human beings.

Do not fail to thoroughly cleanse the floors, walls, and ceilings of the living and sleeping rooms of persons suffering from consumption at least once in two weeks.

Simple, aren't they? Easy to observe, eh? Well, now, just imagine yourself one of a family of five, living in a two-room tenement, and study out how you're going to observe them. And when you have sufficiently considered the subject, tell your own inside, in all candor, if you don't think it is a cruel mockery for us to tell the poor how easily they might escape the scourge if it were not for their poverty.

It's a pleasant picture imagination draws for us, when we let her exercise herself a little on this subject. It somewhat startles us, doesn't it, to remember that thousands of consumptives are working for us in various ways, spreading the infection of disease among us, and that we are powerless to prevent it. Nature's laws are self-enforcing—in one way or in another we have to pay the penalty if we break them. And the first of nature's social laws is that which bids us do to others as we would have others do to us. We break that law contemptuously when we allow our brothers and our sisters to be robbed of their inheritance of the right to use the earth. We break it contemptuously when we allow the tax gatherer to lay hands on the earnings of industry. And we may be very sure that in one form or another inexorable nature will exact an ample penalty for our sin. If we want to escape the penalty, the only way to do it is to stop the sinning. It's a very simple matter—hideously simple.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie is a gentleman who acts up to his convictions. He says what he believes with praiseworthy frankness; and having said it, he behaves accordingly. This is as it should be. If everybody did that the social problem would be solved with gratifying quickness.

In the North American Review for June last, Mr. Carnegie told us what he thought about the duty of rich men toward the community. He said they ought to utilize their wealth for founding schools, and hospitals, and things of that sort. He thought they could do more good in that fashion than by frittering their money away, paying wages with it. "If we consider," said Mr. Carnegie, sagely reflecting—"if we consider what results flow from the Cooper institute, for instance, to the best portion of the race in New York not possessed of means, and compared these with those which could have arisen for the good of the masses from an equal sum distributed by Mr. Cooper in his lifetime in the form of wages, which is the highest form of distribution, being for work done and not for charity, we can form some estimate of the possibilities for the improvement of the race

which lie embedded in the present law of the accumulation of wealth. Much of this sum, if distributed in small quantities among the people, would have been wasted in the indulgence of appetite, some of it in excess, and it may be doubted whether even the part put to the best use, that of adding to the comforts of the home, would have yielded results for the race, as a race, at all comparable to those which are flowing, and are to flow from the Cooper institute from generation to generation. Let the advocate of violent or radical change ponder well this thought."

Holding these altruistic views, it was perfectly natural and highly proper that Mr. Carnegie should take the first opportunity of putting them in practice. He owns a big steel mill at Homestead, in the state of Pennsylvania, where he graciously allows some 2,500 men to work for him, paying them in return "wages, which is the highest form of distribution." Considering the situation, and filled with zeal for the welfare of his fellow men of inferior degree, Mr. Carnegie resolved to reduce the wages of these 2,500 men thirty-five per cent and put the money in the pocket of himself, Carnegie benevolentissimus. "If I leave it to them," reasoned the good Carnegie within himself, "it will be wasted in the indulgence of appetite. Whereas, if I take it, it can be made to yield the highest results for the race." So he told the 2,500 whom he loved that for every dollar they had been earning hitherto they should only earn sixty-five cents hereafter. But the foolish 2,500, not having read the North American Review, made a fuss about it, and so there was that which is called a strike.

Well, it is all over now, and the 2,500 are going to work again. The newspaper dispatches announce that concessions have been made on both sides. Mr. Carnegie makes the concession that he will only take twenty cents out of every dollar instead of thirty-five, as he had at first benevolently intended. And the 2,500 make the concession that they will submit to it. It's a very satisfactory arrangement—concessions on both sides.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Freedom.

From the farms of far Dakota the signal going forth
Calls to the battle—on the sky the lifted standard shines;
In Pennsylvania's hills, in the forests of the north,
From Alabama's iron fields and Colorado's mines!
And wherever bends a slave, and wherever toils a child,
There's a light hath broken on him, and although his eyes be blind,
He shall see the plan of God somewhere nearer reconciled,
He shall see the laws of men made to other men more kind.

He shall see the earth made free—he shall see her face to face,
Freedom, whom the lips have named, but the stubborn heart denied;
He shall see her high enthroned, and the bitter, deep disgrace
Wiped away that stains the purple of a nation's justest pride.
Man shall see his future clearer—what a future it may be
Seer and sage can scarce imagine—but the mighty word hath come;
And the voice is sounding ever to our ears, from out the sea,
From the vaulted sky is sounding, like some mighty muffled drum!

We who read in part the promise know that when the thing is done,
When the deadening chains that bind him shall be stricken, man shall stand
Just a pioneer for heaven, just the proud all-Father's son,
Mate for gods, and built for Eden—lord and sovereign of the land.
Then he shall go forth and challenge all the mysteries that are hid,
He shall pierce the loftiest heavens—is it sacrilege expressed?
He shall somehow do as Moses on the Mount of Sinai did—
He shall solve the mighty riddle—give him freedom—leave the rest!

JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

An Experience Meeting.

At the regular weekly meeting of the club, held on Wednesday, the 10th inst., it was asked for the recitation of experiences. The members who were not present missed one of the most enjoyable and entertaining sessions that the club has yet had.

JOSEPH MCGINNIS,
Cor. Sec. Brooklyn, E. D., single tax club.

MR. SHEARMAN'S WESTERN TRIP.

He speaks in the Principal Cities West of Omaha before Large Audiences on Free Trade, the Single Tax and the Relation of Christianity to Economics—Clergymen, Judges and Leading Men Attend and Express Their Sympathy—A Bright Outlook for the Cause.

A short account of the meetings addressed by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman while on his recent vacation trip in the west, is given below. The towns in which he spoke are located in Michigan, Kansas, Missouri, Utah, Colorado, California and Oregon.

Although his speeches were not all delivered before single tax clubs nor confined to the single tax question, Mr. Shearman found everywhere active single tax men and organizations that were doing splendid work. Mr. Shearman started out with only four positive engagements to speak—at Grand Rapids, before the Tariff reform club; at Kansas City; at Denver, and at Pueblo. He received invitations to speak at other places, but was obliged to decline because they were not on the line of his journey.

The address at Grand Rapids was on "Free Trade" before a fine audience at the Opera house, a large and handsome building. Melbourne H. Ford, the last congressman from that district, presided.

From there Mr. Shearman went to Kansas City, and addressed the single tax club of that place. The hall was full and the meeting a good one, but a very curious attempt was made by the socialists to prevent the meeting from being held. About an hour before the meeting some socialists went to the proprietor of the hall, who is a German, and told him that the meeting had been postponed for a week, and that he need not open the hall. The proprietor, who imagined that these men were those who had charge of the meeting, was in doubt what to do. Fortunately about half an hour afterward some single tax men found out the trick, and had the hall opened and lighted. They arrived just in time, for in a few minutes more the man in charge would have gone off, and the hall could not have been opened. This shows how much co-operation we can get from the socialists. They recognize everywhere that the single tax men are their most effective antagonists; not that they hold them as enemies individually, but they see that if the single tax movement is successful the motive for socialism will be destroyed; people will not be discontented enough to resort to socialism.

The next day Mr. Shearman left Kansas City for Topeka. In the morning there was one of the severest storms known there for years, and it interfered with the Topeka meeting, but still there was a very respectable audience. From there he went on direct to Denver.

At Denver Mr. Van Ness, pastor of the Unitarian church, who knew that Mr. Shearman was coming, sent a very kindly invitation to him to occupy his pulpit on Sunday evening, and accordingly he spoke to an audience that crowded the church, on the relation of Christianity to economic subjects, his argument being to show the intimate relation between not only Christian principle but the spread of Christianity and a sound view of economic subjects, and the equally close relation between the hindrances to religion and the false position of government with respect to taxation. He did not, however, explain the doctrine of the single tax, but only went so far as to show that indirect taxation in every form was sure to bring about that inequality between the rich and poor, which all good men are regretting, and to show that the only remedy that could possibly be adequate was some form of direct taxation. In this manner the audience were prepared for the lecture of the following evening.

On Monday Mr. Shearman lectured in the large hall of the High school, which is a splendid building like most of the High schools of the west. The audience was admitted by ticket, the proceeds being for the benefit of the public library. It was a very good audience, composed of the best people of the city in every sense, the well to do and the poorer classes being well represented. Clergymen, judges and lawyers attended in quite a good number. On this occasion Mr. Shearman lectured directly on the principles of the single tax, the necessity of it and the reasons why any other form of taxation was really not strictly direct, and led up to the conclusion that all taxation must be based on the rent of land in order to have a fair system which should not be oppressive and unjust to the poor. Several prominent clergymen and lawyers called upon Mr. Shearman afterward and privately expressed their sympathy in general with the views expressed on Sunday night. Some noted men who were not prepared to say that they were in favor absolutely of the form of taxation proposed by Mr. George, were nevertheless quite willing to say that direct taxation in some form was a necessity.

From there Mr. Shearman went to Pueblo, and although it is a place of comparatively moderate size, a large audience turned out, nearly all the members of the bar in Pueblo having joined in the written request for the lecture. The chairman of the meeting was until recently one of the judges of the supreme court of the state who had returned to practice at the bar. The county clerk was on the platform and several other prominent

men, while pretty much all the judges and lawyers who were in town were in the audience. Most of the men engaged in the smelters of the neighborhood turned out; and the entire force of one of the largest smelters came down, from the superintendent to the laborers, some 300 in all. And all classes were very cordial and warm in their expression of sympathy with the object of the address.

At Pueblo Mr. Shearman received a telegram from Judge Maguire of San Francisco asking him to speak there. He also received a message from Grand Junction, one of the new towns on the Denver and Rio Grande, asking him to stop over there, which accordingly he did. He had never heard of the place before, but it proved to be a town of about 1,500 inhabitants, quite a lively place, with a single tax club of uncommon activity. They had engaged a band and also had a piano in the room and gave some very nice music before and after the meeting. There was a very good attendance and the audience was attentive and interested. Grand Junction has been incorporated as a city and its last mayor was a good single tax man; and the single tax men in that county have a very good understanding with the democrats, by which they feel confident of carrying the county at the next election for the democratic ticket, in which the democrats have promised to include two or three single tax men for offices which do not produce much revenue, but which have a bearing on the single tax idea.

From there he went to Salt Lake, a city where he did not intend to speak, but the Congregational minister and one of the principal merchants of the town asked him to do so and he did not feel at liberty to decline. Party feeling runs so high in Salt Lake that it is rather dangerous for a stranger to attempt to treat both sides civilly. Of course his friends and most of his audience were among the Gentiles, but some very prominent Mormons were also present, including Mr. Caine, the congressional delegate. Both Gentiles and Mormons expressed themselves very much interested in the subject. Most of the Gentiles there, however, are intense protectionists and perfectly wild on the subject of a high duty on lead, without which they think the whole of Utah would be submerged as with a Johnstown flood, and consequently the single tax idea, including as it does the abolition of all protective duties, is decidedly repugnant to the views of most of these people. On the other hand the Mormons, more probably out of antagonism to the Gentiles than for any other reason, are disposed to favor anything in favor of a sensible system of taxation, without having the religious question brought into the controversy.

Mr. Shearman then went on to San Francisco and was met at Sacramento by a delegation from that city, who were very anxious that he should stop over and address a single tax meeting held the same evening. This, however, he could not do, but promised to address them on another occasion.

At Benicia Judge Maguire and Mr. James E. Mills met him, and they had a pleasant chat as to the prospects of the single tax in California. The organization in San Francisco is very active, and includes some of the most intelligent supporters of the cause that are to be found anywhere. The meeting at which Mr. Shearman spoke was very well attended, and the audience included not merely the friends of the single tax movement, but many others who were interested and inquirers. Several judges were present and many prominent lawyers. Mr. Shearman was very well received in San Francisco, meeting nearly all the judges, and some of the most distinguished lawyers of the city. There is a widespread feeling in favor of the single tax in California, but upon the whole the state is rather deficient in a proper public spirit and an intelligent interest in public affairs. Most people are absorbed in their own pursuits, and there has been for so long a time a spirit of wild speculation abroad, very little better than gambling, that the politics of the state are by no means in a healthy condition. Both parties are under the domination of the wealthy, and although frequent attempts are made to organize a third party in opposition to the plutocracy the rich men always manage either to buy or to break up any such organization.

The Young Men's democratic club of San Francisco made arrangements for a special free trade meeting and were very anxious to have Mr. Shearman remain a little longer for that purpose, but having made a positive engagement with the single taxmen of Portland for Sunday and Monday evenings he was unable to stay any longer in San Francisco. He stopped over at Sacramento and addressed a meeting there of respectable numbers; but the evening was intensely hot; and it was impossible either to speak or to listen with any comfort. That was the only meeting of the whole course that seemed to be in any way dull or uninteresting.

On arriving at Portland he found a very vigorous single tax organization, not large in numbers, but amply compensating for that in intelligence and well directed activity. The headquarters of the single tax organization, oddly enough, are in the offices of some real estate agents who deal largely in speculative lands, as well as houses, but who are always perfectly frank in avowing their belief in the doctrines of the single

tax. Mr. Riggan, Mr. Thompson and some other gentlemen met him on arrival and arranged everything for his comfort and for the success of the meeting.

On Sunday evening by the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Eliot, pastor of the Unitarian church and son of the famous Unitarian minister of former days in St. Louis, Mr. Shearman spoke in the church to a large and highly intelligent audience of ladies and gentlemen on substantially the same subject as at the church in Denver, the relation of Christian law to economics, showing the vast disparity which now prevails between the rich and poor and how it was intensified and increased by the present systems of taxation, and how nothing could cure this evil tendency except a radical reform in taxation. He did not, however, explain the doctrine of the single tax. Many of the congregation expressed their strong interest in the subject and their anxiety to listen to a statement of the remedy proposed.

A large audience attended on Monday evening when the remedy was explained, and the necessity, justice and equity of concentrating all taxation upon land values was fully illustrated. It was proof of either the great interest or the great patience of the audience, that while the lecture lasted for nearly two hours not half a dozen persons went out before the close, and the great majority stayed afterwards to listen to questions and answers. A full report of this lecture will appear in THE STANDARD.

In every place the newspapers have treated both lecturer and lectures with great respect and consideration, giving them fair, and in some cases extended, reports. In Portland the Oregonian, which is the leading republican organ of the state, printed a verbatim report of the Monday evening lecture besides giving a very fair abstract of Mr. Shearman's remarks on Sunday evening. The editors, clergy and lawyers everywhere recognize fully that the doctrine of the single tax has come to stay and that it is a factor that must be taken into full account in the future. Its advocates and its ideas are everywhere treated with a courtesy and a consideration which are in strong contrast to the contempt and impatience with which the doctrine was at first received. Of course zealous republicans are very much afraid of it, but even some of them admit that it might be properly applied to state and local administration, although they cannot bear the idea of giving up their beloved tariff in order to make room for the single tax in national finances. The democratic party generally, while of course too cautious to commit itself as an organization to the new idea, is nevertheless quite awake to the value of single tax co-operation. The abandonment last year of any attempt to maintain a third party on behalf of the single tax has evidently done the cause no injury, but has on the contrary inclined the people generally to listen to argument on the subject with less prejudice and with more open minds. Mr. Shearman was everywhere both surprised and encouraged by the large number of intelligent people deeply interested in the question, and by the readiness of the people at large to listen to discussions of economic questions which have been generally supposed to be so dry and uninteresting. There is evidently a bright future for the single tax cause throughout the west.

In a Nutsell.

The following query and answer are taken from the columns of the Boston Globe:

To the Editor of the Globe: I noticed on a number of billboards on Washington street, between Dover and Dudley streets, numerous small white "stickers" on which are printed the following words, besides many others that I do not now remember: "The single tax will do it," "The single tax will raise your wages," etc. Will you kindly inform a constant reader what is the meaning of the single tax?

W. L. C.

The "single tax," so called, is a scheme with which the name of Henry George is connected. The theory is that all land belongs of natural right equally to all the people, and not to the present land holders more than to others. It is claimed, as a matter of theory, that the state should assume the control of all the land within its borders for the benefit of all the people. Mr. George recognizes, the impracticability of doing this openly and formally. He therefore proposes the "ground rent" or annual land value, be absorbed into the public treasury by means of a high tax on land according to its value, in lieu of all other taxation; hence the term "single tax." The advocates of this theory claim that thus to tax land to its full value (not according to its area) and exempt all other things, would be substantially the same as making land common property, since it would absorb into the public treasury substantially all the revenue which now goes to land owners as ground rent. The "single tax" theory involves absolute free trade as one of its features. It is, of course, claimed by the Georgists, who are now numerous in the United States, England, Scotland, Australia and some other countries, that the adoption of this system would be of incalculable benefit, vastly stimulating business, making the demand for labor insatiable, and permanently raising the rate of wages in all occupations anywhere from two to ten times the wages now paid; in short, that it would "abolish poverty." For an extended explanation of the grounds on which this claim rests, those interested should read "Progress and Poverty," or almost any of the numerous writings of Henry George.—[Ed. Globe.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The heat since Sunday has had a serious effect upon infant mortality, especially in closely crowded tenement houses. The total number of deaths in this city reported for the forty-eight hours to noon of yesterday was 238, of which 79 were cholera infantum and 35 diarrhoeal—all among children.

According to a dispatch received here from Duluth, Frederick Prentice now owns more than half of that city, a decision in his suit to recover the ground on which the greater part of Duluth is built having been rendered in his favor on Thursday last. Mr. Prentice bought the land awarded him from Benjamin Armstrong, a white man, who got it through his Indian wife, who was a daughter of the Chippewa chief Buffalo. Armstrong sold the land afterwards to John M. Gilman, hence the dispute as to Mr. Prentice's claim. Mr. Prentice paid originally \$5,000 for the land. It is now said to be worth anywhere from \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000.

Justice Smith in the Jefferson market police court last week committed five little children, ranging from fourteen months to ten years, to the House of refuge because of the inability of their father to provide for them. William Aker, a hod elevator engineer, lived with his wife Jane, thirty-nine years old, and their five children in the basement of the rear house, 214 West Sixteenth street. He has been unable to work much on account of unfavorable weather, and even in fine weather his pay has never exceeded \$9 per week. Aker complained to the board of health of a sewer opening in front of the basement window, which emitted sewer gas. Since that time, Aker says, his landlord constantly annoyed him with threats of dispossession. Ten days ago Mrs. Aker, while cleaning the sewer opening, cut her finger. Blood poisoning set in and she was removed to Bellevue hospital, where she died on Monday. About an hour after her death the husband received notice of dispossession. He went to his last employers and they kindly paid for the burial of his wife. The funeral took place yesterday from the hospital. Aker is forty years old. He appears to be a hard working mechanic.

Edmund Russell, the aesthete, is making quite a stir in art circles in this city. Since his return from London he has been a feature at many gatherings of artists and literary people. His favorite costume is a loose sack coat of linen plush of a rich brown color, and trousers of the same material, but of a lighter shade of color. The material is soft and forms graceful folds instead of the general stiffness produced by conventional fabrics. A belt composed of bronze Japanese sword hilts is worn with this costume. Mr. Russell wears Persian slippers that are soft and comfortable for the feet. A favorite foot covering of his is also of Persian make, and resembles the Indian moccasins. It is of soft, pliable leather, laces over the instep, and fits the foot as a glove does the hand. It is embroidered with gold and is really a leather stocking such as is often worn in the Orient, the shoes being left at the door. The most remarkable part of Mr. Russell's wardrobe, however, is his dressing gown. This is a beautiful garment of camel's hair, and is the present of an Indian prince from Delhi. It is called a *choja*, and is elaborately decorated with hand embroidery. It is a long, flowing garment, similar to that worn by Salvini as Othello. It permits absolute freedom of motion of every part of the body, and while it completely covers the form, it falls in soft folds and gracefully follows the movements of the wearer.

Bernard Shay of 211 Frost street, Williamsburgh, found his father-in-law, Cornelius Kenny, aged seventy, lying upon the floor of his bed room with his throat cut on Thursday. Kenny was still alive, but was unconscious. He was removed to St. Catherine's hospital, where little hopes are entertained for his recovery. The old man had inflicted his injuries with a razor. He had been despondent on account of being unable to find employment.

The New York Sun of July 14 prints a list of sixty-three citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, who are each worth over \$1,000,000. At the head of the list is Mr. John D. Rockefeller, the head of the standard oil trust, of whom Mr. H. M. Flagler, also a leading man in the trust, said that his income has reached the colossal amount of \$9,000,000 a year. Mr. Flagler's own income is \$3,000,000 a year.

PERSONAL.

Messrs. William T. Crousdale and Louis F. Post are taking a much needed rest in the shade of Merriewood park. It is their purpose to spend at least a month there, coming to town however, in time, to welcome home Henry George and shake him by the hand.

James A. Hearne, the actor, whose "Hearts of Oak" and "Rip Van Winkle" have made him known throughout the country, came into THE STANDARD office during the week announcing that he had enlisted for the war, and asking for some tracts and pasters, the latter to stick on the green room looking glasses as he traveled about the country. Mr. Hearne is a most enthusiastic convert, and is full of plans for the future. Among other things, he has the writing of a single tax play on hand. Professor Hamlin Garland of Boston is associated with him in the work. They are both greatly pleased with the progress thus far made. It is Mr. Hearne's intention to put this play on the boards as soon as his other business engagements are clear and star through the country with it, filling the chief part himself.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Burns and the Kirk.

"Burns and the Kirk" (1) is a remarkable book, not because it propounds a theory of the divine inspiration of the famous poet, but because it sheds a broad light upon modern Scottish thought. It is a matter of absolutely no moment whether Burns was divinely inspired or not. But it is a matter of very great moment that Scotchmen like Mr. Webster should claim divine inspiration for the poet because of the blows he struck against ecclesiasticism and plutocracy. It is significant of a wonderful change in the current of national thought, when an admirer of Burns writes such words as these about "The Cottar's Saturday Night":

The religion of the poem is simple, human, natural religion, which, where it comes in contact with orthodox dogmas, accepts them on their most rational side. It is not a bigotedly Biblical religion, though it finds good nourishment in the Bible; it is not Trinitarian, though it highly honors Jesus; it is not dogmatic, though it is assured and powerful.

But withal there appears to be something amiss with it. Taking William Burness, the devout cottar, as a specimen of the sort of man it is fitted to make, it seems needful to find certain faults with it. So far as the passive virtues of "resignation, submission, abnegation and patience" are concerned he is perfect, but he appears deficient in the active virtues of aspiration, strenuous self-respect, and heroic endeavor after better conditions of life. His religion makes him content with his poverty, but ought it to do so? If it is true that God's providence provides bountifully for all, is submission to poverty—especially for that most unjust form of it termed "honest poverty" religious? Does true religion sanction the existence of rich monopolists of the soil and poor tillers of it? Ought not his religion to impel the cottar to challenge the rightness of the social conditions that keep him poor rather than submit to them?

One of the proofs of a misread or unheeded Bible is the existence and dominance in Christendom of aristocratic and plutocratic power. A people who acknowledge the Bible as the standard of their life should neither have king nor priest, or any semblance of imperial or sacerdotal authority. A community of brethren, the greatest of whom shall be the servant of all, is the highest Biblical ideal of political and social organization.

Perhaps the citizen as well as the cottar will see in the Bible what they never saw before when they read it in the light of existent industrial and agrarian trouble. At the bidding of their religious teachers, the Scotch cottar and workman have contented themselves for generations with a lot of laborious toil and severe suffering. They have believed it to be God's will that they should be the serfs of the laird and the capitalist, and have perpetuated for themselves and their children a slavish and degraded existence. The more submissively they yielded to the powers above them the more godly they were held to be. Now, after an age of submission, what are they?

Surely submission of that sort is irreligious. No man has a right to claim the soil as his, and to make another till it as his serf. Religion requires the acknowledgment that the earth is God's, and its productive powers are intended for the benefit of all. Religion stamps poverty as an injustice by its affirmation of a bountiful Providence, and makes submission to impoverishing conditions a moral wrong. The cottar, therefore, needs a new spirit—a spirit of active and determined resistance to the system that makes him poor and slavish. Poverty, in a world divinely furnished with plenty for all, is unnatural, and ought not to be submitted to. The land-lord is an usurper and ought not to be tolerated. Religion entitles each man who labors to claim for himself sufficient for his physical and spiritual needs as a man; and if the cottar, who is the most laborious of men, were to make that claim for himself the day of the "clay biggin'" such as is the scene of the "Cottar's Saturday Night," would soon be over. The church has required its preachers to preach for the sake of the rich; it is now time that it should carry out its Master's purpose, and preach the gospel to the poor. And when it does that it will make a new man of the cottar, and set him to the soil in just conditions.

We need new land laws for the sake of the cottar, but we need something more and deeper than that. We need a fresh current of vital religion which will regenerate, not the cottar only, but all men. No one would have the cottar become irreligious, nor would anyone seek to make the cottar's Saturday night, as described by Burns, a thing of the past. "From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs." But we have to face the fact that his religion has not ameliorated the cottar's condition in the slightest. It has actually kept him in serfdom. The natural tendency of it is to do so. The theology of it is autocratic, and the effect of his worship is naturally enslaving. As a matter of fact, he is a slave, and if his religion has actually been the most powerful element in making him what he is, it must be regarded as the cause of his slavery. Consider it. The orthodox theology, "in its main features, was evolved during the most calamitous period

which the human race has lived through in historic times. . . . The conception of God, of His relation to, and His dealings with, the world, was evolved in a society which groaned under unexampled oppression, misery, and affliction. Needless to say, it was an age of great and almost morbid cruelty. . . . one of lawless rapine on the part of the strong, and covering anguish on the part of the weak. . . . With such visible rulers of the world before them, it is no wonder that men formed very dark and cruel notions of the Invisible Ruler who disposed of all things. Cruelty, injustice, arbitrary power were too familiar to be shocking, too constant to be supposed accidental or transitory. . . . God was an Almighty Emperor, a transcendental Diocletian or Constantine, doing as He list with His own. His edicts ran through all space and time, His punishments were eternal, and whatever he did, His justice must not be questioned." Such was the Being set up by the church before the cottar to be worshipped. The worship inevitably made the worshipper a slave. How could he help believing that the Almighty had placed him in the low position in which he was, with the landlord and other masters above him? Under the influence of such a theology, he dared not think rationally or dream of acting freely. It was his duty to toil, to hie, and be silent.

But other theological conceptions have come, and, with them, changed religious feelings. The conception of God as the Infinite Father, which has the word of Jesus Christ with it, has arisen, and is recommending itself to the conscience of the worshipping man. That conception takes everything autocratic, arbitrary, and unjust out of theology, and sets God before the worshipper in a lovable form. It makes all men God's children, the world a sphere of impartial fatherhood, Providence the perpetual forgiveness of the All-loving Parent. And it makes religion a sympathetic endeavor to realize brotherhood. It causes the lowliest man to rise erect and claim his place as a brother man. It makes cottar and landlord equal in God's sight. It makes class distinctions and the monopolies of the privileged classes wrong. It gives the tiller of the soil more right to its products than the landlord who is an idler. It entitles the cottar to cast off the submission laid upon him in the name of religion, and to declare that the Infinite Father cannot require passive acquiescence in conditions that prevent the development of manhood, that religion must always be opposed to slavery.

Thus the new theological conceptions tend to give the cottar's religion a new spirit and aim. They convert the old spirit of slavish and superstitious submission into a spirit of free and intelligent aspiration, and to make it the aim of the cottar to try to put an end to the conditions which keep him a slave. In the name of religion he has to demand justice, that the relationships of men shall be adjusted to the idea of an all-embracing and impartial Fatherhood, and that society shall be transformed into a real brotherhood.

And while taking up that moral attitude, he need not cease to be pious, need not put away his bible, need not give up prayer. But his piety will have new light and power in it. He will realize that piety consists in recognizing and honoring the terms of life that are set forth in the nature of things. He will apprehend that his relation to God is formed by natural conditions, that God is not a Being away in a distant world, but one with whom he has to do in all natural elements, forces, and opportunities. He will perceive that it is practical piety to deal with the soil in accordance with the power that gives it to men, and keeps it productive for their sake. Set in just conditions as a tiller of the soil, with no one to defraud him of the results of his labor, he will feel that he is a fellow-laborer with God in providing for the needs of humanity; and his tillage will become a sacrament instead of a slavery.

And, when he opens his bible to "wale a portion with judicious care," he will not overlook these words: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein;" "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine;" "More-over the profit of the earth is for all;" "Woe unto them that join house to house, and that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth;" "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. . . . Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth;" "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat. . . . they bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. . . . Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the laws, judgment, mercy, and faith; these ought ye to have done, and not have left the other undone;" "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor. . . . and come and follow me;" "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."

And, when the cottar prays in the new spirit, it will not be so much for submission, self-renunciation and patience, as for aspiration, self-respect and strenuousness of power to work for righteousness of life. Then he will be in the way of being a free man in Christ, and his slavery on the soil will come to an end.

The religion of brotherhood cannot longer sanction the cottar's submission. It cannot regard his position as just, nor look upon his cot with approval. It has to declare that he is placed in unjust circumstances, and that his cot, though it may be ennobled by domestic feeling, is a wretched hovel. It has to affirm that the system which makes the cottar what he is is utterly immoral; that the sentiment which consecrates the hovel called the cottar's home is unhealthy; that the halo placed over "honest poverty" is a moral mirage.

IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

Making Big Strides Forward—Besides Starting a Brilliant Single Tax Paper, Holding an Important Conference and Forming a Strong Organization, the Single Tax Men Have Induced the Premier to Promise to Introduce a Bill Permitting Municipalities to Raise Taxes in Whatever Way They Please.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., June 12.—About four months ago I sent you an account of our recent elections. We have not been altogether idle in this part of the world since the free traders, or rather the revenue tariffites, were returned to power. An organ of the movement, modeled on the New York STANDARD, has been started in Sydney, as you know, and I need not tell you, what friends and foes alike admit, that it is a most ably edited paper and more than fulfills the expectations which had been formed respecting it. It holds a somewhat similar position to all other journals in New South Wales that the New York STANDARD does to all other papers in the states; that is to say, it is intellectually head and shoulders taller than—I was going to say all the other papers put together, and if I had said so I don't think I should have been very far out. Besides the editor, John Farrell, poet and litterateur, the paper numbers among its contributors L. H. Berens, of Adelaide; Frank Cotton, the Estell of New South Wales; T. J. Hebblewhite, perhaps the most brilliant, and Murray Fraser, perhaps the most profound single taxer in Australia; E. W. Foxall, whose ability you know; L. E. Haines and W. E. Johnson, or "Verax," of Sydney, the latter better known by his nom de plume. It goes without saying that such an organ is exerting a powerful influence on its readers, and that so long as it can be kept going its influence is bound to extend in ever-widening circles among all classes of the community.

But the starting of a single tax journal is not the only event that has occurred during the last four months. The various branch leagues scattered all over the colony have held a conference in Sydney under the presidency of Mr. E. W. Foxall, vice-president of the Sydney branch—the first conference of the kind ever held in Australia—at which about sixteen leagues were represented, either personally or by proxy, including, in addition to delegates from branches in New South Wales, representatives from the adjoining colonies of Queensland, Victoria and South Australia, where leagues which are doing very good work are also established. The conference, which lasted three days, got through a considerable amount of business, but its most important result was the organization into a compact whole of the scattered forces which have been hitherto pursuing a sort of guerilla warfare, each league apart from the rest, all over the colonies. We now present a united front to the foe, and whatever progress we now make will be less confined to any particular locality as heretofore and more along the line.

The principal business done by the conference was as follows:

(1) It formally adopted the name of Single tax league in lieu of Land nationalization league, by which latter term the movement has been known hitherto, the change being only opposed by about three of the branches, where there was a strong protectionist element.

(2) It formed an executive council, composed of twenty members of the metropolitan and suburban branches, each country branch being entitled to send one delegate for every fifty members, the council to have power to act for the whole body, and each branch to contribute a guinea towards the existing expenses.

Several resolutions passed by the conference were referred to the executive council to deal with, such as the preparation of a draft, manifesto and code of rules, to be submitted to the branches before final adoption, the drawing up of a petition for the signature of persons favorable to the taxing of land values, irrespective of improvements, for presentation to parliament at as early a date as possible; as also the preparation of a bill embodying a tax on land values irrespective of improvements to be laid before the different colonial legislatures. Finally the executive council was instructed to wait on the government and lay before them the views of the conference on several important matters relating to the movement.

In view of the repeated promises made by the premier to introduce a local government bill, such as most of the other Australian colonies have had in years past, the conference passed a resolution "that no local government bill can be satisfactory unless it empowers local bodies to raise revenue by means of a tax on land values irrespective of improvements." The executive council was instructed to lay this resolution before the premier, and this was done. Mr. Thompson, M. L. A. for West Maitland, and the only member of the assembly who has so far joined our league, introduced the deputation. Mr. E. W. Foxall acted as spokesman, and stated our case in the clearest terms. Mr. Frank Cotton, the lecturer to the movement, also pointed out the injustice of the present system. I am too horribly nervous, as a rule, to say a word, but on this occasion I particularly wanted to make what platform orators, I believe, call "a point." So I jotted it down in writing and read as much of it off as the premier cared to hear. I draw atten-

tion to the fact that under the present Municipalities act taxation—generally 2s. 6d. in the pound—is levied on nine-tenths of the average annual rental value of ratable property—i. e., on houses or other improvements, unoccupied land being generally allowed to go pretty nearly scot free—and that under the local government bill, introduced by Sir Henry Parkes last session, it was proposed to alter this in form, though not in spirit, by empowering municipalities to levy a minimum of two-sixths, not on the total capital value of ratable property as the municipal conference a few years ago desired, but on five per cent of the capital value, which, as I pointed out, was, with but slight alterations, our old friend the "average annual rental" over again. The premier (Sir Henry Parkes) said that, as a new parliament had been returned since the bill referred to had been introduced, the bill was now so much waste paper, and he proposed to altogether amend that part of it and to introduce a fresh clause empowering municipalities to collect their revenues in any way they liked. This we deemed extremely satisfactory, especially in view of the fact that a large number of municipal councils are already in favor of raising revenue on single tax principles instead of as now on improvements, and the last municipal conference only missed passing a resolution in favor of such a radical change by three or four votes, and that, as Mr. Foxall told the premier, was simply owing to the fact that several supporters of such a resolution, including himself, had been prevented by other business engagements from being present when the matter came to a vote.

I have a great deal more to tell about the movement here; in fact, I have not touched on what I intended to have been the principal theme of my letter, namely, a controversy which has arisen on the action of the conference in dealing with the question of alienating crown lands, but the American mail leaves at 2 p. m., and it now only wants a quarter of an hour to that time, so I will close for the present, and defer the balance till next month. I will only say in conclusion that the English cablegram published in the Sydney Daily Telegraph a few days ago, that Henry George had decided to travel for Sydney in October next, has sent a thrill of excitement among the advocates of the movement in this part of the world, among whom there is none who more anxiously longs for the day of his coming than myself.

Percy T. Megaw,
Secretary Sydney branch single tax league.

Raising the Margin of Cultivation.

ZANESVILLE, Ohio.—In his paper read before the committee on taxation of the Ohio assembly in Columbus, Mr. Shearman demonstrated the fact that Ohio farmers would pay about forty per cent less taxes under the single tax than they do at present.

This is all very well, but it seems to me that he, in common with others, overlooks the most important argument in relation to the farmer and the effects of the single tax, and that is the raising of the margin of cultivation. Taxing lands lying above the margin of cultivation out of the speculator's hands and into cultivation will have a powerful effect in raising the margin of cultivation. Now this will lessen economic rent; if it were proportionately—that is, if a certain per cent were taken of the economic rent of all kinds of land, the farmer would not be benefited, for the rate would have to rise; but it would not be a proportionate decrease in rent, but an absolute one. To illustrate: A's, B's and C's land is agricultural land; that of D and E town or city lots—

A's acre yields \$1 annual rent.
B's acre yields \$2 annual rent.
C's acre yields \$5 annual rent.
D's acre yields \$100 annual rent.
E's acre yields \$1,000 annual rent.
We will suppose rate of taxation (on rent) is 50 per cent.

Then—
A pays .50 per acre.
B pays \$1.00 per acre.
C pays \$2.50 per acre.
D pays \$50.00 per acre.
E pays \$500.00 per acre.

But now observe the effect of the rise in the margin of cultivation, say until A's acre coincides with it.

Then—
A pays .00, a reduction of 100 per cent.
B pays .50, a reduction of 50 per cent.
C pays 2.00, a reduction of 20 per cent.
D pays 49.50, a reduction of 1 per cent.
E pays 499.50, a reduction of .1 per cent.

As productiveness of land is greater, rate of benefit from the single tax would be less, and the farmer, holding land of least productiveness, would be benefited the most.

C. A. POTWIN.

New Officers of the St. Louis League.

ST. LOUIS, July 10.—At the semi-annual election the St. Louis single tax league elected the following officers: President, H. H. Hoffman; vice-president, Charles E. Turner; recording secretary, J. W. Steele; financial secretary, Thomas J. Donohue; treasurer, E. F. Meyer. Our league is now on a sound financial basis. New interest in the meetings has of late been awakened and new faces are noticeable in the audience.

J. W. STEELE,
recording secretary.

(1) BURNS AND THE KIRK. A review of what the poet did for the religious and social regeneration of the Scottish people. By Alexander Webster. Aberdeen: A. Martin, 13 George street. Glasgow: W. & R. Holmes, 3 and 5 Dunlop street. Edinburgh: James Thin, 54 and 55 South Bridge. London: W. Reeves, 185 Fleet street, E. C.

THE LADY OF THE CLUB.

Helen H. Gardener in Belford's Magazine for July.

I.

The old and somewhat cynical saying, that philosophers and reformers can bear the griefs and woes of other people with a heroism and resignation worthy of their creeds, would have fitted the case of Roland Barker only when shorn of the intentional sting of sarcasm. It is, nevertheless, true that even his nobly-gifted nature, his tender heart, and his alert brain sometimes failed to grasp the very pith and point of his own arguments.

He was a wealthy man whose sympathies were earnestly with the poor and unfortunate. He believed that he understood their sufferings, their ambitions, and their needs; and his voice and pen were no more truly on the side of charity and brotherly kindness than was his purse.

It was no unusual thing for him to attend a meeting, address a club, or take part in a memorial service, where his was the only hand unused to toil, and where he alone bore all expense, and then—after dressing himself in the most approved and faultless manner—become the guest of honor at some fashionable entertainment. Indeed, he was a leader in fashion as well as in philosophy, and at once a hero in Avenue A and on Murray Hill.

On the evening of which I am about to tell you he had addressed a club of working men in their little dingy hall, taking as his subject "Realities of Life." He had sought to show them that poverty and toil are not, after all, the worst that can befall a man, and that the most acute misery dwells in palaces and is robed in purple.

He spoke with the feeling of one who had himself suffered—as, indeed, he had—from the unsympathetic associations of an uncongenial marriage. He pictured, with deep feeling, the chill atmosphere of a loveless home, whose wealth and glitter and lustre could never thrill and enrapture the heart as might the loving hand-clasp in the bare, chill rooms where sympathy and affection were the companions of poverty.

I had admired his enthusiasm as he pictured the joy of sacrifice for the sake of those we love, and I had been deeply touched by his pathos—a pathos which I knew, alas, too well, sprang from a hungry heart—whether, as now, it beat beneath a simple coat of tweed or, when hours later, it would still be the prisoner of its mighty longing, though clothed with elegance and seated at a banquet fit for princes.

The last words fell slowly from his lips, and his eyes were dimmed, as were the eyes of all about me. His voice, so full of feeling, had hardly ceased to throb when, far back in the little hall, arose a woman, thin and worn, and plainly clad, but showing traces of a beauty and refinement which had held their own and fought their way inch by inch in spite of poverty, anxiety and tears. The chairman recognized her and asked her to the platform.

"No," she said, in a low, tremulous tone which showed at once her feeling and her culture—"no, I did not wish to take the platform; but since you ask for criticism of the kind speech we have just listened to, it has seemed to me that I might offer one, although I am a stranger to you all."

Her voice trembled, and she held firmly to the back of a chair in front of her. The chairman signified his willingness to extend to her the privilege of the floor, and there was slight applause. She bowed and began again slowly:

"I sometimes think that it is useless to ever try to make the suffering rich and the suffering poor understand each other. I do not question that the gentleman has tasted sorrow. All good men have. I do not question that his heart is warm and true and honest, and that he truly thinks what he has said; but"—and here her voice broke a little and her lip trembled—"but he does not know what real suffering is. He cannot. No rich man can."

There was a movement of impatience in the room, and some one said, loud enough to be heard, "if she thinks money can bring happiness she is badly left."

There was a slight ripple of laughter at this, and even the serious face of Roland Barker grew almost merry for a moment. Then the woman went on, without appearing to have noticed the interruption:

"I do not want to seem ungracious, and heaven knows, no one could mean more kindly what I say; but he has said that money is not needed to make us happy—

only love; and again he quotes that baseless old maxim, 'the love of money is the root of all evil.'" She paused, then went slowly on as if feeling her way and fearing to lose her hold upon herself: "I know it is a sad and cruel world even to the more fortunate, if they have hearts to feel and brains to think. To the unloving or unloved there must be little worth; but they at least are spared the agony that sits where love and poverty have shaken hands with death"—her voice broke, and there was a painful silence in the room—"where those who love are wrung and torn by all the thousand fears and apprehensions of ills that are to come to wife and child and friend. The day has passed for all this talk of poverty and love—that love makes want an easy thing to bear—the day has passed, I say, when sane men ought to think, or wise men speak, such cruel, false, and harmful words. He truly says that money without love cannot bring happiness; but that is only half the truth, for love with poverty can bring, does bring, the keenest agony that mortals ever bore."

There was a movement of dissent in the hall. She lifted her face a moment, contracted her lips, drew a long breath, and said:

"I will explain. Without the love, poverty were light enough to bear. What does it matter for one's self? It is the love that gives the awful sting to want, and makes its cruel fingers grip the throat as never vise or grappling hook took hold, and torture with a keener zest than fiends their victims! Love and poverty! It is the combination that devils invented to make hell on earth."

All eyes were fastened on her white face now, and she was rushing on, her words, hot and impassioned, striking firm on every point she made.

"Let me give you a case. In a home where comfort is—or wealth—a mother sits, watching by night and day the awful hand of death reach nearer, closer to her precious babe, and nothing that skill or science can suggest will stay the hand or heal the aching heart; and yet there is comfort in the thought that all was done that love and wealth and skill could do, and that it was nature's way. But take from her the comfort of that thought. She watches with the same poor, breaking heart, but with the knowledge, now, to keep her company, that science might, ah! could, push back the end, could even cure her babe if but the means to pay for skill and change and wholesome food and air were hers. Is that no added pang? Is poverty no curse to her?—a curse the deeper for her depth of love? The rich know naught of this. It gives to life its wildest agony, to love its deepest hurt."

She paused. There was a slight stir as if some one had thought to offer applause, and then the silence fell again, and she began anew, with shining eyes and cheeks aflame. She swayed a little as she spoke and clutched the chair as for support. Her voice grew hoarse, and trembled, and she fixed her gaze upon a vacant chair:

"But let me tell you of another case. A stone's throw from this hall, where pretty things are said week after week—and kindly meant, I know—of poverty and love—of the blessedness of these—there is a living illustration, worth more than all the theories ever spun, to tell you what 'realities of life' must be where love is great and poverty holds sway. Picture, with me, the torture and despair of a refined and cultured woman who watches hour by hour the long months through, and sees the creeping feet of mental wreck and physical decay, and knows the mortal need of care and calm for him who is the whole of life, to her, and for the want of that which others hold as dross, he must work on and on, hastening each day the end he does not see, which shall deprive him of all of life except the power for ill. . . . She will be worse than widowed and alone, for ever by her side sits Want, for him, tearing at every chord of heart and soul—not for herself—but for that dearer one, wrecked in the prime of life and left a clod endowed only with strength for cruel wrong, whose hand would sheath a knife in her dear heart, and laugh with maniac glee at his mad deeds. She saw the end. She knew long months ago what was to be, if he must toil and strain his nerve and brain for need of that which goes from knave to knave, and hoards itself within cathedral walls, where wise men meet to teach the poor contentment with their lot! She knew he must not know; the knowledge of the shadow must be kept from his dear brain until the very end, by smiles, and cheer, and merry jest from her, Who

dare tell her that riches are a curse? and prate of 'dross' and call on heaven to witness that its loss is only gain of joy and harbinger of higher, holier things? Who dare call her as witness for the bliss of poverty with love?"

She slowly raised her hand and, with a quick-drawn breath, pressed it against her side, and with her eyes still fastened on the vacant chair, and tears upon her cheeks, falling unchecked upon her heaving bosom, she held each listener silent and intent on every word she spoke. The time allotted anyone was long since over-run; but no one thought of that, and she went on:

"With love! Ah, there is where the iron can burn and scar and open every wound afresh each day, make poverty a curse, a blight, a scourge, a torture, iron-beaked, with claws of burning steel, that leave no nerve untouched, no drop of blood unshed."

"With love! 'Tis there the hand of poverty can deal the deadliest blows, and show, as nowhere else on earth, the value of that slandered, hoarded thing called wealth."

There blazed into her face a fierce, indignant light, her voice swelled out and struck upon the ear like fire bells in the dead of night.

"The root of evil!—'poverty with love! Hypocrisy, in purple velvet robed, behind stained glass, with strains of music falling on its ears, with table spread in banquet hall below, bethought itself to argue thus to those itself had robbed; while, thoughtless of its meaning and its birth, the echo of its lying, treacherous words come from the pallid lips of many a wretch whose life has been a failure and an agony because of that which he himself extols. A lie once born contains a thousand lives, and holds at bay the struggling, feeble truth, if but that lie be fathered by a priest and mothered by a throne—as this one was! 'The root of evil' is the spring of joy. Deceit it those who will. And those who do not love, perchance, may laugh at all its need can mean; but to the loving, suffering poor bring no more cant, and cease to voice the hollow words of Ignorance and Hypocrisy. It is too cruel, and its deadly breath has long enough polluted sympathy and frozen up the springs of healthy thought, while sheathing venomous fangs in breaking hearts. Recast your heartless creeds! Your theories for the poor are built on these."

She sank back into her chair white and exhausted.

There was a wild burst of applause. A part of the audience, with the ear for sound and that lack of sense to be found in all such gatherings, had forgotten that it was not listening to a burst of eloquence which had been duly written out and committed to memory for the occasion.

But Roland Barker sprang to his feet, held both his hands up, to command silence, and said, in a scarcely audible voice, as he trembled from head to foot: "Hush, hush! She has told the truth! She has told the awful truth! I never saw it all before. Heaven help you to bear it. It seems to me I cannot!"

Several were pale and weeping. I turned to speak to the woman who had changed an evening's entertainment into a tragic scene; but she had slipped out during the excitement. I took Barker's arm and we walked towards the avenue together. Neither of us spoke until we reached Madison square. Here the poor fellow sank into a seat and pulled me down beside him.

"Don't talk to me about theories after that," he said. "Great God! I am more dead than alive. I feel fifty years older than when I went to that little hall to teach those people how to live by my fine philosophy, and I truly thought that I tasted sorrow and found the key to resignation. Ye gods!"

"Perhaps you have," I said.

"Yes, yes," he replied; impatiently; "but suppose I had to face life day by day, hour by hour, as the woman pictured it—and she was a lady with as keen a sense of pain as I—what do you suppose my philosophy would do for me then? Do you think I could endure it? And I went there to teach those people how to suffer and be strong!"

"Look here, Barker," I said, "you'd go home now and go to bed. You are cold and tired, and this won't help matters any."

"What will?" he asked. I made no reply. When we reached his door he asked again:

"What will?"

I shook my head and left him standing

in the brilliant hall of his beautiful home, dazed and puzzled and alone.

II.

The next time I met Roland Barker he grasped my hand and said excitedly: "I have found that woman! What she said is all true. My God! what is to be done? I feel like a strong man tied hand and foot, while devilish vultures feed on the flesh of living babes before my eyes!"

"Stop, Barker," I said; "stop, and go away for a while, or you will go mad. What have you been doing? Look at your hands; they tremble like the hands of a palsied man; and your face; why, Barker, your face is haggard and set, and your hair is actually turning gray! What in the name of all that's holy have you been doing?"

"Nothing, absolutely nothing!" he exclaimed. "That is the trouble! What can I do? I tell you something is wrong, Gordon, something is desperately wrong in this world. Look at that pile of stone over there: millions of dollars are built into that. It is opened once each week, aired, cleaned, and put in order for a fashionable audience dressed in silk and broadcloth. They call it a church, but it is simply a popular club house, which, unlike other club houses, hasn't the grace to pay its own taxes. They use that club house, let us say, three hours in all, each week, for what? To listen to elaborate music and fine spun theories about another world. They are asked to, and they give money to send these same theories to nations far away, who—to put it mildly—are quite as well off without them. Then that house is closed for a week, and those who sat there really believe that they have done what is right by their fellow-men! Their natural consciences, their sense of right and justice, have been given an anesthetic. 'The poor ye have with you always,' they are taught to believe, is not only true, but right. I tell you, Gordon, it is all perfectly damnable, and it seems to me that I cannot bear it when I remember that woman."

"She is only one of a great many," I suggested.

Roland Barker groaned: "My God! that is the trouble—so many that the thing seems hopeless. And to think that on every one of even these poor souls is laid another burden that the stone spire may go untaxed!"

"Barker," I said, laying my hand on his arm, "tell me what has forced all this upon you with such a terrible weight just now?"

"Not here, not now," he said. "I have written it down just as she told it to me—you know I learned stenography when I began taking an interest in public meetings. Well, I've just been copying these notes out. They are in my pocket," he said, laying his hand on his breast. "They seem to burn my very soul. I would not dare to trust myself to read them to you here. Come home with me."

When we were seated in his magnificent library, he glanced about him, and with a wave of his hand said, with infinite satire: "You will notice the striking appropriateness of the surroundings and the subject."

"No doubt," I said. "I have often noticed that before, especially the last time I heard a sermon preached to three of the Vanderbilts, two Astors, five other millionaires, and about sixty more consistent Christians, all of whom were wealthy. The subject was Christ's advice to the rich young man, 'Sell all thou hast and give to the poor.' But never mind; go on; the day has passed when deed and creed are supposed to hold the slightest relation to each other; and what is a \$20,000 salary for if not to buy sufficient ability to explain it all sweetly away and administer, at the same time, an anesthetic to the natural consciences of men?"

I settled myself in a large Turkish chair on one side of the splendidly carved table; he stood on the other side sorting a manuscript. Presently he began reading it. "When I married Frank Melville he was strong and grand and brave; a truer man never lived. He had been educated for the law. His practice was small, but we were able to live very well on what he made, and the prospect for the future was bright. We loved each other—but, ah! there are no words to tell that. We worshiped each other as only two who have been happily mated can ever understand. We lived up to his salary. Perhaps you will say that that was not wise. We thought it was. A good appearance, a fairly good appearance at least, was all

that we could make, and to hold his own in his profession, that was necessary. You know how that is. A shabby-looking man soon loses his hold on paying clients. Of course he would not dress well and allow me to be ill-clad. He—he loved me. We were never able to lay by anything; but we were young and strong and hopeful—and we loved each other." Barker's voice trembled. He looked at me a moment and then said very low: "If you could have seen her poor, tired, beautiful eyes when she said that."

"I can imagine how she looked," I said. "She had a face one remembers."

After a little he went on: "We had both been brought up to live well. Our friends were people of culture, and we—it will sound strange to you for me to say that our love and devotion were the admiration and talk of all of them."

"By and by I was taken ill. My husband could not bear to think of me as at home alone suffering. He stayed with me a great deal. I did not know that he was neglecting his business; I think he did not realize it then; he thought he could make it up all; he was strong and—he loved me. At last the doctors told him that I should die if he did not take me away; I ought to have an ocean voyage. It almost killed him that he could not give me that. We had not the money. He took me away a little while where I could breathe the salt air, and the good it did me made his heart only the sadder when he saw that it was true that all I needed was an ocean voyage. The climate of his home was slowly killing me. We bore it as long as we dared, and I got so weak that he almost went mad. Then we moved here, where my health was good. But it was a terrible task to get business; there were so many others like him, all fighting, as if for life, for money enough to live on from day to day. The strain was too much for him, and just as he began to gain a footing he fell ill, and—and if we had had money enough for him to take a rest then, and have proper care, good doctors, and be relieved from immediate anxiety, he would have gotten well, with my care—I loved him so! But as it was—Shall I show the end?" Barker stopped, he was trembling violently, his eyes were full of tears. I waited. Presently he said, huskily: "Shall I tell you, Gordon, what I saw? I have not gotten over it yet. She laid her finger on her lips and motioned me to follow. The room where we had been was poor and bare. She took a key from her bosom, opened a door, and went in. I followed. Sitting in the only comfortable chair—which had been handsome once—was a magnificent-looking man, so far as mere physical proportions can make one that."

"Darling," she said tenderly, as if talking to a little child. "Darling, I have brought you a present. Are you glad?"

"She handed him a withered rose that I had carelessly dropped as I went in."

"He arose, bowed to me when she presented me, waved me to his chair, took the flower, looked at her with infinite love, and said: 'To-morrow, little wife; wait till to-morrow.'"

"Then he sat down, evidently unconscious of my presence, and gazed steadily at her for a moment, seeming to forget all else and to struggle with some thought that constantly eluded him. She patted his hand as if he were a child, smiling through her heart-break all the while, and motioned me to precede her from the room."

"When she came out she locked the door carefully behind her, sank into a chair, covered her face with her hands, and sobbed as if her heart would break. After a while she said: 'A little money would have saved him, and now it is too late, too late. Sometimes he is violent, sometimes like that. The doctors say the end is not far off, and that any moment he may kill me, and afterward awake to know it! It is all the result of poverty with love!' she said. Then, passionately: 'If I did not love him so I could bear it, but I cannot, I cannot! And how will he bear it if he ever harms me—and I not there to help him?'"

Barker stepped to the window to hide his emotion. Presently he said, in a voice that trembled: "If she did not love him so she could let him go to some—asylum; but she knows the end is sure, and not far off, and that the gleams of light he has are when he sees her face. She has parted with everything that made life attractive to keep food and warmth for him. She is simply existing now from day to day—one constant agony of soul

and sense—waiting for the end. She allowed me to take a doctor to see him; I would have come for you, but you were out of town. He only confirmed what others had told her a year ago. He advised her to have him put in a safe place before he did some violence; but she refused, and made us promise not to interfere. She said he would be able to harm no one but her, if he became violent at the last, and she was ready for that. It was easier far to live that way and wait for that each day than to have him taken away where he would be unhappy and perhaps ill-treated. He needed her care and love beside him every hour, and she—she needed nothing."

Here Barker flung himself into a chair and let his head fall on his folded arms on the table.

"That is the way love makes poverty easy to bear," he said, bitterly, after a time, and his trembling hands clinched tight together.

"Did you give her any money?" I asked.

He groaned. "Yes, yes, I—that is, I left some on the table under her sewing. She isn't the kind of woman one can offer charity. She—"

"No," I said, "she isn't, and besides, for the pain that tortures her it is too late now for money to help. Only it may relieve her somewhat to feel sure that she can get what he needs to eat and wear and to keep him warm and allow her to be free from the necessity of outside work. I am glad you left the money. But—but—Barker, do you think she will use it, coming that way and from a stranger?"

He looked up forlornly. "No, I don't," he said; "and yet she may. I will hope so; but if she does, what then? The terrible question will still remain just where it was. That is no way to solve it; we can't bail out the ocean with a thimble. And what an infamous imposition all this talk is of 'resignation' to such as she; for her terrible calm, as she talked to me, had no hint of resignation in it. She is simply, calmly, quietly desperate now—and she is one of the many." He groaned aloud.

"Will you take me there the next time you go?" I asked.

"She said I must not come back; she could not be an object of curiosity—nor allow him to be. She said that she allowed me to come this time because on the night we first saw her she had stepped into that little hall to keep herself from freezing in her thin clothes as she was making her way home, and she saw that I was earnest in what I said, and she stayed to listen—his voice broke again."

Just then the drapery was drawn back, and his wife, superbly robed, swept in, bringing a bevy of girls.

"Oh, Mr. Barker," said one, gaily, "you don't know what you missed to-night by deserting our theater party; it was all so real—love in rags, you know, and all that sort of thing; only I really don't like to see quite so much attention paid to the 'Suffering poor,' with a big S, and the lower classes generally. I think the stage can do far better than that, don't you? But it is the new fad, I suppose, and after all I fancy it doesn't do much harm, only as it makes that sort of people more insufferably obtrusive about putting their ill-clad, bad-smelling woes before the rest of us. What a beautiful vase this is, Mrs. Barker! May I take it to the light?"

"Certainly, my dear," laughed Mrs. Barker; "and I agree with you, as usual. I think it is an exquisite vase—and that the stage is becoming demoralized. It is pandering to the low taste for representations of low life. I confess I don't like it. That sort of people do not have the feelings to be hurt—the fine sensibilities and emotions attributed to them. Those grow up in refined and delicate surroundings. That is what I often tell Roland when he insists upon making himself unhappy over some new 'case' of destitution. I tell him to send them five dollars by mail and not to worry himself, and I won't allow him to worry me with his Christy street emotions."

Barker winced, and I excused myself and withdrew, speculating on certain phases of delicacy of feeling and fine sensibility.

III.

I did not see Barker again for nearly three weeks, when one night my bell was rung with unusual violence, and I heard an excited voice in my hall. "Be quick, John; hurry," it said, "and tell the doctor I must see him at once. Tell him it is Roland Barker."

John had evidently demurred at calling me at so late an hour.

"All right, Barker; I'll be down in a moment," I called from above. "No, come up. You can tell me what is the matter while I dress. Is it for yourself? There, go in that side room, I can hear you, and I'll be dressed in a moment."

"Hurry, hurry," he said, excitedly, "I'll tell you on the way. I have my carriage. Don't wait to order yours, only hurry, hurry, hurry."

Once in the carriage, I said: "Barker, you are going to use yourself up, this way. You can't keep this sort of thing up much longer. You'd better go abroad."

"Drive faster," he called, to the man on top. Then to me, "If you are not the first doctor there, there will be a dreadful scene. They will most likely arrest her for murder."

"Whom?" said I. "You have told me nothing, and how can I prevent that if a murder has been committed?"

"By giving her a regular death certificate," said he, coolly, "saying that you attended the case, and that it was a natural death. I depend upon you, Gordon; it would be simply infamous to make her suffer any more. I cannot help her now, but you can, you must. No one will know the truth but us, and afterwards we can help her—to forget. She is not an old woman; there may be something in life for her yet."

"Is it the Lady of the Club?" I asked. We had always called her that. "What has she done?"

"Yes," he said, "it is the 'Lady of the Club,' and she has poisoned her husband."

"Good God!" exclaimed I; "and you want me to give her a regular death certificate and say I attended the case?"

"You must," he said; "it would be infamous not to. She could not bear it any longer. She found herself breaking down, and she would not leave him alive without her care and love. He had become almost helpless, except when short violent spells came on. These left him exhausted. He almost killed her in the last one. Her terror was that he would do so and then regain his reason—that he would know it afterwards and perhaps be dragged through the courts. She had been working in a chemist's office, it seems, when she was able to do anything. She took some aconitine, and to-night she put everything in perfect order, gave him the best supper she could, got him to bed, and then—gave him that. She sent for me and told me as calmly as—God! it was the calm of absolute desperation. She sat there when I went in, holding his poor dead hand and kissing it reverently. She laid it down and told me what I tell you. There was not a tear, a moan, a sigh. She said: 'Here is the money you left—all except what I paid for his supper to-night. We had gotten down to that before I had the chance to steal the poison or the courage to give it to him. I had not meant to use any of the money; the rest is here. I would like it used—if you are willing—to bury him decently, not in the Potter's field, and I would like—if you will take the trouble—to have it done absolutely privately. We have borne enough. I cannot bear for even his ashes to be subjected to any further humiliation.'"

Roland Barker paused to command himself. "Of course I promised her," he went on, after a time. "She does not realize that she may be arrested and have his poor body desecrated to find the cause of death. That would make her insane—even if—Drive faster!" he called out again to the man outside. When we reached the house he said: "Be prepared to see her perfectly calm. It is frightful to witness, and I tremble for the result later on."

When we knocked on her door there was no response. I pushed it open and entered first. The room was empty. We went to the inner door and rapped gently, then louder. "There was no sound. Barker opened the door, and then stepped quickly back and closed it. 'She is kneeling there by his bed,' he said, 'write the certificate here and give it to me. Then I will bring an undertaker and—we can attend to everything else. I did want you to see her. I think you should give her something to make her sleep. That forced calm will make her lose her mind. She is so shattered you would not recognize her.'"

"Stay here, Barker," I said; "I want to see her alone for a moment. I will tell her who I am and that you brought me—if I need to."

He eyed me sharply, but I stepped

hastily into the inner room. I touched the shoulder and then the forehead of the kneeling form. It did not move. "Just as I expected," I muttered, and lifting the lifeless form in my arms I laid it gently beside the body of her husband. In one hand she held the vial from which she had taken the last drop of the deadly drug, and clasped in the other she had held her husband's fingers. She had been dead but a few moments, and both she and her husband were robbed for the grave.

When I returned to the other room I found Barker with a note in his hand and a shocked and horrified look on his face. He glanced up at me through his tears.

"We were too late," he said. "She left this note for me. I found it here on the table. She meant to do it all along, and that is why she was so calm and had no fears for herself."

"I thought so when you told me what she had done," said I.

"Did you? I did not for a moment, or I would have stayed and tried to reason her out of it."

"It is best as it is," said I, "and you could not have reasoned her out of it. It was inevitable—after the rest. Take this certificate too; you will need both."

When all was safely over, as we drove home from the new graves two days later, Barker said: "Is this the solution?"

I did not reply.

Presently he said: "To the dead, who cannot suffer, we can be kind and shield them even from themselves. Is there no way to help the living? A few hundred dollars, two short years ago, would have saved all this, and there was no way for her to get it. She knew it all then, and there was no help!"

"Why did she not, in such a case as that, push back her pride and go to some one? There must be thousands who would have gladly responded to such a call as that," I said.

He buried his face in his hands for a moment and shuddered. At last he said: "She did—she went to three good men, men who had known, been friendly with, admired her and her husband. Two of them are worth their millions, the other one is rich. She only asked to borrow, and promised to repay it herself if she had to live and work after he were dead to do it!"

He paused.

"You do not mean to tell me that they refused—and they old friends and rich?" I asked, amazed.

"I mean to say just this: they one and all made some excuse; they did not let her have it."

"She told them what the doctors said, and of her fears?"

"She did," he answered, sadly.

"And yet you say they are good men!" I exclaimed, indignantly.

"Good, benevolent, charitable, every one of them," he answered.

"Were you one of them, Barker?" I asked, after a moment's pause.

"Thank God, no!" he replied. "But perhaps in some other case I have done the same, if I only knew the whole story. Those men do not know this last, you must remember."

"And the worst of it is, we dare not tell them," said I, as we parted.

"No we dare not," he replied, and left me standing with the copy of the burial certificate in my hand.

"Natural causes," I said to myself, looking at it. "Died of natural causes—the brutality and selfishness of man—and poverty with love. Natural causes! Yes." And I closed my office door and turned out the light.

TARIFF NOTES.

Against foreign competition the thoroughbred protectionist defends himself by high tariffs. Against home competition he fortifies himself by low wages. For taking care of himself he is altogether lovely. —[Williamsport, Pa., Labor Herald.]

When we succeed in making a nation rich by taxation we shall be able to pump Yankee Doodle out of an air pudding. —[Anacostia, D. C., Herald.]

Highly protected Pennsylvania contains more tramps to the square mile than any other state in the union, and also more non-English speaking, poverty stricken foreign laborers. With a little more protection it would be almost impossible for a native born American to obtain employment in this state. Great is protection, but greater is the gap it makes in the ranks of the American workmen. —[Philadelphia Herald.]

Sugar has advanced about four cents a pound and thousands of men have been discharged from the refineries. That is the way high prices protect the workingman. —[Clinton, Ind., Argus.]

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Principles of Taxation.

DENVER, Col.—(1) Is the maxim correct that a common burden should be sustained by a common contribution?

(2) If so would it not be a discrimination in favor of personal property to tax land only? S. P. HORS.

(1) It is.

(2) No. It would be a discrimination in favor of labor products, as well those that are improvements of land as those that are called personal property. And it is well that we should so discriminate; for, whether we tax land or not we never can have any more of it than there is, but so long as we tax labor products we shall have fewer of them than if we exempted production and trade from taxation.

I have used the word "discriminate" to fix attention upon the effect industrially of taxing land values only; but really it is no discrimination. The taxation of land values exclusively is the only way of sustaining common burdens by common contributions. There are two kinds of property, private property and common property. Common property consists in the materials and forces of nature, without which we could not live, and which, since they are controlled by whoever controls the surface of the earth, are economically distinguished as "land." Private property consists in those forms which human labor, aided by the forces of nature, temporarily gives to natural materials. Public burdens must be borne by contributions made from private property, but unless the person making them receives in return an equivalent in common property, the contribution is a private contribution, and not a common one. Now, when taxes are assessed upon the value of private property—that is, upon labor products, the tax payer contributes in proportion to his industry, irrespective of the common property he enjoys; but when they are assessed upon the value of common property—that is, upon land, the tax payer contributes in proportion to the value of common property he enjoys, irrespective of his industry. To illustrate this: Let a church congregation represent a community, and in limited degree it is a community. In supporting the church services let the maxim be accepted that common burdens should be sustained by common contributions. If, now, you assess the members of the congregation on the basis of their weekly earnings irrespective of the kind of pews they occupy, you violate the maxim; but if you assess them according to the value of the pews they occupy, irrespective of their weekly earnings, the maxim is observed. L. F. P.

The Home Question.

COLORADO SPRINGS, Col.—Will the holding of homes be just as permanent under the single tax as now?

MRS. M. J. SINTON OTIS.

More so. Under the single tax the tendency would be toward ownership instead of tenancy, for then every one could have a house who could build one; whereas now he must buy a place before he can build. Then, too, every one would be better able to build because labor would be untaxed; no one would pay taxes except for an advantageous privilege.

Under the single tax, as now, homes would give way to the advance of productive improvements. When home sites became more useful for business purposes, they would make room for business. But the condition which now has so much influence in preventing permanency of homes—inability to own a home—would be removed. L. F. P.

The Tariff on Farm Products, Steel Rails, &c.

BESSEMER, Ala.—(1) Do our farmers gain anything by the protective tariff on wheat? Do we get more for our wheat in our home markets on account of this tariff? If so, how?

(2) In what way does the tariff create a home market, if at all? What part of the farm production of the United States competes with the farm production of the world?

(3) Is it true that we have paid eighty per cent of a tax to steel rail manufacturers on home production—i. e., have we paid \$35 to \$40 per ton for domestic, while other countries bought and sold them for \$18 to \$25 per ton?

(4) Is it true that a suit of clothes worth from \$10 to \$25 in Canada will cost from \$35 to \$40 in the United States? If so, is the tariff the chief cause?

(5) Did Canadians, while under a tariff for revenue of fifteen per cent to seventeen per cent get as high a price for their wheat, cattle, etc., as we did under a protection of forty-seven per cent? If not, about what difference in price and the reason?

(6) Did farmers pay eighty-two per cent of a tax on the sugar produced in this country? If so, did the government get it? J. H. M.

(1) They do not. Our farmers actually get less for their wheat than do the English farmers. This comes about in the following manner: Our farmers produce far more wheat than there is any market for here. They must export the surplus and sell it in the world market, say, in England, in competition with all the India and English and continental wheat—that is, at the price of these other supplies. Now, as the English farmer only sends his wheat, say, 100 miles, and gets, at Liverpool, the same price as the American farmer, who has to ship some 4,000 miles to the same place, the English farmer makes the difference in freight and other charges, for, of course, the charges have to be deducted from what is paid the farmer. So the price for this export wheat is less to the American farmer than the English farmer. But more than that, this price fixes the price that the farmer gets for his wheat that is consumed in America, for a farmer has to sell to a grain merchant and the grain merchant does not offer him one price for wheat to go out of the country and another price for wheat to be consumed here. He just takes the lowest price the farmer will sell any of his wheat for and gives him that for the whole, and this lowest price is the price fixed by the wheat market in Liverpool or London less all freight and other charges.

(2) It does not create a home market at all. It throttles the home market by forcing the buyers to pay far more for most necessities than they ought to pay.

I suppose you want to know what farm products are on the free list. Here are some: Cotton, hides, bones, hoofs, furs and skins, eggs and fowls. Most farm products have more or less "protection," from 10 per cent on peas and beans to 100 per cent on rice and 200 per cent on castor oil.

(3) Yes. In 1871 the average price of Bessemer steel rails was, in the United States, \$91.70 per ton; in England, \$57.70. In 1880, price in United States, \$67.50; in England, \$36. In 1887, price in United States \$37.10; in England, \$20.65.

(4) I do not know. A noted prohibitionist gave an instance in a speech in the last campaign which would seem to prove that clothes were much cheaper in Canada than here.

(5) They receive about the same price.

(6) Farmers and all other consumers pay about eighty-two per cent tax on sugar. The government gets the tax paid on the imported sugar, but the sugar trust levies and collects and keeps the tax on the sugar manufactured here, by the good old protectionist method of simply keeping the price of domestic sugar up to the price of imported sugar—that is by adding the tax to the price. W. B. S.

LEANING TOWARD THE SINGLE TAX.

The New York Times Points Out the Benefits that Would Accrue to Farmers by the Abolishment of Taxes on Personal Property and Raising Necessary Revenues From "Real Estate Alone."

New York Times, July 12.

State Assessor Ellis declared the other day to a Times reporter that he was in favor of abolishing the tax on personal property, but that it was not good politics to advocate it because the farmers of the state are opposed to such a policy. If this latter statement is true, it only shows how little the farmers understand their own interests. It is well known that taxes on personal property are very imperfectly assessed and collected, and consequently that they bear very unequally. That kind of property takes many elusive forms which escape the assessors, and it is impossible to devise any system which will prevent the evasion of payment. This is especially true in cities, where capital is invested largely in various kinds of securities, which are easily concealed and transferred and the ownership of which cannot be traced and identified. It is therefore in cities that the largest amount of evasion exists under a system of personal taxation.

It is only in respect to taxation for state purposes that the people of one county have any concern with what is paid by those of another county. The amount to be raised is fixed and determined by the appropriations of the legislature for state expenses, and it is derived from the several counties in proportion to their assessments. The personal property of farmers in a rural county consists mostly of visible and tangible articles which can be readily assessed at about their actual value. They include cattle and horses, implements and appliances of farm work, and the contents of barns and granaries. Under a strict system of assessment they would be included in the levy and contribute toward the state tax. In the cities the great bulk of personal property takes forms which the assessor cannot reach. Moreover, the deductions for debt can be made effective in a populous commercial community as they cannot in a rural district. Wealthy men engaged in business can really incur debts to almost any amount for temporary purpose, and that purpose may be to swear off their assessments. This method is largely resorted to, and yet to abolish the deduction for debt

would only increase the injustice, for men should only be taxed on what they own and not on what they owe, and it would also multiply and intensify perjury, of which there is too much already. If the state revenue derived from taxes upon property were raised from real estate alone, and the assessment were uniform and equitable, the farmers would find that they paid a smaller share than under a system which undertakes to assess all forms of property alike.

So far as local taxes are concerned the farmer has an interest only in those of his own county and his own town. There, too, the sum to be raised is fixed and determined by the expenses to be met. Under a strict system of assessing personal property he would still have to pay his full share, and probably more. If there were rich men in the community with investments of capital in corporate enterprises, they would have the best facilities for evasion. It would be difficult to ascertain what they owned or what they owed and to get their property fully assessed. In fact, it would be impossible, if they were disposed to evade assessment. If the stocks of traders and manufacturers were assessed the tax would be ultimately paid, not by them, but by their customers, being included in the expenses of their business and taken out in increase of prices. The farmers would help to pay them to whatever extent they had to buy the goods. But if the tax were imposed upon real estate only it would equalize itself in strict accordance with the value of the property. The premises occupied for profitable uses in towns would be most valuable, and their value would be closely proportioned to the amount of capital invested and employed upon them.

But it is in cities that the inequalities produced by personal assessments are most glaring. Vast amounts of property owned by the rich escape through one device or another. Estates held in trust and property in the custody of courts are fully assessed, and a few scrupulous persons may make full returns. The honest and the comparatively poor pay more than their share, the rich and unscrupulous less than theirs. If the personal taxes were swept away altogether there would be far greater equality and justice, for taxes on real estate are paid in almost exact proportion to the wealth of those who hold or use it. The revenue for state purposes might be raised almost wholly from corporations, if at the same time the effort to tax personal property were abandoned. The largest investments of capital are in corporations and their securities. The taxing of the corporations and the holders of the securities, too, would be in effect double taxation. The same property interest would be levied upon twice. But if the pretense were given up of assessing the holder of corporate stocks and bonds for the value of the capital he has invested in them, all the tax that the corporate property ought justly to pay could be collected from the corporations themselves. Revenue from this and analogous sources might be made sufficient to meet all the expenses of the state government, and then counties and towns could be left to make their assessments upon real estate only, and they would speedily find that it worked far more equitably than the present system.

A Bellamy-Gronlund Colony.

New York Sun.

A new socialistic enterprise has been commenced in California. It is called the Kaweah co-operative colony. It is to be a joint stock company and a co-operative commonwealth upon the basis of Edward Bellamy's and Lawrence Gronlund's publications. Though it appears to be as yet in the inchoate condition, the announcements respecting it declare that it has been for three years in successful operation in the giant forest and on the north fork of the Kaweah river in Tulare county; and the post office address is Three Rivers, Cal. Each person who wishes to join the colony must make application to J. J. Martin, secretary, at Visalia, Cal. Every member must pay \$100 in money, and after that, if the secretary wants him, he will set him to work in the pioneer corps, now employed in making a road into the Kaweah valley, where the colony will ultimately be located in the course of evolution. This road making appears to be difficult. There is heavy rock in the way, and during the month of May some 200 pounds of giant powder were required to blast it out. The pioneer corps expect soon to reach the top of the divide, after which they will be able to look beyond the mountain tops and get a glimpse of the valley. There are some entertainments at the road camps every Saturday evening, with music, singing, recitations, and readings.

Miss Sandberg is the leading spirit of these entertainments.

It is expected that the valley will be found very fertile, and that when the actual work of agriculture, sugar growing, cassava growing, peanut growing, olive growing, and fruit growing is commenced, the prosperity of the new colony will be great and exemplary.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

There seems to be nothing but slow starvation ahead of the coal miners throughout the west. They may starve underground or they may starve above ground, but stare they must and starve they will, unless they abandon the only work they are familiar with and seek employment in other overcrowded industries. The industrial system under which such conditions can exist is a disgrace to our civilization.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.]

Henry George held a debate in London with Hyndman, the noted English socialist, and George is credited with a signal victory. He seems to have captured the socialists by showing that his scheme sought the same results by methods more feasible. The socialists had not understood him.—[Saint Paul Globe.]

The rapidity with which Henry George's views regarding land are being accepted in England, is causing great dismay and consternation among the territorial aristocracy, and the conservative papers denounce Mr. George in strong language. But he goes on with the work, and is speaking and lecturing in all the chief towns of Great Britain.—[Bobcaygeon, Ont., Independent.]

We would take for the community's use what the community has created, viz: land values, leaving all the improvements to be the absolute, untaxed property of the man who made them.—[Indianapolis Reporter.]

I neither claim nor affirm that the abolition of private ownership in land will accomplish everything; but I do both claim and affirm that reform in our land system is absolutely necessary in order to make other reforms possible. To think right and to act right men must be free. By taxing land to its full rental value we will free land, and by freeing land we will free men.—[Charles P. Kelly in Journal of United Labor.]

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all Nervous Complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellow-men. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge, to all who desire it, this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing or using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 149 Power's block, Rochester, N. Y.

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THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX.

The Nation Which Does Not Solve It Is Sure to be Destroyed—Results of Our Disobedience to the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God.

Van Dorn Erickson in Nashville Herald.

"We are in these days settling for ourselves and our descendants questions which as they shall be determined in one way or the other will make the peace and prosperity or the calamity of the next ages." Up to the outbreak of our civil war we in America, with half a world of unappropriated land from which to draw our support, and with an inborn reverence, inherited from our English forefathers, for what Carlyle calls the "constable's staff," were able to live and grow fat without, or for the matter of that, in despite of government. The only question of any moment that up to that time threatened our well-being was the question whether it was in conformity to God's will that human beings of one race could acquire vested rights of property in human beings of another race, could acquire the right to sell human flesh, to tear the husband from the breast of his wife, the child from the arms of its parents. We, whose land is filled with bloody graves know, and surely ought to profit by such dearly bought knowledge, the answer God directed to be returned to that question.

If the French revolution was, as the historian teaches, the voice of God, though of a God in wrath, burning up empty formulas and rotten time-honored idols, constraining the king to recognize the beggar and his brother, so also may it be said of the war of our rebellion that God spake out of the mouth of the cannon, and the flash of every bayonet was caught from the Sun of Justice, which burns at the heart of all things. What more perfect revelation could you have of the fact that a God, that a moral principle, is the Soul of the Universe, and forces all things "to make for righteousness," than the overthrow in the past of every institution, of every civilization, founded on the notion that wrong is right, and that injustice can be decreed and made to triumph by a law?

The settlement of the slavery question, but cleared the ground for the introduction of another question of vastly greater moment to the future of the race. God, or the vital principle of the universe, whichever term you prefer to use, will not let us rest on our arms until every enemy is overcome, and the earth has given birth to that "divine event to which the whole creation moves." As soon as one question is answered the world-sphinx propounds another, which we must answer on peril of our lives. Life here is an irrepressible conflict to disimprison the butterfly from the grub, to evolve the angel from the beast, to make the ideal the actual. It has no meaning unless it be that we are to struggle with all our might, not to fill our pockets with bonuses, but to establish the reign of justice and righteousness on the earth, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and the man with the muck rake can drink in the glory of the stars. If I did not believe that, if I did not know that, the stars would be to me only a bright leprosy on the face of the heavens. I would insist that the great majority of us, the weary and the heavy laden, whose only bed of rest is the grave, ought to attest our sense of what is due to the dignity of manhood and womanhood by committing universal suicide and throwing that test in the teeth of the blind chance or else the demon that created us.

Having answered the question whether human beings of one race can acquire vested rights of property in other human beings, such as God or justice will recognize, the "fulness of time" has come when we are to meet and return answer to the most momentous question of the ages, whether a system of things shall any longer obtain under the operation of which the wealth produced by labor shall be so distributed as to increase the superabundant stores and the voracious greed of the few, who do little or nothing to produce it, while reducing the great body of the workers, in these days with ever accelerated rapidity, to that condition called by the French la misere, and thus described, in a recent article, by Professor Huxley: "It is a condition in which the food, warmth and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained, in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment, in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to bestiality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development and moral degradation, in which the prospect even of steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave." "Any one," continues the professor, "who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centers, whether in this or

other countries, is aware that, amid a large and increasing body of that population la misere reigns supreme. I take it to be a mere plain truth that, throughout industrial Europe there is not a single manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it by any lack of demand for their produce. And with every addition to the population, the multitude already sunk in the pit and the number of the host sliding toward it continually increase."

"However shocking to the moral sense," he concludes, "this eternal competition of man against man and of nation against nation may be; however revolting may be the accumulation of misery at the negative pole of society in contrast with that of monstrous wealth at the positive pole; this state of things must abide, and grow continually worse, so long as Istar (nature) holds her way unchecked. It is the true riddle of the sphinx, and every nation which does not solve it will sooner or later be devoured by the monster itself has generated."

If it indeed be so, that this condition of things must abide, and continually grow worse, then is Jean Paul's dream indeed true, and Christ is still brokenheartedly searching the universe for his and our Father, not having found him because he is not. Let all the children of men clothe themselves in mourning garments, for they are all orphans. Let all the bells in all the world be muffled, and let them toll continuously. Send the youths and the maidens into all the flower gardens to destroy the roses and the violets. Let clouds and thick darkness blot out the stars, that they may no longer deceive. Let the wild beasts and the serpents breed, but oh! let no little human baby any more be born into this inferno of horrors.

But no, a greater than a Huxley is here. God be thanked that in these days he has sent to us, in our sore need, a great man, the latchet of whose shoes Professor Huxley, and his school, are unworthy to unloose, who has pierced to the heart that horrible dragon of Malthusianism that so filled the world with gloom and despair. Henry George (eternal honor to his name) has restored sight to a blind world, has revealed (what ought to have revealed itself) that the frightful conditions of things described by Professor Huxley is the result of our disobedience to the laws of nature, and of nature's God, and that the remedy is not the wholly inadequate and contemptible one suggested by Professor Huxley—the technical education of the British masses—but simply a return to natural and divine law, the placing of the raw material out of which alone wealth, in all its forms, can be produced, at the unrestricted disposal of labor.

How Limited Free Trade Works in England.

Topeka, Kan., Jeffersonian.

The Omaha Bee is a republican paper, and being such is an advocate of the protective tariff system—protection to American labor, you know. It however tells the truth once in a great while—but in doing so, "puts its foot into it" up to its hip. Bear in mind that the Bee, in speaking of the "inflow of English capital," speaks of the condition of trade, industry and wages of labor in free trade England and highly protected America:

"This is another evidence of the great prosperity England is having in all her industries. Her iron trade has not been as active before in many years as it is at present, and her manufacturers are realizing prices that pay a much better profit than the American manufacturers are getting, unless it be those at the south. The activity in this branch of industry, of course, is most favorable upon the coal trade, which is a source of great prosperity. The important industry of ship building is also remarkably active, and, in short, England is enjoying exceptional industrial prosperity, which is giving steady and remunerative employment to labor, and adding rapidly to the nation's wealth."

This accumulation of capital beyond what home enterprises can profitably employ, is seeking an outlet, and it appears that there is a disposition to place a liberal share of it in the United States.

The Boom and Boomerang at Los Angeles.

Helen M. Gougar, special correspondent to the Washington, D. C., Chronicle, writes from Yakima, Wash. Terr:

Los Angeles will be the Home City of the state, if not of the Union. It is exceedingly dull in this section now; they have had their boom and are now enjoying, to the fullest extent, their boomerang. The greedy speculator in land values is here doing what he has always done, i. e., killed the goose that laid the egg of shekels. Thousands of acres of adjacent land are held away from production and subsistence, by men who ask from \$300 to \$1,000 per acre. I am more convinced than ever before that no man should be permitted to speculate in land, and that no man should be allowed to own or control one rod of land that he does not use or cultivate. Leave our land to those who want to live on it and work it. Our congested cities and our homeless masses make us study Henry George theories with an open mind and heart.

The Landlord is the Lord of All.

Pittsburg Dispatch.

A day or two ago a lady of this county was reading aloud that delightful story of Mrs. Burnett's "Little Lord Fauntleroy" to her two children, a boy and a girl, neither of whom is more than six years old.

After reading a chapter or two the reader paused to rest and listen to the comments of her small auditors.

"Did you ever see a lord, mamma?" asked the girl; "I mean a live one, really?"

"No, my dear," her mother replied, "I don't think I've ever seen one."

"Oh, yes, you have," broke in the boy. "So have I."

"Where, Robert?" asked his mother, in great astonishment.

"Why, Mr. Richards, mamma—he was our landlord when we lived in town, wasn't he?"

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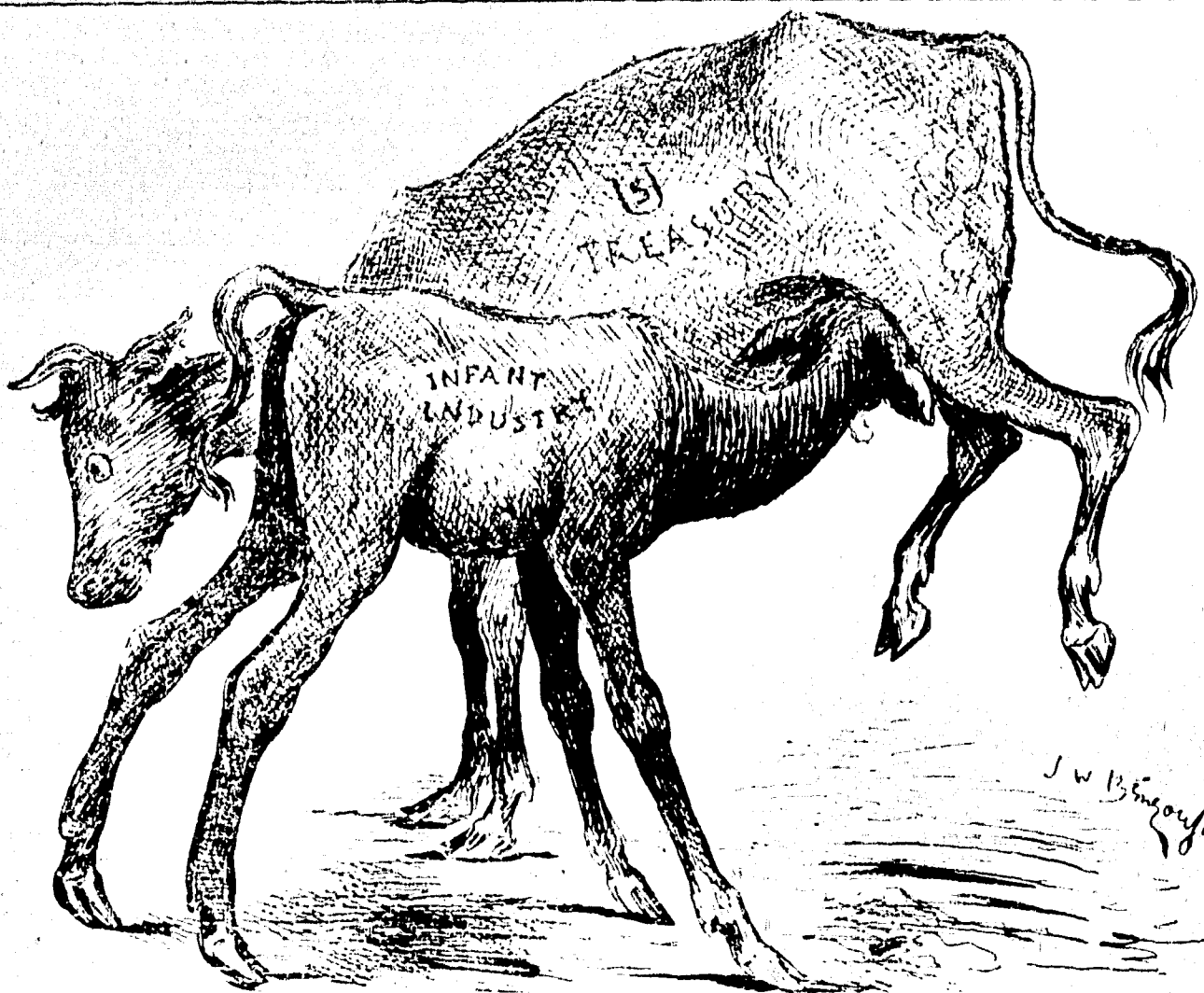
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To the Unknown Great.

Leonard Wells in Reynolds's Weekly.
Full many a column rises high,
To tell the conqueror's blood bought fame;
And many a dome smiles 'gainst the sky,
To guard an emperor's waning name.

Statesman and hero, priest and sage,
Abide awhile in tale or song,
As weary age succeeds to age,
And right still fiercely strives with wrong.

And many a lord of serf and thrall,
Favored by half-forgotten kingly,
Is hurled from Fame's proud pedestal,
When time its ripper wisdom brings.

While those who bravely strive for right
Are still recalled with love and pride;
And still we hear with fond delight
The tale of how they lived and died.

Yet not to-day our song shall tell
Of earth's true leaders; for awhile
A humbler strain our tongues shall swell
To those they led—the rank and file.

The unknown great—great in their aim,
Great in their noble hope and faith—
Who, with no dream of place or fame,
Were true, ay, even to the death.

Vain were the leader's call to arms
Did not the people heed the cry,
And dauntlessly, despite alarms,
Flock round the banner raised on high?

When Hampden fell on Chalgrove Field,
Others as brave fell by his side;
Like him to wrong they scorned to yield;
Shall not their memory still abide?

Tho' all unknown their name and place,
They should not lightly be forgot;
They were of freedom's dauntless race;
To them we owe an easier lot.

When France, a hundred years ago,
Strove 'gainst the despots' proud array,
Who was it hurled the ruthless foe
Back from her soil, mad with dismay?

Her unknown sons! their dauntless might
Bade the false Teuton crouch and quail;
'Twas they won freedom's greatest fight!
Surely their glory shall not pale.

And not of those alone we sing
Who boldly strove in battle-strife;
But unto all who sought to bring
More freedom to the people's life.

Who 'gainst foul superstitions spoke,
Who dared the prison and the rack,
Who struggled 'gainst whatever yoke
Kept men from higher progress back.

Those, too, we praise, of whatever creed,
Who helped the fallen on their way,
Who strove to aid the world's sore need.
And spoke of hope when skies were gray.

To-day we sing a faltering strain,
Recalling these—earth's unknown great;
But threatened is the ruler's reign,
The coming years are big with fate.

Haply, when Mammon's bitter sway
No more shall curb earth's fuller hope,
When the glad light of freedom's day
Succeeds the mirk wherein we grope.

To heaven shall rise a radiant shrine,
The glory of the years to be—
Glad years, when none thro' want shall pine,
Nor drudge in hopeless misery.

And thro' that temple, fair with flowers,
Shall sound a sweet memorial song
To those who strove 'gainst kings and powers,
Nor doubted, though the strife was long.

It is not all a poet's dream;
Nobler, we trust, shall grow the state;
And on that fame shall brightly gleam
The inscription: "To the Unknown Great!"

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