

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.

HENRY GEORGE IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, March 16.—Within a few minutes after the English pilot had boarded our steamer, the rumor ran round the ship that an American man-of-war had been sunk by a German frigate in Samoan waters, and a war between Germany and the United States was inevitable. Sailing under the German flag, with most pleasant and friendly relations with men who, if the rumor were true, would soon be called upon to kill American citizens and destroy American property, we Americans on board the Ems got for the most part a more vivid idea of the wickedness and folly of war than we would have had under other circumstances. But there was one gentleman on board who almost jumped for joy, and not only declared his belief that the report was true, but openly expressed his hope that it would prove to be true. It would, he said, be fifty thousand dollars in his pocket immediately and would open a big prospect for larger profits.

This gentleman, who was happy in the thought that two great nations, related by close ties and with nothing whatever to gain at one another's expense would soon be endeavoring to kill each other's people and destroy each other's property, was a Philadelphia protectionist and an admirer of Secretary Blaine. Connected with the manufacture of steel, he saw in the great contracts which in the case of war the government would be obliged to make, much profit to himself, however great the loss to the country, and thus furnished a ready example of the danger of building up interests which find their own advantage in wars that bring to the mass of the people only suffering and loss.

I call this gentleman a protectionist. But, so bright and sharp and clear-minded was he, I should deem myself doing an injustice to his intelligence in thinking him any more of a protectionist than "a protectionist for personal revenue only." Indeed, the very business on which he was traveling illustrated the absurdity of protection.

In order to make steel by the processes now in use, ores containing as small a proportion of phosphorus as possible are required. Such ores are not found in the United States east of Michigan, and though we impose a duty of 75 cents a ton on foreign ores, they still have to be imported by our eastern steel makers from Spain, Africa and other foreign countries. Pennsylvania capitalists have bought land in Cuba near the seaboard, which contains large deposits of nearly pure ore, and for the purposes of working this the Pennsylvania Steel company is erecting great works at Baltimore, and has already

running some twenty-two steamers bringing ores to the United States and taking coal back to the West Indies. Our passenger was going to England for the purpose of receiving a steamer built there for this trade, and to be paid for by American money, but which, though owned in Pennsylvania, is to be run by a British captain and crew under the British flag.

Thus the very men who strenuously uphold our protective system find themselves obliged in their own business to violate its principles by bringing foreign ores into the United States to compete with our American ores, and not only building vessels abroad with American capital but running them under foreign flags. So far as it pinches themselves they think the tariff a bad thing. My fellow passenger was quite willing to prove that the duty on imported iron ore was an injury to the country. Yet he wanted the tariff, as a whole, kept up because it compelled the rest of the people to pay higher prices for what he was interested in selling.

"Look at that lighthouse," said he, as the light at the Needles came in view. The English spend more money in keeping up lighthouses than any other people in the world."

"Why should they not?" asked another passenger; "they do the carrying trade. What is the use of one putting up lighthouses when you protectionists have killed our foreign commerce?"

"Why," returned the protectionist, "to keep vessels from going ashore. If we are protectionists we are not wreckers; and if ships cannot come to our coasts in safety the cost of freightage will be higher."

"But if the protectionist theory is correct," retorted the free trader, "high freights are a good thing, as they operate as so much additional protection, and the more ships wrecked in approaching the American coast the better it would be for our domestic industries."

"It would be a bad thing for our export trade, and we export a good deal," replied the protectionist.

"Well, on protectionist principles," said the free trader, "our export trade is a bad thing too, because the more we export the more we must import to get our pay, and therefore the more difficult we make exporting the less danger there is of our being 'deluged,' as you protectionists call it, with the products of cheap foreign labor."

The truth is that the spirit of protection is in its essence as anti-social as is the spirit of war. Hostile tariffs only differ from hostile fleets and armies in degree, and the spirit of free trade is essentially the spirit of universal peace.

I had a very gratifying reception from a number of our friends who came down to Southampton and off on the tender to meet us. And at Waterloo station I was met by a great crowd, who enthusiastically greeted me and from whom I had very great difficulty in getting away without making a speech. In London I find our friends extremely warm and hopeful.

The bye election at Kennington for member of parliament, which came off yesterday and resulted in a decided liberal victory, was looked to with much anxiety by both the great parties, and has greatly elated the liberals and depressed the Tories. It shows how deep and strong is the reaction against the policy of Irish

coercion and how profoundly the developments of the Times case have affected public sentiment in England.

And it also shows something more. Mr. Beaufoy himself, at the National liberal club, last night declared "that, though he believed the Irish question was the question which had won them the victory, he wished to point out that the greatest possible assistance had been received from the prominence given to certain social questions. He believed that no great contest would be successful from which the consideration of questions affecting the welfare and happiness of the poor in our large towns was excluded."

At a general election Mr. Gladstone would unquestionably return to power with a sweeping majority behind him, and that a majority more imbued with radical sentiments than any that has preceded it. But this for the present is the safety of the government; for its supporters, feeling that they would at this time have but a certainty of defeat before them at the polls, will hold together with the tenacity of despair. While it is of course impossible to foretell what the accidents of politics may bring forth, no one here seems to anticipate any speedy change of administration, and the prevailing opinion is that the Tories, supported by the liberal-unionists, will hold on to the last.

The situation is a peculiar one. Though the government is disgraced and moribund, its power is not lessened, and Great Britain and Ireland are being governed to-day by what is clearly a minority party. But while this may show that English "responsible government" is lacking in flexibility, and an administration that has ceased to represent a majority of the constituencies may exist in this country as long as it could in the United States, yet the situation is most hopeful from a radical standpoint. While it is outrageous that the dragooning of Ireland should continue another day, yet it is certain that the too speedy return of the liberals to power would be a hindrance to radical advance. Mr. Gladstone is a magnificent radical in opposition. But once in power he might begin to compromise. While the liberal party remains in the wilderness, its democratization goes on far more quickly than if it were sharing official sweets and bearing official responsibilities. And in their bidding to regain their lost hold upon the country, it is entirely possible that the Tories may in important matters take even longer steps in advance than a liberal administration would. That the defeat of Mr. Gladstone in 1886 was a god-send to the radical movement in the three kingdoms is now most clear. Had the liberals won that election, not only would the great advance of the radical sentiment in the ranks of that party not have occurred, but some mongrel scheme for home rule would have been adopted, and the nation committed to some extensive plan for buying out the Irish landlords and creating a peasant proprietary. Land purchase is now practically dead, except so far as the Tories, during their remaining lease of power, may be able to extend the Ashbourne act. Mr. Chamberlain recently sent up a kite to try the direction of the wind, in a suggestion for the application of the principle of the Ashbourne act to England, but the suggestion fell flat and dead. That the land question in England and Scotland must become the burning question as soon as home rule is

disposed of is more and more evident every day, and it is more and more evident every day that the advance will be on the lines of the single tax.

Another good thing that has resulted from Tory dominance is the passage of the county councils act, under which the metropolitan area has been made a separate county and given a government of its own. Although the London council, unlike the provincial councils, has no share in the control of the police, and its proceedings are, in important respects, to be supervised by the treasury and controlled by the imperial parliament, it yet substitutes for the old corporation of the city, and for the vestries of the other districts and the metropolitan board of works elected by them, a representative body elected directly by the voters. It represents, in fact, the largest measure of home rule that has yet been ventured on.

The London county council, thus far at least, has come well up to the expectations excited by its election, and its proceedings are even more significant of the strength of the democratic movement in the metropolis than was the radical triumph in the election. The council does not take official charge of the property and government of the various municipalities into which this great city is divided until the 1st of April, unless, indeed, as now seems probable, the government authorizes it to enter into possession sooner. But under the terms of the act it meets until then as a provisional council, the idea being that time would thus be saved in organizing and resolving upon its future course. Its place of meeting is in the council chamber of the corporation of the city of London at the Guildhall, and a very beautiful and convenient chamber it is.

When the county council act was passed by the present Tory government it was confidently expected that London, hitherto conservative, would return a clear majority of Tory members. To enhance this advantage a device was copied from the Municipal Incorporation act of some fifty years ago which in such municipalities as Bristol has operated to secure a permanent conservative majority in the council. It was provided that the members of the council should in their turn choose twenty aldermen, who should have all the powers and rights of elected members of the council. Of these aldermen one-half will retire at the end of the first three years, and thereafter the term of office for all will be six years, successors being elected by the council. As the council itself is elected every three years, it follows that each council, after the one now sitting, will be able to choose only ten out of the twenty aldermen who sit with it. If the Tory forecast had proved correct, the first twenty aldermen would of course have been Tories, and it would have been extremely difficult in the future to get a radical majority. But as the event turned the engineer has been hoist by his own petard. Although the Pall Mall Gazette strenuously advised the liberal majority to do what the Tories had never done, and in electing aldermen to give both parties the relative representation which they had in the elected membership, the liberals did not forgo the advantage which had been placed in their hands, and chose twenty liberal and radical aldermen, among whom is one of the most active

thoroughgoing and hard working single tax men to be found on either side of the Atlantic—the Rev. Flemming Williams, pastor of the Stoke-Newington Congregational church.

The next step was the election of a presiding officer. Of course where a number of Englishmen meet together, the natural thing for them to do is to select a lord, if there be one among them, as chairman; and where there are several lords, to select the one highest in rank. In the county council there are four lords, viz.: Lord Rosebery, Lord Compton, Lord Monkswell and Lord Hobhouse. The choice therefore naturally fell upon Lord Rosebery, who, being an earl, is highest in rank. Besides being highest in rank, he is a very rich man, having married a daughter of the Rothschilds. And besides being an earl and a very rich man, he is a great friend of Gladstone, holds a prominent place in the liberal party, and is personally a gentleman of high character, amiable qualities and a good deal of public spirit. He seemed therefore to be the spontaneous choice of all parties. There was only one objection to him and that occurred only to one member—Mr. William Saunders.

Lord Rosebery is the representative of the old corporation of London, and prior to his election had made in a public speech a declaration without which probably no man could have been elected for the corporation of London, viz., that he deemed it beyond the power of the county council to interfere with the matters of ground rents and coal dues. Mr. Saunders declared that he could not conscientiously vote for a man as presiding officer who took this ground, since if he were to act upon that declaration he would rule out of order any motion having reference to what he (Mr. Saunders) believed to be the most imperative duty of the new council. The leaders of all factions told Mr. Saunders that no attempt to oppose the election of Lord Rosebery would meet any support, and that to press his objection would be Quixotic. Mr. Saunders himself expected to have only four supporters, but when the election came, and he stated his grounds of opposition, no less than seventeen votes were recorded against his lordship. In his speech on taking the chair, Lord Rosebery removed the objection against him by declaring that he would not dream of trying to exclude the matter of ground rents and coal duties from the subjects to be dealt with by the council should it wish to deal with them.

These coal duties, or rather coal and wine dues, for the duties levied upon wine give some small portion of the total revenue, are a survival of that form of "tariff for revenue only" which still obtains in some parts of the continent, though abolished by law in Prussia. They yield to the city of London some £450,000 a year.

Although the council has not the power to repeal these duties without the approval of parliament, this power is virtually in its hands, since last autumn it was declared in parliament on behalf of the government that they would support in this matter any decision which the council to be elected should arrive at. The matter was brought up soon after the meeting for the organization of the council, by a resolution introduced by Mr. Charles Harrison, condemning the coal and wine duties. This was carried by a clear majority.

The deficiency thus caused in the municipal revenue will have to be made up, and from the temper of the council it is very sure that it will be made up at the expense of the ground landlords. While the majority of the council are clearly committed by pre-election declarations to

the taxation of ground values in some form, there is, as might be expected, considerable difference in the intensity of their desire, many of the liberals thus elected being in truth very loth to take any action that would really hurt the landlords, or as they would phrase it, "to interfere with vested rights." But Mr. Saunders has brought the matter to an issue by moving for a special committee to ascertain the value of land in London irrespective of improvements, with the view to the imposition of taxation that will fall on the land and not on the improvements. In making the motion for the insertion of the thin end of the single tax wedge, Mr. Saunders declared that he for one would not be a party to the continuing of taxation of improvements at the cost of the shop keepers and the laborers for the benefit of the ground landlords of London.

The Times, commenting upon this motion, declared that if these were Mr. Saunders's sentiments he ought at once to resign, and his motion was opposed both by leading liberals and leading Tories. The former declared that there were enough committees already without the formation of a committee to make that special inquiry. Even Lord Hobhouse, who was last year chairman of the United committee for taxation of ground rents, opposed the motion, and when it came up moved the previous question. But the show of hands, which is the English informal way of voting, developed an unexpected radical strength. Lord Hobhouse's motion for the previous question received only 35 votes, while 45 hands were held up for Mr. Saunders. And when a call was made for the vote of record, or, as we should call it, the ayes and noes, the disposition of the members of the council not to stand in the way of the flood tide of radicalism which is running was even more strikingly evident, only 17 members, including Lord Hobhouse, going upon record as against the appointment of the committee, while 62 votes were recorded for it.

Committees in the London county council and, I presume, in other similar English bodies, are not nominated by the chairman, as with us, but by a nominating committee. The nominating committee asked Mr. Saunders to name the members of the committee he had suggested, he himself, as the mover of the resolution, being of course one of the members. He readily complied, and that he had the naming of them is a pretty good indication of what sort of a committee it is. On account of his difficulty in hearing, Mr. Saunders refused the chairmanship, and asked Mr. F. J. Torr, the representative of Bethnal Green, who is as much bent on the taxation of land values as himself, to serve in that position.

The royal commission on the housing of the working classes, which was appointed in 1884 as a result of the effect exerted on the public conscience by the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," had for chairman the prince of Wales, and consisted besides him of Cardinal Manning, the earl of Salisbury, Lords Brownlow and Carrington, Mr. Goschen, the present chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. Richard Assheton Cross, now Lord Cross, and a number of other prominent men representing all parties. It took a great mass of extremely interesting testimony, and made a report which was, in some respects at least, exceedingly instructive. The measures which it recommended were for the most part mere palliatives, which did not touch the root of the matter. But the report contained one clause, which showed that at least some one on the commission was con-

scious of the real root of the difficulty and the only true remedy of eradicating it. This is the clause:

At present, land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centers, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated, not in relation to the real value but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the natural monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say four per cent on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a twofold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burdens on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the ratable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land, which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent land owners, a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for any industry or expenditure on their part, but is the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves.

Who it was that was clear sighted enough to insert this clause in the report I have not been able to find any one to tell me. This amusing thing, however, I did learn—that after the report had been published Sir Charles Dilke did not know of the existence of this clause. But Lord Salisbury at least did, and with two or three others, only appended his signature subject to a memorandum in which he objects to this clause, declaring that it was inserted at the last moment. But his dissent only makes more emphatic the consent of the others—the prince of Wales, Cardinal Manning, the bishop of Bedford, Lord Brownlow, Lord Carrington, etc., etc., included. Thus it is that the first practical step in the single tax programme has in England to-day the sanction of the heir to the crown, of the highest Catholic authority in the English speaking world, and of a number of gentlemen whom the queen, in issuing the commission, styles her right trusty and well beloved cousins and councillors.

The single tax men on the committee on the valuation of land have not neglected the advantage of putting such distinguished people in the front of their advance. The first act of Mr. Torr's committee was to issue a circular addressed to surveyors and other tax officials of the various corporations composing the metropolis, in which they quote this clause of the royal commission's report, and say:

By the inclosed quotation from the report of the royal commission on the housing of the working classes, you will see they suggest that land available for building should be rated at four per cent on its selling value, or, as the committee understand it, that a sum equal to four per cent on its selling value should be taken as its ratable value.

We should be glad to know whether there is much or any land in your division available for building, and respecting it we should like to be informed—

1. Whether any such land altogether escapes rating under the present system.
2. If rated, what proportion does the present rating bear to the amount at which it would be rated, provided the plan proposed by the royal commission were adopted.

Answers to this circular are already coming in, and show a large amount of valuable land in London that has escaped rating altogether. In one of the districts, viz., Kensington, the surveyor stated that there was land worth £1,700,000 that did not pay a penny of rates. Another surveyor pointed out a tract of land worth £5,000, which was only rated at £5.

The commissioners are holding meetings every week and getting all the information they can. I appeared before them yesterday afternoon and answered their inquiries as to our American methods of taxation. Here, as I presume THE STANDARD readers are aware, the basis

of taxation is not the selling value, but the actual rental, and land that is yielding no income to its owner pays no tax, so that the whole of the taxation falls on used land and upon the user. The principle that property should not pay tax unless it yield income is also extended to houses. A house in London is, when vacant, exempted from tax during the time it is not used, and the mansions and parks of the nobility and the rich generally are taxed only at ridiculous amounts on the ground that if they were put up for tenancy they would bring very little, since there are few people who could afford to live in them.

The committee, with Mr. Torr at its head, will be able to make a most interesting report and one that will perceptibly add strength to the single tax movement. One of the ideas which they are considering is that of making each owner of land declare its value under the provision that the municipality may take it if it chooses at the valuation he puts upon it.

A committee on the housing of the poor, consisting of thirty-six members, has also been appointed by the county council.

It was proposed in this committee to appoint a vigilance committee to receive complaints and see to the enforcement of the acts of parliament with reference to the building and sanitation of houses in London. It was suggested that the proceedings of this committee should be kept secret, on account of the antagonism which would be aroused among the owners and lessees of unsanitary dwellings who would be obliged to put them in repair. Mr. Saunders took ground against this secrecy, thinking that the end might be better obtained by letting all facts be made as public as possible. And the committee finally recommended that the two members from each of the metropolitan districts should be appointed as a vigilance committee for that district, and that they should regularly hold an open court and invite the aggrieved to attend and make complaints. The council, however, objected to this part of the committee's report, but the proposal will probably be repeated in some other form.

A "vigilance committee" in every district in London to look after the housing of the poor has, to an American, a certain suggestiveness ominous to landlordism.

From all this it will be seen what kind of work the new London county council is likely to do. While the legislative power is still the parliament, it will have a most powerful effect in concentrating public attention, leading public opinion and expressing the desire and will of a body of voters whom no government can afford to disregard. Its institution is a great step in the democratization of the metropolis and the kingdom.

I attended a meeting of the members of the National Liberal club on Tuesday evening, held to discuss the Trafalgar square matter. Mr. Saunders was in the chair, and a succinct and interesting statement of the whole case was made by Edward Dillon Lewis, the solicitor who defended the men arrested by the police in connection with the meetings in Trafalgar square, and who, an astonishing thing among English solicitors, refused to take a penny for his services. Mr. Lewis is evidently a man of great ability, and one who will be heard from in the future. Short speeches were also made by Dr. Clark, M. P., the radical member from Caithness, the veteran John Jacob Holyoak, and a number of others, which gave a clear idea of the points involved.

The case is this. Trafalgar square, situated in the very heart of the metropolis,

consists of about two acres of pavement and fountain basins, which are surrounded by foot pavements and streets. It was opened by the demolition, at the public expense, of some of the royal stables and other houses about forty years ago. Since that time it has been used continuously for public meetings, for which it is peculiarly well adapted. The right of the people to assemble there has never been denied until the advent of the present government. In fact, it has been expressly recognized. When Hyde Park was closed by the government of the day against the great meetings in 1866—a closure which resulted in the tearing down of the railings and the surrender of the government—the reason assigned for closing the park was that Trafalgar square was open for such meetings and was the proper place to hold them.

The interference of the present government with the meetings in Trafalgar square did not begin at, or immediately after, the time of the demonstration of the unemployed in 1886 which resulted in some rioting and breaking of windows, for a number of meetings were subsequently held there by the socialists and others. It was only when the Land restoration league advertised a meeting there that Sir Charles Warren, then the commissioner of police, issued his edict forbidding all future meetings in the square. This, Mr. Lewis pointed out, the commissioner had no right whatever to do. He further pointed out that the government, instead of allowing the case to be taken into the courts, had, by availing themselves of technicalities, and refusing to prosecute Mr. Saunders after he had been arrested, prevented a legal decision, and had also refused to bring the matter before parliament.

What was involved, in the view of those present, was not merely the right of meeting in Trafalgar square, but the right of public meeting generally. For if the commissioner of police or home secretary can, by proclamation, prevent the holding of meetings in one place, he can in another; and as in the result the people could meet nowhere save on grounds where they had the permission of the private owners, there would practically be an end of all expression of opinion opposed to the wishes of the land owners. The sense of the meeting seemed to be that there was nothing to be gained by bringing bodies of unarmed men into collision with armed and disciplined police, but that moral influence should be concentrated on the leaders of the liberal party, with the view of committing them to the assertion of public rights, so that the fall of the present government, which is merely a matter of time, should settle the matter in favor of the freedom of meeting.

There is no mistaking the fact that the radical masses of London feel deeply on this question.

The first meeting which I addressed in London was in Camberwell Green chapel on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th. Camberwell Green chapel is one of the largest of London Congregational churches, and its pastor, Rev. Dr. C. Clemence, is one of the most influential of London Congregational ministers.

I met there a number of Congregational ministers, most of whom I had previously met at the gathering of Congregational ministers, called together by Albert Spicer, which I addressed at the Memorial hall in December. The audience was a large one, and I should think was even more notable for weight than it was for numbers.

The white haired pastor of the church, Dr. Clemence, introduced me, saying that I was no stranger in Camberwell Green chapel, but that for six years past the truths for which I stood had been dis-

cussed and advocated there. He declared that he did not speak for the congregation collectively or for the congregational body, but that for himself he was thoroughly in sympathy with my views. Six years ago he had read "Progress and Poverty" for the first time. He was spending a vacation in the highlands of Scotland, and staying with his wife in the house of a small crofter who did not dare to interfere though the deer from the forest of the landlord came down nightly to destroy the vegetables he had planted and the fruit he had grown. The outrages to which he saw the people there subjected had given him a vivid interest in the book, and its doctrines had grown upon him. Declaring that the only foundation for a Christian community was justice to all men and the assurance to all men of their rights as children of a common creator, he gave to me in the heartiest manner a welcome to the chapel and to his pulpit. Then, pleading his extreme defect of hearing as a reason for not presiding himself, Dr. Clemence introduced as chairman Mr. Albert Spicer, who is perhaps the best known and most influential layman in the Congregational community in England.

Taking Dr. Clemence's declarations of the true basis of a Christian community as my text, I made an address, and afterward answered questions which were sent up. Mr. Spicer, before the asking of questions, and again at their conclusion, made brief and most effective speeches, telling how he had come to see in the single tax on land values the fundamental cure for poverty and the social difficulties. He was glad, as a Congregationalist, he said, that the first of these meetings in connection with the great work which lay before the Land restoration association had taken place in a Congregational chapel. He said he had deeply studied the vexed question of the present condition of the people, and had come to the conclusion that the remedy proposed by us was the only one which would completely remove all the difficulties which are cursing England at this time, and that without shock or jar.

On Thursday night I addressed a large meeting of a somewhat different kind in St. Pancras vestry hall. This meeting was under the auspices of the St. Pancras liberal association, the St. Pancras reform club, and the East St. Pancras liberal union, and the large hall was filled by an audience principally composed, I should say, of the most active and influential working members of the radical wing of the liberal party in that district—the sort of men to whom the practical politician looks with most attention. The platform was occupied by the officers of the various clubs and other local radical leaders, and the chair was taken by Mr. C. Hind, president of the St. Pancras reform club, pending the coming of Dr. Macdonald, M. P., the representative of Ross and Cromarty, who was unavoidably delayed a short time, but who took the chair upon his arrival. The temper of this meeting pleased me exceedingly, and the attention and enthusiasm of the audience showed conclusively how widely the single tax idea has been diffused among the rank and file of the radical section of the liberal party in London. It was in reality a single tax audience, and a very responsive and enthusiastic one. Dr. Macdonald made a short but strong speech, in which he took occasion to refer to the establishment of peasant proprietary in Ireland and among his own constituents as a very effective means of securing Tory votes. He said the conservatives felt they could rely upon the little landowners they proposed to make, as a most efficient bulwark of the larger landholders.

On Friday night I spoke in the beauti-

ful little Congregational chapel at Wanstead, one of the most pleasant suburbs of London, situated on the edge of Epping forest. This meeting was organized by one of our single tax press men, Mr. W. P. Forbes of the Central News, and was presided over by the Rev. G. Frank Cullen, the pastor of the chapel. Wanstead is a sort of Morristown or Orange, a place of residence for well-to-do London business men, and my audience was made up of them, being what would be called here a prosperous middle class audience. It seemed to me a most effective meeting.

During the next week I shall be in London speaking every night at similar local meetings, and on the week following will go into Wales, and then come back to London again for another week, and then go into the Midlands, then north. The meetings at which I am speaking in London do not attract the general attention as meetings in more central places would, but they do a work which it is important should be done now.

HENRY GEORGE.

The English Single Tax Campaign.

New York Star, March 21

Henry George has addressed meetings at Bermondsey, Woolwich, Stepney and Edmonton during the past week. His audiences have been large and very enthusiastic. In an interview this afternoon Mr. George expressed himself as delighted with the success he has met with thus far, his reception everywhere having been in marked contrast to that of his previous tour. The leading liberals in each of the districts he has spoken in have given him hearty support, and the socialists have rendered him passive assistance by holding aloof from the meetings and expressing no opinions thereof. He will deliver several speeches in Wales in the course of the coming week.

A Sign of the Times.

Rochester Times.

Henry George is in big luck in England. The London Times is jumping on him with all four of its feet.—[New York Press.

A very good sign of the times, we should say. He has been warmly received by people who a few years ago would have blushed to own that they had wasted valuable time in reading his works. He has been welcomed in pulpits that have heretofore never welcomed strangers. He will have an influence in England as he had in Scotland. It is an augury of good fortune when the polluted and contemptuous and decaying London Times assails him and his economic doctrines. The people of England are beginning to think for themselves.

What the Newspapers Say.

Henry George's idea is growing in this country, and within a very few years we may expect to see it adopted as the policy for raising revenue in more than one American municipality.—[Evansville, Ind., Courier.

The reception accorded Henry George in England and the earnest zeal with which the advocates of land reform in Great Britain are pushing that question to the front, betoken a universal movement that will demand the attention of statesmen of high and low degree in the near future.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

Henry George has been received with great enthusiasm in England, and the advocates of his land tax theory are becoming more numerous every day in that country.—[Evansville, Ind., Courier.

We can but notice now frequently there are in all the newspapers items about Henry George, the man that only a year or two ago was mentioned only to be ridiculed.—[Burlington, Vt., Independent.

A tax on the full selling value of land would bring at least the greater part of idle lands into productive use, for it would cause the owner to pay in the present on what he expects in the future, and in this way make it sufficiently difficult for him to hold land for speculative purposes.—[Real Estate Record and Guide.

The best way after all, and one that would distribute its tax burdens with the most equity, would be to take all personal property off the assessment rolls, and rely on the value of land independent of all improvements, for taxation purposes.—[Hamilton County, Ohio, News.

A sensible thinker in one of the magazines predicts that after the Henry George nonsense has had its day, political economists, legislators and the people generally will address themselves seriously to the subject of a "graduated tax."

What a man earns by his labor should be his against all the world. Forcing him to pay a yearly fine upon his possessions is to put a tax upon conscience. When conscience is taxed it disappears and we have a community of sneaks and perjurers created by law.—[Cleveland American Union.

The farmer pays a tax now, but it is on the valuation of his buildings and improvements, all of which would go sent free if the single tax were in operation.—[Port Jervis Citizen.

FRAMING A BILL.

Many critics of the single tax movement think that they have found a triumphant argument against it, in a challenge to its supporters to "frame a bill." Thus Mr. Edward Atkinson, in the Forum for February, says: "It is often a sufficient test of an *a priori* theory to ask the proponent to put his proposed system into the form of a bill, to be passed upon by any legislature. This brings the subject to a practical issue; and in nine cases out of ten the theorists are incapable of framing an act that will work, because their propositions are impracticable." He throws out this challenge with express reference to the single tax proposal; and he evidently thinks that the omission of the advocates of that system to produce a bill, by which they are willing to stand or fall, is a conclusive answer to all their arguments.

This argument is not original with Mr. Atkinson. It has done duty for a long time in America, and for a much longer time in Europe. It is admirably fitted for use against all reforms; and, if it were a sound argument, nothing would ever have been reformed. For, when any important reform is first agitated, it rarely happens that any one of its advocates knows how to frame any bill fit to be passed by a legislature; and it may safely be said that none of them ever know how to frame the precise bill which is needed to cover their case.

Take the case of infant labor in factories. Was it any argument in favor of the infernal system, under which babies of four years old were dragged out of their beds to work under the lash, from five in the morning until nine at night, that the horrified workmen, who first protested against it, did not know how to draw an act of parliament? Why, Mr. Atkinson himself does not know enough for that purpose. He is an exceedingly able man; yet if he should sit down today, unaided by reference to statutes which have been gradually developed since this monstrous evil was first dealt with, he could not draw a statute for the British parliament, nor even for his own state of Massachusetts, which would not be a ludicrous failure in its operation. The first statutes on this subject, although drawn by able professional men, were practically failures. The statutes of most American states concerning factory labor, are miserably inadequate; although their framers had scores of models from which to draw their ideas.

Before the American Union was formed, was no man justified in advocating such a union who was not capable of framing the whole constitution of 1787? Can no man intelligently advocate a republican form of government who is not prepared at once to draw up all the constitutions and laws necessary to put a republic in operation?

All the legislators and all the lawyers in America have thus far proved utterly unable to frame laws for the prevention of bribery at elections which are worth reading. Shall we therefore conclude, with the "practical politician," that such bribery is a necessary and laudable thing?

This argument is but a feeble blent, borrowed from British politics. It has been used there so often that it now excites only pity. When Gladstone declared his conviction that the Irish established church ought to be abolished, no taunts could ever persuade him to produce a bill until he was given power to pass one. While he was out of power, he simply offered a resolution, asserting that the Irish establishment ought to be abolished. This was carried; but still he would not bring in a bill, until the time was ripe to pass it.

When Parnell first demanded home rule for Ireland, he was challenged to produce a bill, and told that his refusal to do so was a proof that he did not know what he wanted and that his ideas were mere vagaries, which could not be carried into practical operation. He never has drawn up a bill. It is pretty certain that he has never studied details sufficiently to be able to prepare one. Yet he has made Irish home rule a tolerably practical issue, and all the world can

see now that he will succeed upon it. To-day, Gladstone being out of power, Chamberlain taunts him with a demand to produce a new bill; and the demand is echoed by political parrots in parliament and the press. But the grand old man, utterly uninfluenced either by Mr. Chamberlain's taunts or Mr. Atkinson's arguments, calmly refuses to write a line or commit himself to a word of detail, until he shall stand before a parliament ready to carry his ideas into law.

These examples should guide the advocates of the single tax. Simple as it is in theory, demanding nothing but the stripping off of the multitude of other taxes which overlie the tax on land values or rent, yet the work of abolition will involve many difficult matters of detail. The existing systems of taxation are full of defects and corruptions, which largely escape notice at present, because they are obscured by even greater evils, inherent in all such systems. If we should simply abolish all taxes other than upon rent, the defects of existing methods of assessment would become far more glaring than they are now. For example, the true legal definition of "land" would impose upon all railroads, telegraphs, etc., a much larger share of the taxes on real estate than any assessor ever thinks of putting upon them. But, as a compensation for the undue burdens placed upon some of them by other forms of taxation, a practical definition is now given to "land," which enables the great corporations to avoid their just proportion of taxation on real estate, which is shifted upon buildings and improvements. When taxes are concentrated upon the value of land, "land" itself must be accurately defined, as it is not now.

Are there, then, no practical measures which single tax men may demand from legislatures? There are quite enough for them to propose. In such states as Ohio, Minnesota, California and many others, the only measure worth talking about for the present is an amendment to the constitution, striking out clauses which compel the legislature to attempt the taxation of everything. A large majority of the legislature in Ohio, certainly, and probably in every other state, would be glad to pass such an amendment, if they believed that the farmers would not vote it down. They will be thankful for any assistance in that direction. Every legislature wants as much liberty of action as it can get. Single tax men can help them to get more liberty; and, so long as they agitate for this, they will be secretly, if not openly, popular with any legislature, in the class of states now referred to.

In other states, the first step is to ask for investigation. A resolution, calling for a careful consideration of the expediency of the single tax by the standing committee on ways and means, or by a special committee, is the only proper thing for the national congress at present, and the only useful proposition in most states. If any legislature should contain enough members favorable to the single tax to warrant a more decided step, a resolution affirming the expediency of the system, and directing a special committee to frame a suitable bill, would be as far as any one should at present go.

There need be no fear that competent men will not be found, when the time comes, to frame a bill. When the Australian ballot was first advocated in this country, as it was by Henry George, in 1883, there was probably not a man in the country who could have immediately drafted a proper bill suited to our complex political system. But, as time passed on, and the proposition entered into practical politics, plenty of able lawyers studied the subject and prepared themselves to draft such a bill. Just so will it be with the single tax. Let no taunts or foolish arguments mislead us into committing ourselves to any details, until the time arrives for actual legislative work. By that time, much that now seems difficult will become easy; and we shall be ready to adopt the best methods, without being prejudiced by any previous commitments to ill-considered schemes.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

SINGLE TAX MEETINGS.

Reports From Various Points Throughout the Country.

Parkersburg, W. Va.—The single tax league is anxious to engage in a public discussion in this city with any tariff for revenue club or club of protectionists on the subject of taxation. They will supply speakers free to any meeting of single tax men or tariff reformers on any steamboat or railroad line in the vicinity of Parkersburg. Henry George's great work "Progress and Poverty" will be freely loaned to any student of the now great absorbing question of taxation. J. C.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—The Bangall friends of the single tax to the number of about fifty met William C. Albro of this city on Wednesday evening to listen to his explanation of the single tax. The speaker was listened to with the closest attention, and when the opportunity to ask questions was offered it was embraced by several. Professor James Hyatt stated his acceptance of the principal features of the proposed reform, and forcibly expressed his belief that the industrial system now in operation is working grievous hardships for the producers of the world's wealth. A few republicans were present, but it was reported that some of the more brilliant of this sect had sniffed the smoke of "free trade" afar off, or thought they had, and had quarantined themselves at home lest they should be inoculated with its virus. Notwithstanding the bad weather and the frowns of those farmers who are rapidly being converted into millionaires by the tariff on potatoes and hens' eggs, the single tax people enjoyed their meeting, and have promised themselves another at an early day.

A regular meeting of the single tax club is held every Thursday evening at 8 p. m., in the hall at 226 Union street. Thursday evening, March 21, the club discussed "Interest under the single tax."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Portland, Ore.—A ballot reform and single tax club has been organized. It meets the first and third Thursdays of each month. It numbers among its membership several of the educated, progressive business men of the city, and recruits are secured at every meeting. J. Y.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—The Eastern District Single tax club desires to call the attention of the readers of THE STANDARD residing in the eastern district to the necessity of a better attendance at the meetings of the club, for if not more actively supported the club must disband. The club meets every Saturday evening at Phoenix hall, 118 South Eighth street. R. A. LINDSAY, Cor. Sec., 393 Driggs street.

San Francisco, Cal.—The good work is progressing wonderfully on this side of our glorious Union. We have a permanent hall for our Sunday evening meetings, which, by the way, are accomplishing much good. On last Sunday we had the pleasure of listening to ex-Congressman Charles A. Sumner. He spoke on "Government Postal Telegraphy," showing conclusively that the single tax and all other reforms would be forwarded by its adoption. We have organized a class to study "Progress and Poverty."

H. L. PLEACE.

President San Francisco Single Tax Club.

Ballot Reform in Montana.

HELENA, Montana.—The legislature of Montana has passed the Australian ballot law. The governor had favored it in his message and of course he promptly signed it. Thanks are due to the Hon. William Kennedy, a member of the upper house of the territorial legislature and a single tax man. For the passage of this law Mr. Kennedy framed the bill and at his own personal expense purchased books descriptive of the subject and presented them to the members of both houses. After the bill had passed his branch of the legislature he went on the floor of the other branch and explained its provisions to each of the members. And it certainly is a tribute to his untiring efforts in this direction to say the bill became a law with but one dissenting vote; and that one vote was cast by a republican in the lower branch of the legislature. It passed Mr. Kennedy's branch unanimously. Under the provisions of this law we vote for the ratification of the new constitution in July, and for state officers and members of legislature and congressman in November. It is our purpose to engraft some good single tax ideas into the new constitution. The campaign will be one of thought and principle. A. DROMORE.

The New Jersey State League.

The members of the state single tax league assembled at 802 Broad street, Newark, on Thursday evening, 21st inst., Mr. Urner presiding. After the disposal of all preliminary business, a declaration of principles and constitution were prepared and adopted. The following officers were elected: President, Benj. Urner, of Elizabeth; vice-presidents, Read Gordon, of Roselle; Herbert Boggs, of Newark; Paul Breen, of Paterson; J. W. Jakeway, of Jersey City; Isaac Browne, of South Amboy; recording secretary, J. A. Craig, of Paterson; corresponding secretary, E. W. Nellis, of Paterson. Mr. Nellis was also appointed organizer. He will proceed at once with the work of organizing a club in each county of the state, so far as that may be possible, and our friends throughout

the state who wish to affiliate with this movement, will please communicate with him at once. Those who for cause cannot take an active part in the movement, and who may wish to assist financially, may remit to any of the officers. The league meets again Thursday March 25, at 8 p. m. J. A. CRAIG, Sec'y.

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY'S" TENTH BIRTHDAY.

To be Celebrated at Cooper Union on Tuesday, April 2—Addresses by Messrs. Shearman, Pentecost and Post.

The committee having charge of the tenth anniversary of the publication of "Progress and Poverty," which takes place at Cooper Union on Tuesday, April 2, had their numbers strengthened by delegations from the Port Richmond club of Staten Island and the Telegraphers' single tax club of this city.

The committee met at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club at three o'clock and heard reports from the committees appointed at the previous meeting. Mr. Croasdale, of the committee on speeches, reported that Mr. Post would preside and that Thomas G. Shearman and Hugh O. Pentecost would deliver addresses.

The officers of the clubs represented in the committee will be the vice-presidents and secretaries of the meeting. W. J. Browne, of the West side club, will open the meeting and introduce the chairman.

The meeting will be an open one, but in order to defray the expenses tickets will be issued at twenty-five cents each, which will entitle the holder to a front seat. These tickets are now in the hands of the delegates from the clubs, so that those who desire may secure them. There will also be tickets for sale at the rooms of the Manhattan single tax club. Only enough seats will be reserved to accommodate those who may purchase up to the Monday night before the meeting. There is promise of a big meeting.

THE MANHATTAN SINGLE TAX CLUB.

H. DeForest Baldwin and Mrs. Margaret Moore Address the Club—A Stereoscopic Entertainment to be given This Week.

H. DeForest Baldwin delivered the lecture last Sunday evening, on "The tariff and what it does." The rooms were crowded, as is usual at the Sunday lectures. Mr. Baldwin compared the tariff to the good Indians, of whom it used to be said there were none living. So with the tariff; if it were dead it would be good—for the industrious people of this country. Mrs. Margaret Moore delivered a short address on free trade. Next Sunday evening A. M. Molina will deliver the address, his subject being, "The single tax versus socialism and individualism."

At the last business meeting the club went into committee of the whole to consider a new constitution. The work will be continued at the next weekly meeting.

Mr. Croasdale last week presented the club with a large laundry basket full of books, consisting of the United States census for 1850, 1870 and 1880, a complete set of the speeches of Daniel Webster, and the history of Maryland (three volumes).

This coming Friday evening, March 29, will be given the second stereoscopic entertainment, with views of the Yosemite valley of California and Niagara falls. It is hardly necessary to say that all friends, ladies and children particularly, are invited. There will be ample accommodation for all who may favor the club with their presence on that evening.

Work for South Dakota Men.

BRISTOL, Dak., March 16.—I wish to call the attention of single tax men in South Dakota to the necessity for the greatest activity this spring. We vote on the Sioux Falls constitution May 14. As it requires that everything shall be taxed, it is our duty to try to defeat it. We should use every possible means to bring the farmers' attention to it. Articles should be written to every paper in South Dakota.

I am making a personal canvass of the farmers in this county, and find them quick to take to the proposition to leave the question of taxation within the power of the legislature. As the prohibitionists are working to secure the adoption of the Sioux Falls constitution, we will have to be very active if we secure its defeat.

I should like to hear suggestions from the single tax men of South Dakota as to a plan of campaign, and with regard to forming a state organization. It was our organization that secured the success of the Australian bill in Montana. There were but a few of us, but we made a big noise. In union is strength, and by working together we can stir things up pretty thoroughly before the final vote is taken in October on the constitution.

W. E. BROKAW.

Democratic Doctors Differ.

New York Sun.

The chances are that the main question will not be that of protection or free trade.

St. Louis Republic.

It is not necessary to be a prophet or the son of a prophet to be able to say with certainty that the main issue in the campaign of 1892 will be precisely the same as in the campaign of 1888—namely, tariff reform and tax reduction.

CAPTURED THE REVIVAL MEETING.

Single Tax Men Preach the Gospel of the New Dispensation to a Very Appreciative Audience.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va.—We are pushing things down here. A quartette struck out for the back country a few nights ago. They had asked a farmer to get the use of a school house for the evening, and he had promised to have a crowd ready to hear the land question explained. But when they got there, ten miles from town, they found the house occupied by a revival meeting. Any but single tax men would have surrendered to the situation right there, but not a bit of it for these veterans. They went into the meeting and asked the minister to let them address the people. The request was granted, and the boys carried the house by storm. After the meeting was over and they had promised to come again, they showed the nerve of single taxers by settling down to a ten-mile walk for home. You people who live in towns don't have the mud and darkness to face that we do, but if you do you'll know what it means, and probably take your pleasure in the hope that you are doing pioneer service that will surely count.

The farmers are not hard to convert, either, if you appeal to their hearts, to their sense of justice. They are like the rest of mankind, engaged in a hard struggle to make ends meet.

We have a single tax paper here, a monthly, called Smith's Index. The editor is a "stayer," and will do good work. He is not yet acquainted with the "cat," but sees that our town is injured in taxing houses and factories, and he is pushing against land speculation as hard as any of us.

W. I. BOREMAN.

For a Single Tax Club House.

The following subscriptions have been received since the last report:

John Kearney, 333 Ave. A, city.....	1
George Ferguson, 869 6th ave, city.....	1
James McCarney, 410 East 19th st., city.....	3
John Heurn, 45 East 112th st., city.....	3
Bernard Gassenheimer, 231 West 16th st., city.....	1
Robert J. Williamson, 129 Christopher st., city.....	2
W. H. Matthews, 345 East 44th st., city.....	15
Gaston Protin, 179 Wooster's st., city.....	5
S. W. Liddler, 138 Jefferson ave., Brooklyn.....	3
George L. Faulk, 433 Fulton st., Brooklyn (\$5 in closed, second subscription).....	3
Charles Rothman, 242 Grand st., Brooklyn, E. D.....	2
Ed. Richardson, Flushing, L. I.....	2
Frederick Bennett, 19 Irving place, Yonkers.....	1
A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut st., Philadelphia.....	20
J. A. Hennessey, New Lexington, Perry Co., Ohio.....	5

Total for week..... 59

Previously acknowledged..... 1,752

Total to date..... 1,811

Cash on account shares—E. L. Klump, \$1.

Irish Societies Falling In With the Single Tax Men.

Memphis Appeal, March 19.

There are indications that the near future will see in this part of the world one of the liveliest single tax campaigns its great apostle ever dreamed of. Among those in the line of reasonably certain conversion to it are leading Irishmen, members of the lodge Irish National league of America, and Knights of the Red Branch. At the regular meeting of the former order yesterday there were about fifty members present. Accepting a request to do so, Mr. Bolton Smith was in attendance, and addressed the meeting for half an hour or more, explaining in clear and forcible terms his favorite theory of taxation. At the close of his remarks a request was made by him that any question that might suggest itself to the minds of his auditors would, if propounded, be cheerfully answered. Thereupon many in the audience asked for further light upon points involved, all of which the speaker responded to with promptness, precision and satisfaction. The chairman of the lodge, rising to express his sentiments, stated that Mr. Smith's address was unqualifiedly the ablest on the subject under review he had ever heard, and pronounced it incontrovertible.

Mr. R. G. Brown, who arrived in the midst of the discussion, then added his voice to the plea for a single tax, which strengthened the deep impression already made. He was followed, by request, by Justice P. M. Winters, who announced his willing and sincere discipleship of the theory, indorsing in the strongest language everything that Messrs. Smith and Brown had said. He further urged the league and Knights of the Red Branch to inaugurate a stubborn campaign on the prescribed lines, suggesting that the city be divided into districts for meeting purposes and the organization of clubs. In the prosecution of this good work Messrs. Smith, Brown and other harmonious speakers should be invited to make speeches, and he would devote his best energies to the cause. Both the gentlemen called by name assured Justice Winters and the others present that they would respond to every call possible, and they could not be made too often.

Cruel, Cruel.

Norfolk, Va., Landmark.

When it comes to the discussion of politics the New York Sun's ordinarily fine memory and high reasoning faculties seem to us to be often at fault. For example, when it says that "we" won the presidency in 1884, the mind naturally recurs to the part the Sun took in that contest.

He Studied the Matter Some Time Ago.

Chicago Herald.

Mr. Cleveland, who has gone out of the country, may have a chance before getting back to learn something about the tariff from personal experience.

NOTE-BOOK JOTTINGS.

A professional man told me last week what he did not know about trades unions. "I have just read Everett Glackin's article in THE STANDARD," he said, "and how different is his talk about unions from what I have been accustomed to hearing. If I were to believe my usual sources of information, I would regard unions as made up of a few smart and lazy walking delegates and a mass of deluded and discontented followers. Do men perform committee work for nothing, and do they actually take up their Sunday holidays in working for benefit societies and their unions?" It would interest such a man to give a little study to the methods of a trades union. He would find it a miniature Greek republic. Its citizens are on an equal footing with one another. Its laws are just to all of its membership. But it is at war with all non-union men, and does not pretend to treat them with any mercy. Inside the union there are many who year in and year out perform routine duties, often without thought of compensation or for a salary that does not pay them for the time lost. It is work done in the purest spirit of duty.

There is an article on the present state of affairs in Los Angeles floating about in the western newspapers that an anti single tax correspondent of one of them has seized hold of to demonstrate the whole fallacy of the single tax. More than a year ago a decline set in at Los Angeles, and it has been as swift as the ascent was rapid. Recently one of the newspapers printed a twelve page list in fine type of delinquent tax payers on lands that two years ago were rated at millions. To-day the owners will not pay the taxes. Rents are about thirty per cent of what they were in 1887, and there are hundreds of vacant houses. The correspondent mentioned employs these facts to illustrate a theory that there is no such thing as land monopoly in this country, and that decrement is as likely to damage a land holder as increment to enrich him. What would our own letter writers do if providence did not send them opposition of some kind?

An east side man who is an active single tax worker tells me that it is true, as mentioned in this column last week, that many German socialists have been converted to American ideas lately. "It used to take a socialist," he said, "about seven years to develop into an American citizen imbued with our notions of government. So, while quite a large body of newly arrived socialists may turn out in processions and attend meetings, the socialist vote is never large. Fast and hard socialists in Germany, men immigrate here believing they are going to remain so in this country. But gradually the light dawns on them. The power of the ballot illumines their minds. And now, with the single tax doctrine being preached to them, a great many don't take so long as seven years to drop socialism."

Sixty admirers of Mr. J. M. Keating, editor of the Memphis Appeal, visited him at the office of that journal on last Tuesday evening and presented him with a set of the works of Henry George. The books were beautifully bound in tooled calf with beveled edges, each volume bearing an inscription. The present was described by the givers as "a testimonial of our high respect to Mr. Keating as a man and a democrat and as an evidence of our indorsement of the course of the Appeal as an earnest organ of Jeffersonian democracy." Mr. Bolton Smith made the presentation address, and in the course of it told some truths about taxation. The reply of Mr. Keating showed that he appreciated the gift.

Some single tax men of Brooklyn lately waited on Rev. T. DeWitt Talmage and presented him with a copy of "Progress and Poverty." They were led up to it by Mr. Talmage's liberal declarations regarding immigration.

Our Tennessee friends are circulating a quotation from a letter written in 1873 to Governor John C. Brown on the subject of taxation by Mr. Enoch Ensley, one of the most prominent citizens of the state. It is as follows: "I will present you with a rule or motto which I think it would be well for the state to adopt, and have cut into stone at the capitol (in large letters and have them gilded) in the senate chamber, the hall of the house of representatives, and in the governor's office, for I

think it entirely harmonizes with the correct principles of taxation in every particular, to-wit: 'Never tax anything that would be of value to your state, that could and would run away, or that could and would come to you.'"

Last Friday morning's newspapers contained advertisements for torch bearers to walk with Barnum's street parade that evening. At 5 o'clock in the morning there was a crowd at the gate of Madison Square garden, which a little later numbered 5,000 men. The process of selecting men took up several hours. At midnight when the parade was over, the fortunate men entered the garden with the procession, and fell into line and drew their pay—fifty cents apiece for nearly twenty-four hours' time in Barnum's service. One of the perfectly contented class, on being asked whether this was not an evidence that a large number of men were out of work, said: "Why, no, there's a lot of fellows that won't do anything but hang around for such jobs."

Here is a short tract for farmers. H. H. Kohlstatt lately paid \$150,000 for a lot, 20 by 40 feet, on the northwest corner of Dearborn and Madison street, Chicago, buying it for business property. The price was at the rate of \$8,167,500 per acre. This one Chicago acre would equal in value 163,350 acres of Illinois farming land at \$50 an acre. Who would pay the most under a land value tax, men in cities, or farmers?

Last week a brakeman on the elevated road sent to one of the New York daily newspapers a pay ticket which he had found on a seat in a car. He said it had been dropped by one of a party of poor-looking foreigners. It gave the amount of the man's earnings at about seventy cents a day. The brakeman's letter to the newspaper expressed his indignation at men being compelled to work for such pay in this country. He thought the lot of those poor foreigners a terribly hard one. And then he asked that his signature to his letter be not published, as it might cost him his situation.

An old man repeated a very old saying in my hearing the other day, with the air of having said it so often that he was more than ever convinced of its truth. It ran: "In Europe the circulating medium is gold; in Africa it is men; in Asia it is women, and in America it is land."

On the walls of the auction room of the New York real estate exchange, there has been for some time affixed a row of signs advertising the stands of the real estate auctioneers. About a month ago a second row of sign spaces was put up, and an animated controversy ensued as to the manner in which the privilege of using them should be sold. The startlingly original idea of auctioning them off at length occurred to one of the auctioneers. It took, and the other day the row, which had twenty-one spaces, was sold to bidders. A rental of \$100 a year was charged in addition to the premiums bid, which at the sale ran from \$5 to \$100. It isn't hard to determine the value of the location of anything if the men who want to use it are set to bidding for it against one another. In this way is settled the prices of pews in a church, stalls in a market, docks on a water front, sign spaces on a hoarding, advertising space in a book or newspaper, booths at a race track, rooms in a hotel, seats in a theater, staterooms in a steamship, berths in a steamboat, space in an oyster bed, stores in a business street, lots in a city, and acres in the country. The bidding is not done just in the same way for these things, but it goes on all the same. (GRIFF.)

To Single Tax Men in New Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS, La., March 18.—The undersigned would like to communicate with all persons in New Orleans interested in the cause, with a view to furthering it in every possible way.

JOHN S. WALTERS,
Maritime Association.

Something for Tariff-for-Revenue-Only Men.

Eaton, Ohio, Register.

The democrats being satisfied that a tariff for protection is robbery, we would like them to show why a tariff for revenue is not also robbery.

Yes, and Making Converts All the Time.
Eaton, Ohio, Register.

Free trade in the face of its late defeat rallies all along the lines, and is industriously filling the land with its sophisms and false theories all the way from the college to the corner grocery.

BALLOT REFORM.

There is no scheme of political reform so worthy of immediate attention as this [the Australian] plan for making the elector the master of his own choice and the sole custodian of his own secret in casting his vote.—[Philadelphia Record.]

The Hill-Linson "democratic measure" [of electoral reform] leaves the door wide open for the bribe giver, the collection of assessments under the guise of voluntary printing expenses, and the "split" ticket industry by which the electors are often used to defeat their most desired purposes. With everybody at liberty to furnish tickets, it would be a useless expense to supply official ballots.—[Utica Herald.]

If the democrats in the legislature should defeat this [the Saxon ballot reform] bill, or consent to its defeat by the governor, it would be an injury to the party in the state which could not be easily repaired.—[New York Times.]

A word to the democratic members of the legislature of New York: Ponder well the fact that the democratic legislature of Indiana has passed a bill providing that the only ballots to be used at general elections in that state shall be the ballots printed by state authority. And do not forget the other fact that this bill was opposed chiefly by republican members of the Indiana legislature.—[Buffalo Courier (Democratic).]

The adoption of this [the Australian ballot] system would remove the voter from the corrupt influences of the ward heeler and party boss, from the intimidation of an employer who felt disposed to control the franchise of his worker, and would also reduce to the minimum, if it did not entirely eradicate, the practice of buying and selling votes.—[Journal of United Labor.]

We are at a loss to understand why there should be any opposition to the Australian bill on the part of those who are really anxious to adopt remedial legislation to protect the sanctity of the ballot from such outrages as were recently perpetrated in Omaha and several of the larger cities in this state.—[Nebraska Laborer.]

The principles of the Australian system are right and they will eventually be generally adopted in this country. It is to be hoped that Minnesota will not be the last to signify her approval of a good thing.—[Minneapolis, Minn., Journal.]

Did He Do None of Them Himself?

Brunswick, Me., Telegraph.

A shoe manufacturer in Portland, being asked to assist in providing bread for the suffering poor, said he would contribute to the extent of 100 sacks of flour and 100 bushels of meal, one sack of flour and one bushel of meal to be given to each man who might be found in Portland who neither kept a dog, drank rum, nor used tobacco, and was in need of bread. The first man has not appeared yet to claim the gift.

SINGLE TAX MEN.

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

Akron, O.—Jas R Angier, 109 Allen street.
Albany, N. Y.—Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; J C Koshirt, 22 Third avenue, or James J. Michoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.
Alhambra, Mon Ter.—Mrs Josephine Spahr.
Altoona, Pa.—Joseph Sharp, Jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Ronzee, 924 First street.
Amsterdam, N. Y.—Harvey Book.
Anacostia, D. C.—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.
Anaheim, Cal.—James B Hasset.
Anton Chico, N. M.—James T Granstam.
Ashabula, Ohio.—A D Strong.
Atlanta, Ga.—John C Reed, lawyer, 25 1-2 Marietta street.
Auburn, Me.—H G Casey, secretary Single tax club.
Auburn, N. Y.—Daniel Peacock, president; H W Benedict, secretary Single tax club; J C Cole, 115 1-2 Augusta, Ga.—L A Schmidt, 525 Lincoln street.
Avon, N. Y.—Homer Sablin.
Baltimore, Md.—John W Jones, sec Single tax league of Maryland, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, Pres Henry George club, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, 1435 E Baltimore street.
Bayside, Long Island, N. Y.—Antonio M Molina.
Braceville, Ill.—William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.
Bradford, Pa.—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.
Bristol, Dak.—W E Irokaw.
Birmingham, Ala.—E W Dundon, 33 Maiden lane.
Boston, Mass.—Edwin M White, 28 Main street; Charles J R Roche, 29 Converse avenue; Maiden; Hamilton Garland, chairman Single tax league, Jamaica Plain; Brooklyn, N. Y.—George E West, M D, 49 Clermont avenue, president Single tax club.
Burlington, Iowa.—James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer.
Cambridgeport, Mass.—Wm A Ford, 166 Norfolk street, secretary Single tax organization.
Canastota, N. Y.—H W Johnson, P O box 261.
Canon City, Col.—Frank P Blake, M D.
Canton, O.—S J Harcourt, M D, president single tax club.
Cape May City.—Wm Porter, box 57.
Chamberlain, Dak.—James Brown.
Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.
Chicago, Ill.—Frank Pearson, 45 La Salle street; T W Wither, secretary Single tax club, 426 Milwaukee avenue.
Cincinnati, O.—Dr David De Beck, 139 West Ninth street; Jones's news and stationery store, 272 Vine street; headquarters Single tax club, 238 Vine street.
Clanton, Ala.—O M Mastin or Alex G Dale.
Cleveland, O.—C W Whitmarsh, 4 Euclid avenue; Frank L Carter, 122 Chestnut street.
Clinton, Ind.—L O Bishop, editor Argus.
Coloas, N. Y.—J S Crane.
Colton, Cal.—Charles F Smith, proprietor Commercial Hotel.
Columbus, O.—Edward Hyennan, 348 1-2 South High street.
Cornwall, Cal.—Jeff A Bailey.
Cramer Hill, Camden county, N. J.—Chas P Johnston.
Danbury, Conn.—Sam A Mann, 34 Smith street.
Dayton, O.—W W Kile, 33 E Fifth street; J G Galloway, 283 Samuel street.
Denver, Col.—F H Monroe.
Des Moines, Iowa.—L J Kasson, president Single tax club; John W King, secretary.
Detroit, Mich.—J K Finehart, 45 Waterloo street; J F Duncan, 779 Third street, secretary Tax reform as association; G Howe, 54 14th av.
Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal.—J V Lanston.
Dighton, Mass.—A Cross.
Dunkirk, N. Y.—Frank Lake.
East Cambridge, Mass.—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.
East Northport, Long Island, N. Y.—J E Rudyard.
East Rindge, N. H.—Edward Jewett.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Benjamin Urner.
Elmira, N. Y.—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.
Englewood, Ill.—W B Steers.
Evansville, Ind.—Charles G Bennett, 427 Upper Third street.
Fitchburg, Mass.—R D Terry.
Farmington, Iowa.—F W Rockwell.
Gardner, Ill.—T S Cumming.
Glen Cove, Long Island, N. Y.—Herbert Loromer.
Glenview, Mont.—A H Sawyer.
Glens Falls, N. Y.—John H Quinn.
Gloversville, N. Y.—Wm C Wood, M D.
Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.—Henry L Hinton.
Harrison, Tex.—J J McCallum.
Hartington, Neb.—John H Feder.
Haverhill, Mass.—Arthur P Brock.
Helena, Mont.—Judge J M Clements, secretary Montana single tax association.
Hornbeville, N. Y.—George H Van Winkle.
Hot Springs, Ark.—W Albert Chapman.
Hudson Falls, N. Y.—F S Hammond.
Houston, Tex.—H F Ring, corporation attorney.
Hutchinson, Kas.—J G Malcolm, M D.
Ilion, N. Y.—George Smith, P O box 302.
Indianapolis, Ind.—L F Custer, president Single tax league, W 1st St; Chas H Ennace, bookkeeper, Vought's hardware store, E Washington street.
Ithaca, N. Y.—C C Platt, druggist, 75 East State street.
Janvier, N. J.—S B Walsh.
Jersey City, N. J.—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county single tax league, 36 Ege avenue.
Kansas City, Mo.—Chas E Reid, 2233 Woodland avenue.
Keithsburg, Ill.—M McDonald.
Kingston, N. Y.—Theodore M Romeyn.
Lansingburgh, N. Y.—James McMann, 21 Eighteenth st.
Lonsdale, Ill.—Dr L E Garvin.
Lowiston, Me.—F D Lyford, 3 Cottage street.
Lexington, Ky.—James Erwin.
London, England.—William Saunders, 177 Palace Chambers, Westminster.
Los Angeles, Cal.—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, 149 South Hill; or Vinetta P O St. tion.
Lowell, Mass.—Henry Robertson, 5 Metcalf block, Kidder street.
Lyle, Minn.—C F Wenham.
Lynchburg, Va.—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.
Lynn, Mass.—Theodore P Perkins, 14 South Common street.
Madison, Dak.—E H Evenson.
Mahanoy City, Pa.—J N Becker, president Free trade club; Robert Richardson, secretary.
Maizee, Mich.—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.
Mansfield, O.—W J Higgins, manager Western union telegraph office.
Marlboro, Mass.—Geo A E Reynolds.
Marlborough, N. Y.—C H Baildon.
Mart, Tex.—J L Caldwell, chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.
Marysville, Mont.—S F Ralston, Sr., president Montana single tax association.
Massillon, O.—Victor Burnett, 78 East South street.
Maunabo, Indian Ocean—Robert A Robin, 8 Pump street, Port Louis.
Memphis, Tenn.—R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street.
Middletown, Conn.—John G Hopkins, P O box 580.
Middletown, N. Y.—Chas H Fuller, 47 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 Ryder, secretary.
Mobile, Ala.—E Q Norton, 23 South Royal street.
Mt Pleasant, Iowa.—A O Fletcher, M D.
Mt Vernon, N. Y.—J B Lutting.
Murrayville, Ill.—William Camm, president Democratic club.
Nashville, Tenn.—P H Carroll, 235 N High street, secretary American land league.
Neponset, Mass.—Q A Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.
Newark, N. J.—Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.
New Brighton, Pa.—John Seltz, 1 North Broadway.
Newburg, N. Y.—D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 Broadway.
Newburyport, Mass.—Wm R Whitmore, secretary Merimac assembly, Herald office.
New Haven, Conn.—Willard D Warren, room 11, 102 Orange street; Alfred Smith, 93 W Valley avenue.
New Orleans, La.—John S Walters, Maritime association.
Newport, Ky.—Joseph L Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street; Will C Jamies, 89 Taylor street.
New Westminster, Brit Col.—Alex Hamilton, member Tax reform association.
Norfolk, Va.—Edward K Robertson, secretary Alpha club, P O drawer 3.
North Adams, Mass.—William M Browne, 13 Marshall street; B S Myers, P O box 357.
North Springfield, Mo.—K P Alexander, 1526 North Booneville street.
Oberlin, O.—Edw B Haskell.
Olean, N. Y.—George Hall, pres Single tax association.
Olmsted, N. Y.—J H Horan, sec, 58 Railroad street.
Olympia Wash Ter.—Alexander Ferguson, Adam street.
Omaha, Neb.—John E Embien, 822 Virginia avenue.
Ordway, Dak.—R H Garland, member Tax reform association.
Oswego, N. Y.—Alex Skillen, 160 West First street.
Passaic, N. J.—J J Barnard, P O box 191.
Paterson, N. J.—E W Nellis, chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 89 North Blain street.
Parkersburg, W. Va.—W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.
Pawtucket, R. I.—Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.
Peoria, Ill.—J W Avery.
Philadelphia, Pa.—Wm J Atkinson, 926 Chestnut street; or A H Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.
Piermont, N. Y.—Charles R Hood, P O box 13.
Pittsburg, Pa.—Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey street.
Portland, Ore.—S B Riegen, 48 Stark street, R H Thompson.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William C Albro.
Providence, R. I.—Robert Grieve, 32 Sutton street; Dr Wm Barker, pres Rhode Island single tax association.
Pulaski, N. Y.—C V Harbottle.
Ravenswood, Ill.—W H Van Ornum.
Reading, Pa.—Chas S Pizer, 1013 Penn street; Charles Corkhill, 212 Penn street.
Reynolds, Ind.—John L. Carrer, box 20.
Richmond, Ind.—J H Quigley, 105 South Third street.
Ridgeway, N. Y.—D C Sullivan.
River Falls, Wis.—George H Bates.
Rochester, N. Y.—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.
Roselle, N. J.—Reed Gordon.
Rutland, Vt.—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.
San Francisco, Cal.—Judge James G Maguire, Superior court.
San Luis Obispo, Cal.—Mrs Frances M Mine.
Seattle, Wash Ter.—P P Morrow.
Seneca Falls, N. Y.—Wm H Adams, secretary, P O box 55.
Sharon, Conn.—A J Bostwick, librarian Single tax club.
Shenandoah, Pa.—Morris Marsh, president Single tax club; Thos Potts, secretary.
Southboro, Mass.—S H Howes.
South Gaston, N. C.—C W L Perkins.
Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N. Y.—C L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheelan, sec retary.
Spirit Lake, Iowa.—J W Schrupf, secretary Tariff reform club.
Springfield, Ill.—James H McCren, secretary Sangamon single tax club, 623 Black avenue.
Springfield, Mo.—H A W Janeman, 665 Nichols street.
St. Louis, Mo.—Hamilton Russell, president Single tax league, 275 Bacon street; Benj. E. Bloom, secretary, room 3, 319 Olive street.
Stockton, Cal.—D A Learned.
Stonham, Mass.—Dr W Symington Brown.
Streator, Ill.—George G Gauthier.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; H R Perry, 19 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street.
Toledo, O.—Wm Adelsperger, secretary Single tax club, No 1, 112 Summit street.
Tennora, Wash Ter.—P O Clarke, 138 K st.
Trenton, N. J.—H H Matthews, 9 Howell street.
Troy, N. Y.—B B Martis.
Tuckahoe, N. Y.—Albert O Young.
Unionville, Conn.—John McAlliff.
Utica, N. Y.—Thos Sweeney, 136 Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.
Victoria, B. C.—W L Sinton, E and N R R Co.
Vincennes, Ind.—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and 3 Owers block.
Waco, Tex.—Frank Grady, lawyer, 163 south 4th street.
Wakelield, R. I.—David Harrower.
Washington, D. C.—Dr. William Geddes, 1719 G street, N W, secretary single tax league.
Weatherford, Tex.—William M Buell.
West New Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.—A B Stoddard.
Wendell, W. Va.—John L. Pratt, 237 E 1st street.
Whitestone, Long Island, N. Y.—George Hartwell.
Whitman, Mass.—C P Bohn, cigar store; Thos Douglass, president Single tax league.
Wilmington, Del.—Geo W Kreer, 717 West Ninth street.
Woodstock, Ill.—A W Gamma.
Worcester, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.
Yonkers, N. Y.—Joseph Sutherland.
Youngstown, O.—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.
Zanesville, Ohio.—W B Loughhead, 27 Van Buren street.

CHARITY NO REMEDY.

Hugh O. Pentecost Gives Reasons Why it Will not Cure the Social Disease.

Hugh O. Pentecost delivered his second discourse on the remedy for the great social evil before an unusually large congregation in Masonic temple last Sunday. Charity in itself, he declared, was a good thing, but it would bring a positive injury to attempt to make it heal a social wrong whose only cure was justice. The following extracts will give an idea of the tone and line of the discourse. A full report will be found in the Twentieth Century.

In order to understand what I am trying to teach it is absolutely necessary that you should clearly apprehend the distinction between poverty as the penalty of personal vices, or as an individual misfortune, and poverty as a social disease—as the result of social injustice. Charity is a relatively admirable expedient for the temporary relief of individual want, but when you once understand all the facts in connection with poverty you must see that it cannot possibly be a permanent remedy for that fell social disease. In order to understand why, I must first explain the operation of what is commonly called the "iron law of wages," by which is meant not any natural law, but a law incident only to our present industrial system.

The "iron law of wages" is that wages constantly tend to decrease until they become so small in amount that the laborer can no longer sustain his life upon them. Think of it! Our present industrial system is so cruel in its results that it constantly tends to push wages down to what is sometimes called the "life line," by which is meant the death line; that is, to the point at which the laborer may as well not work as to work, since in either case he will starve.

Let us look into this law of wages a little. How does it operate? Why do wages tend, under this system, to the minimum amount for which the laborer will consent to work? It is very easy to understand, if you once clearly apprehend that all the talk about men being free and independent is not true. Wage earners are not free and independent. They are not free to maintain themselves by the application of their labor directly to land, because the land is everywhere monopolized. All the land in Europe, Asia, America and Australia is owned by somebody. That is to say, the laws declare that it is owned by somebody. There is no land now in our western states and territories that is worth anything that a poor man can get without the probability that it will be taken from him by force, backed by the government, when he has improved it a little. It is frequently said that people can get all the land they want "out west," but it is not true, even supposing there was some way for a poor man to get out west and maintain himself and family while he was finding his land.

There is some land unmonopolized by white men, as yet, although it is in a fair way to be seized soon. It is in Central Africa. Poor people can go there if they like, providing they can get the permission of the European governments which are at present engaged in parceling out the Dark Continent as this country was parceled out, and providing they can persuade the natives not to eat them when they get there.

No man is free and independent who has not free access to the soil when he chooses to turn to it for a livelihood. And I, with a growing host of others, hold that no man has the right to control more land than he has use for, the question of use being determined by his willingness to pay to the community for the use of his land what it would rent for if thrown into the open market. Such an arrangement would secure to each other man his natural right to the use of as much of the earth as he needs upon the same terms. He would then be practically a free man and the law of wages would not hurt him, because if his wages were not as much as he could earn by going to the soil he could refuse them. Our present system of land holding, however, shuts the laborer off the earth.

To be sure, we talk about "our native land," but the majority of the people do not and cannot own enough of their native land to fill a flower pot, and many of them, when they die will have to pay five dollars for the privilege of having their coffins lie either atop of or beneath another coffin, four or five in a grave, as they stow them away in the poor man's section of Greenwood; or else he will be put in the Potter's field by what we call charity. Go to the morgue sometimes, as I have done, and see the dead people from the Charity hospitals waiting to be taken to the Potter's field, in pine boxes, with a cotton rag, not a shroud, wrapped about them, and if you can think in such a place, think what it meant for those poor brothers and sisters of ours to talk about their "native land," before the icy hand of Christian charity dropped them into a pauper's grave, dug in their "native land" and already half full of free and independent citizens.

Our present system of land holding shuts the laborer off the earth and renders him practically dependent upon those whom the law says own the earth. And with multitudes of men falling over each other in the struggle for the opportunity of working, there is no downward limit to which wages may not be pushed except that beyond which they cannot go and maintain the worker.

If, now, this law is understood, you cannot

fail to see how charity becomes a social evil in spite of the kind hearts and sincere minds that dispense it. Charity assists certain persons to live on less than others by giving them some of the necessities of life. The Children's aid society in New York, which furnishes boys with cheap lodging houses, has, I am told, acted as a magnet to draw boys to New York, where there are enough boys already. It has, in the first place, tended to reduce wages by enabling some boys to live more cheaply than others, and it has, in the second place, tended to reduce wages because it has called more boys to the city. And what is true of the Children's aid society is true of the various homes for young women, which are half charitable institutions, and whose mission is to keep working girls by enabling them to live inexpensively.

The principle is easily grasped even by those who are not familiar with it. Suppose the Children's aid society and the Young women's homes gave the inmates of their institutions board and lodging free of charge. No one can fail to see that such an arrangement would enable the recipients of such charity to work for less wages than others who are obliged to pay for their board and lodging. And it follows, of course, that by so much as they are helped through charity by just so much they can underbid others in the labor market. Hence, soup houses and one cent restaurants and all similar devices to assist the poor do not really assist the poor in the long run. They only enable the poor to work for smaller wages. It may seem to some like a strange statement to make, but it is nevertheless true, that every charitable institution or enterprise intended to give partial assistance to the industrious poor actually helps the sweaters and employers generally to screw down the wages of the workers.

I am quite sure you understand that I am not criticising the work of the institutions to which I have referred. I know that the managers of those institutions and the contributors to their funds think they are doing a great service to the poor, and in one way they are. It is better that newsboys should be sleeping in clean cots at night than in dirty tenement houses or hallways. It is an admirable thing that homeless young women have cheap substitutes for the household. For the recipients of the charity as individuals it is a good and helpful thing, and it shows that there are many kind-hearted persons in the world who think of the sufferings and necessities of others while they themselves enjoy comfort and plenty. But economically, these beautiful works are an evil which only tend to deepen the poverty of every one who works for bread except the few who are immediately helped, and they are ultimately impoverished, too.

It seems a pity that so sweet a thing as charity should positively injure the poor and help their despoilers, but perhaps it is well that it is so, for if it were possible to permanently help the poor by charity we might never see so plainly the evils of an industrial system that makes even charity an economic curse.

I do not wish to set your minds against charity in itself, but against the anomalous system that makes charity necessary and at the same time makes it impossible to practice it without injury to both giver and receiver and to society at large. What can we do but hate a system that transfers the angel of charity into a demon that turns a blessing into a curse; a system that knocks down the poor man, robs him and leaves him half dead on the roadside, and then tells us that our duty is done when we pour oil into his wounds? Oh, be not deceived, though politicians and priests and other "leaders of the people" try to soothe you into satisfaction with things as they are. Better days are in store for the race, and you and I may speed them on if we will.

Justice Wanted, Not Charity.

Rev. R. Heber Newton preached an eloquent sermon in All Souls' church last Sunday on "The evangelization of New York." He said that hearts are still hungry for a genuine gospel, but that the churches must distinguish between theology and religion. They must take hold of and solve the great social problems, instead of, as now, often resisting any honest endeavor to solve them. No word against the root evils of our industrial system is spoken from hosts of the pulpits, whence the carpenter's son has been driven by mammon. The poor man hears the gospel of "property, propertty, propertty." Charity is preached, but not justice, and it is not charity, but justice, that the world needs. If the ethical forces of the church were turned on these problems some solution would soon be found. The failure to find a solution is a terrible indictment of Christianity. The middle classes, so called, furnish the general staple for the churches. They are honest in aims, industrious in habits, simple in tastes, domestic in pleasures. They are exempt from the temptations of the rich and the poor. They are being pushed out of New York by the cost of living, and their virtuous religiousness is building up the suburbs and leaving us here to the extremes of wealth and poverty. The result is a recklessness of civic responsibilities, an indifference to social welfare nowhere else displayed so unblushingly. Vice is bred in our worse tenements; religion is asphyxiated. As a class the very poor here are as irreligious as the very rich, and we are gravitating into a city of these extremes. We have two dangerous classes to contend with. Is it any wonder that religion seems disappearing in the gulf where a prosperous and a virtuous middle class has gone down?

HIGH RENT AND LOW MORALS.

Rev. Walter Rauschenbusch in Philadelphia National Baptist.

The National Baptist has a habit of saying things that stick with the clinging affection of a burdock or of a fish-hook in a boy's thumb. Some time ago it told a story that, somehow, I can't forget. The story ran in this wise: A family had recently moved from a village into a city. The little girl of the family was making herself very disagreeable by her naughtiness, and was reproved by her mother.

"Well, ma," she said, "I think it's real hard to be good when there's no back yard."

That young person had arrived at a great ethical principle by the instructive method. It is easier to be good when there is a big stamping ground to work off your superfluous vigor; and it is hard to be good when you are cooped up and can't fling your arms around without knocking the globe from the gas-fixture with one fist, and the china pug from the mantel-piece with the other. In other words, space conduces to morality; lack of space conduces to immorality.

Working in a city where space, at least in the dimensions of length and breadth, is the scarcest of all the commodities, I have observed a few facts that will serve as additional illustrations of the principle announced by the young philosopher.

I might speak of the grosser forms of immorality, of vice that may not be named, which is bred where entire families, with boarders added, are crowded by night into one or two rooms. But such things would be passed by with a shudder as exceptional cases. The facts that I have in mind are all-pervading, and therefore usually unnoticed.

There is the moral deterioration which comes from uncleanness and disorder. The old saying contains a solid fact, "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." The two walk hand in hand. When a woman in a New York tenement turns to God, you can see the effects of it in her rooms. And cleanliness and godliness are not merely simultaneous in time, they are related as cause and effect. But it is very hard to be clean and orderly when room is scarce. It is easy to have everything as straight as a row of pins when there is a separate space for every dish in the pantry, and a separate peg in the closet for every coat. But when there is only one row of pegs for the clothes of a family of six, the temptation is great to have them lie around loose over chairs and beds. It is easy to keep the bedrooms sweet and tidy in a country house, be it ever so barely furnished, but when there is no window except the one opening into the ill-smelling air shaft, and when the bedding cannot be aired unless you hang it out of your parlor windows, the housewife does not perform that piece of work any too often. In so far as cleanliness has anything to do with self-respect, hopefulness and moral vigor, the possession of space and room has something to do with these moral qualities also.

Again, there is a close connection between physical health and moral health. Patience and good temper are hard for unstrung nerves and a lazy stomach to maintain. But there is hardly anything that is so necessary to good health as space. Oh, the aching heads and listless, tired faces that come out of those close rooms every morning. There is no appetite; a bun and a cup of sloppy coffee is all the breakfast they care for; and so the digestion goes to the dogs. And at night when they come home, the crowded, stuffy rooms and the jaded woman that has been in them all day, are not very attractive. There are pleasanter places for the husband and half-grown boys and girls to go to. And so the lack of space drives out the love of home, and makes the saloon and the street the places where the real pleasures of life must be sought. Temperance people have not given to space the attention which it deserves as a factor in the problem of temperance.

Again, the lack of space tends to blur the perception of right and wrong in the minds of children. Mother is washing to-day, and Johnnie is staying at home with her. She wouldn't let him play on the street, because he learns such bad swear words there and he gets his clothes dirty. By-and-by, Johnnie tells his mother a lie. She says: "Why, Johnnie?" Possibly she boxes his ears; but probably she don't. Half an hour later Johnnie is racing around the room with his toy horse and he knocks a dirty broom on a pile of clean washing. Now his mother says, "Johnnie, you naughty boy," and she spansks him hard; not possibly, but probably. Johnnie has received a lesson in morality. He has learned that it is wrong to tell a lie and just as wrong, or more so, to run around the room and accidentally knock down a broom. He knows in the depths of his young heart that the latter is not wrong, and he sets the other thing down on the same plane. Wrong is simply something that you must not do because somebody who is bigger than you tells you not to. I venture to assert that in the tenement houses of New York more babies are shaken and more children whipped because the lack of space makes their actions inconvenient to their elders, than are punished for anything inherently wrong. Perhaps it will be replied that is the case everywhere. Possibly; but the less space there is, the more will that be done. And such treatment blunts and confuses the conception of right and wrong.

This matter goes through everything. People in the cities have all the luxuries, but they are robbed of the necessities of life, of air

and light and space. And that want cripples morality. "It is hard to be good where there is no back yard."

And what shall we do about it? We can set ourselves against anything that artificially increases the price of land. For men live in small rooms, not because they like it, but because they can't afford larger rooms. Every increase in the price of land crowds men more closely together. Any system of land tenure which enables men to hold land idle in the midst of great cities where dying children and weary women moan for more space is unjust and ought to be changed. Anything which increases the cost of suburban travel one penny above the needful increases the crowding toward the city centers. High land prices mean high rents for the use of space. High rents mean cramped living, disorderly and unattractive homes, weary bodies that crave stimulants, difficulties in having a home at all, impediments to marriage, immorality, etc. The land question will bear study. Space is one of the conditions of man's physical, mental and moral well being.

"The Land of By-and-By."

Francis M. Milne in San Francisco Star.

The valleys stretched before me in that visioned land of light; They were green with gleam of meadow, and with orchards they were bright. On terraced hills the vineyards stood in seemingly rows on row; And the grapes' full clusters purpled in the noontide's ruddy glow.

In the pastures herds were feeding; in the harvest fields, the corn Heaped the wains as 't were the largess from old Plenty's fabled horn. Back and forth on traveled highway sped the traffic of the day; And the train's shrill whistle sounded like a challenge to delay.

Round the pleasant dwellings roses shed their sweetness on the air, And the children's happy voices sounded blithely everywhere; And the fair-faced gentle mother, on her errands to and fro, Felt the joy and peace of loving from her glad heart overflow.

Want's grim specter lurked no longer at the household's festal board; Gone was hunger, gone was malice, and the many-millioned hoard. Men with men as brothers meeting, now no longer rivals stood; Heirs of nature's common bounty, children of one fatherhood.

In that visioned land of beauty rose the city's pillared domes; Street on street of stately warehouse—square on square of spacious homes. But no alleys, foul and narrow, and no tenements were there— Shutting out God's air and sunlight, shutting in the heart's despair.

In and out the crescent harbor ships were passing on their way, Freighted with the wealth of Europe, with the treasures of Cathay; On the crowded wharves were mingled all the Indies' fragrant store, With the hardy skippers' cargo from the coasts of Labrador.

Man no more in impious striving thwarted heaven's eternal law; Broad and fair as earth's dominion, now his heritage he saw. Labor's giant forces never greed's strong hand might fetter more; And the throbbing pulse of commerce now was felt from shore to shore.

The starry banner floated—a welcome to the world; But above its silken streaming was a fairer flag unfurled; Upon its virgin whiteness no nation's name had place; LOVE was the golden ensign that shone for ALL THE RACE.

In fancy oft I linger in that visioned land of light, And see the happy people, with their faces calm and bright; They mind me of "the shining ones" of whom the pilgrim told; And I think the Land of Boulah is this which I behold.

It Will Be Orthodox Shortly.

Ypsilanti, Mich., Commercial.

When you strike at the privilege which a few people have of living upon the labor of others, they call it heresy.

In a Nutshell.

Chicago Herald.

Protection is socialism on the biggest scale imaginable.

Doesn't Even Fill It With Thin Soup.

Buffalo Courier.

What do the 10,000 cotton mill strikers a Fall River think of the republican legend, that "Protection fills the dinner pail?"

One-Sided Protection.

Memphis Appeal.

The robber war tariff was made and exists only for the protection of capital, and labor has no share in its benefits.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

Under his own signature, in a recent issue of the Christian Union, the Rev. Thomas K. Beecher seriously asks if it is wrong to bribe men to vote right. The first impulse is to wonder what manner of man this must be who does not understand that the voting duty is akin to jury duty, and fails to appreciate that a vote is no mere chattel to be bartered, but a function of citizenship to be conscientiously exercised in the interest of all. But the query really springs from a confused notion of the relation of the tariff question to politics. The appeals to the people to settle the tariff controversy, which Mr. Beecher describes as "one vast trans-continental bath of bribery," wherein voters were "badgered to vote this way rather than that for the sake of higher wages, or greater purchasing power of low wages, or enlarged markets," make him think it no wonder that puzzled voters settled the question each for himself by voting for spot cash. Mr. Beecher's confusion is due to his neglect to distinguish between a vote intended to benefit the voter at the expense of his fellow citizens and one intended to benefit him by benefiting them. The voter who supports a measure because it will increase his wages by reducing wages generally, or enlarge his markets by narrowing markets generally, is in truth a bribed man, and might as well take the short cut by selling his vote for cash on delivery; but the voter who supports a measure because he believes it will increase his wages by raising the level of wages, or enlarge his markets as a result of greater general prosperity, is performing one of the highest duties of a citizen.

In view of this just distinction Mr. Beecher is mistaken in describing the late campaign as a "bath of bribery" because men voted this way or that for the sake of higher wages or enlarged markets. The great body of voters did not vote either way because they expected by the policy they supported to benefit themselves at the expense of others, but because they believed that policy to be for the general good. There was in the protection campaign, both in the protection press and on the protection stump, and even in the guarded speeches of the principal candidate, what might justify Mr. Beecher's impression that the issue addressed itself to individual selfishness—to the baser passions, hatred of foreigners, class prejudice, trade prejudice; but on the free trade side nothing of that kind was possible, not because free traders are better men than protectionists, but because the policy of free trade necessarily appeals to the better side of human nature. But whatever may have been the tone of speeches or literature, the issue was one of public policy involving the general good; and on that issue every voter was entitled to the expression of the honest opinion of every other. When a man voted not according to conscience, but for cash, whether he voted on the right side

or the wrong, he injured every man who did vote according to conscience.

If, after thinking it over, Mr. Beecher is still of opinion that it is not wrong to bribe a man to vote right at an election, he might advance a step and inquire whether it is wrong to bribe a congressman to vote right from his seat in the house, after which it would be in order to ask whether it is wrong to bribe a judge to decide right from his seat on the bench. What the people as a whole are entitled to in all these cases, in that of the voter as well as that of the congressman and the judge, is the benefit of an unbiased judgment, or at least of an unbiased judgment.

Perhaps the most important ultimate effect of the Australian system of voting will not be the secrecy enforced or the bribery prevented, but that it will compel the voter to consider in solitude the solemnity of the act he is about to perform, just before performing it. He will for a few moments be removed from the influence of excitement and compelled to think. It will be to him what prayer is to the worshiper, except that it can never degenerate into formalism. When voters approach the ballot box in such circumstances they will be more and more influenced by honest convictions of what is for the public good, and this, reacting upon the preliminary campaign, will turn appeals to passion, prejudice and selfishness into prophecies of defeat.

Certain leaders among the Chicago Knights of Labor in criticising free trade and the single tax make the common error of supposing that the only benefit these reforms offer is the amount of the tariff tax and ground rents. They declare that the direct or tangible benefit of abolishing custom houses would not exceed \$5 per capita a year, entirely overlooking the benefits, both in the cheapening of products and the rise of wages, that would flow from brisker and more varied trade and greater production. The tax is but a means of producing the evil. A Chinese wall would do it better without any tax at all. The evil is the commercial congestion and industrial crowding that results from restrictions of trade, and which is to be cured by removing the restrictions. How blind these knights are to the nature of such restrictions is shown by their assumption that, as a counterbalance to the \$5 benefit, the abolition of custom houses would throw upon the labor market to compete with its already overcrowded ranks from forty to fifty thousand persons now engaged in the collection of the customs! They overlook, what is undoubtedly the fact, that increased importations under free trade, which would be accompanied by a corresponding increase of exportations, would furnish more than enough extra work to give employment to the displaced officials, who would then get their wages out of the productions of their own labor, instead of being paid from taxation for making products scarce and dear. The same kind of blindness is exhibited by these Chicago knights in reference to the single tax. If it were established to-morrow, they say, it would only abolish rent to the amount of \$7 or \$8 per capita a year. No thought of the destruction of speculative land values; no thought of the death blow to land monopoly; no thought of the enormous advantage to every one who lives by laboring of being able to find in any community land that he may occupy without paying either price or rent; no thought of the vast increase of business, the fall in the prices of commodities, and the rise of wages that must inevitably result from a system under which the most valuable land would have so low a purchase price that men with capital would not be deterred or crippled by the amount they must take out of their capital to pay for the mere privilege of beginning; no thought of the impetus to all kinds of business when business is absolutely free of taxation and the only taxes are the annual value of particular advantages; no thought of the improved social conditions under a system the object of

which is to secure to every one the full product of his own labor without deduction on any pretense. It is this superficial way of considering such vital labor questions as free trade and the single tax that makes it possible for monopolists to march labor voters behind their deceptive banners during a campaign though they turn the voter out to freeze and starve before the monopoly candidate he has helped elect has delivered his inaugural address. Labor leaders complain that workingmen do not think. A complaint that many labor leaders do not think would be as true and more to the point.

The Fall River manufacturers have refused to make any concession to the strikers, or even to entertain a proposition. The strikers had humbly offered to return to work upon very modest terms, but the manufacturers refused to listen to the board of arbitration which waited upon them. The strikers have now issued an appeal for assistance. This appeal should be promptly responded to by the protected employers of the country in whose behalf the protective tariff is imposed for the express purpose of enabling them to pay high wages. The indignation of John Jarrett and of Mr. Ammi-down, Mr. Wanamaker, and Mr. Carnegie, at the outrageous dishonesty of the Fall River manufacturers who are taking advantage of the workingman's law, must be beyond description, and an outburst from them may at any moment be expected. We suggest that the Press be requested to open a subscription addressed to protected employers for funds to enable the Fall River weavers to carry on their strike. Should the committee make this request no doubt the Press would open and boom the subscription, and no doubt, too, the proceeds would be sufficient to support as many as one striker—perhaps two—from breakfast till dinner time, provided he were not a man of extraordinary appetite.

And now it is hops. The brewers have pledged themselves in convention to join the New York hop growers in a petition to congress to regulate the duty on foreign hops so as to protect the hop growers of this state. They have gone further in their generosity toward New York hop growers, and pledged themselves in buying to give preference to New York hops. The protection disease seems to be going through the system of the body politic in regular course. If the victim doesn't die with it he may know enough when he gets well to keep away from the infection.

The lumbermen of Maine, for whose benefit a protective duty is put on lumber, must have enjoyed reading in the Sun a story from Boston to the effect that 500 New Brunswick wood choppers have returned home after spending the winter at work in Maine forests. When the Maine lumberman, who voted for protection to the wages of American wood choppers, gets his thinking cap on this summer he may ask himself how it helps his wages to put a tariff on Canadian lumber while admitting Canadian lumbermen free. And he may conclude that however it is with the forest owner, the lumberman lives under a system of free trade when he wants to sell, and of protection only when he wants to buy.

The Brooklyn Eagle, by observing the ill effects of double taxation, of which there is so great a variety, has been worried into a moderate recommendation of the single tax. The difficulties in the way of taxing personal property are, it says, "strong arguments for those who think that land should be the chief subject of taxation." Land, however, must not be taxed for the purpose of confiscating it "according to the visionary views of the deluded followers of the dreaming Henry George." That would, indeed, be a sorry purpose! But the deluded followers welcome this ray of light from the Eagle, and are quite well satisfied to have our soaring contemporary advocate the single tax for any purpose it pleases.

They have looked far enough ahead to see results, and are altogether indifferent about the purpose with which the reform is undertaken.

The Press, replying to a correspondent, says that the wool manufacturing industries have made relatively greater progress with dutiable wool than the leather industry with free hides; but the Boston Commercial Bulletin, another protection paper, has entirely changed its tune about dutiable wool. Though it was an echo of the Press last fall on this subject, it now says that manufacturers can never compete on equal terms with the woolen manufacturers of other countries until they get free wool. And it goes on to explain, as if it had but just read a Cleveland campaign tract, that this country not only does not produce all the wool it needs, but does not produce every kind of wool it needs. The Bulletin then reads the wool grower a brief but instructive lecture to the effect that he, in his present course of needlessly hampering the manufacturer for an apparent benefit to himself, is killing the goose that lays the golden egg. That last is one of the best bits of philosophy that ever appeared in print. It needs only a change from particular to general to make it express truly the universal principle in the face of which all protection legislation flies. Thus: "In his present course of needlessly hampering the consumer for an apparent benefit to himself, the producer is killing the goose that lays the golden egg." Will the Bulletin either adopt the change of phraseology or explain the difference in substance?

We do not pretend to know how the Oregon East Oregonian found it out, but it states, in detail year by year, the amount of money Vice-President Morton has expended for political purposes in sixteen years, and foots it up at \$2,755,000. When it is considered that this sum is more than the best paid mechanic, if he worked steadily and saved every penny of his wages, could accumulate in a thousand years, it becomes apparent that the little matter of titles cannot make a great deal of difference between this country and one in which privilege is openly indicated by hereditary rank.

The Twentieth Century, of which Hugh O. Pentecost is editor, appears this week in a brand new typographical dress, and with twelve pages instead of eight. Besides its usual matter, it contains an admirable article from William M. Salter on "Religion and Reform."

Welcome, Toronto Week.

In reviewing Mr. George Hes's article in the Popular Science Monthly for March on "Competition and the Trusts," the Toronto Week finds room to say:

There are at least two very important kinds of combination in which Canadians are deeply interested. . . . We refer to railway and mining monopolies. Both are exemplified in the Alberta railway and coal company, whose methods were recently under discussion in the commons. In regard to both, the monopoly is made possible by the limitation of the supply. In both the right of the people to regulate by legislation seems clear and will, no doubt, be more fully recognized in the future than it has been in the past. Railways are not only necessarily limited in number, but are ordinarily possible only by means of the public charter granting extraordinary powers of interference with private property and rights. Few will now deny that such deposits as the coal deposit at Lethbridge should be regarded primarily as the property of the whole country. If disposed at all to private parties, the right of ownership thereby conferred should, evidently, be made subject to such conditions as will amply secure to the whole public the fullest benefit of the beneficent provision made by nature for their comfort or necessities.

That's Why.

Havre de Grace, Md., Republic.

Harrison has been elected; high tariff protectionists dominate congress; then why are the manufacturers without orders? It is simply because, while our population is increasing and natural resources are developing, prohibitory legislation and duties are encumbering our markets, contracting the field of labor, and working injury and decadence to our commerce and manufacturing interests.

An Open Confession Good for the Soul.
Lewiston, Me., Advocate.

One of our subscribers writes and asks why we do not discuss the single tax question in the columns of the Advocate. The question is very easily answered—because we do not thoroughly understand it.

MEN AND THINGS.

When an engineer designs an arch, an important factor in his calculations is the thrust—the tendency of the arch to push its supporting piers apart. The great copper syndicate sought to build an arch whose supports were demand and supply. They made no allowance for the thrust. So soon as they laid upon their arch the load that they intended it to bear, the supporting piers separated, and the arch tumbled into ruin.

There are in the world a certain number of deposits of copper, from which human labor can produce the metal with varying advantages. For purposes of comparison, these deposits, or mines, may be represented by a series of figures beginning, say, with 4, and ending with 20; the figures denoting the number of cents per pound for which the copper can be produced to whatever point on the earth's surface may represent the center of exchange, with reference to which prices are settled throughout the rest of the world.

Leaving out of consideration the confusions introduced by protective tariffs, it is easy to discover the general law under which these mines will be operated. If the price of copper at the center of exchange stand at 15, the mines represented by figures higher than 15 will remain unworked. If the price rise to 18, mines 19 and 20 only will stand idle. If it sink to 12, those above that figure will go unworked. The rise and fall of the price at the center of exchange will fix the line, on one side of which the mines can be profitably operated, while on the other side they can be worked only at a loss.

If the price stand at 15, and the owners of mines represented by 16 and 17 persist in operating them, the effect will of necessity be to force the price downward below 15 at the center of exchange. For a true price represents the point at which demand and supply are equal. If supply be increased price must fall to a point at which sufficient additional demand is created to absorb the additional supply. For the world is already using all the copper it can afford to use at 15. There are industries that can use it to advantage at 14, but to induce them to purchase the price must fall to that figure. When the product of mines 16 and 17 is thrown upon the market in addition to the product of the mines represented by 15 and under, one of two things must follow. Either the price will fall or the extra copper sent to market will remain unsold.

If the owners of all the mines below 17 agree together to force the price from 15 up to 17 by the simple expedient of refusing to sell below 17, there is nothing to prevent them doing it. The thing that they are not able to do is to compel the world to take at 17 the same quantity of copper that it would take at 15. The world simply cannot do it. It cannot afford to do it. Industries that flourish with copper at 15 will languish when copper rises to 16 and perish utterly when it advances to 17. The law of supply and demand is of nature's own ordaining. Human effort and human legislation are powerless against it.

The copper syndicate thought otherwise. They imagined that because this law of nature didn't please them they could change or prevent its action by determined opposition. They actually believed that if they united all the copper mine owners under their leadership, they would be able to compel the world to consume, at 17, the same amount of copper that it had been consuming at 15. They didn't expect to succeed immediately. They were willing to wait awhile, and fortified themselves for the period of waiting with immense capital and credit. But they were fully satisfied that the demand for copper at 15 represented the quantity which the world absolutely needed and must have, even at a higher price. So having formed their combination of mine owners they fixed the price of copper at the figure they thought proper, and settled themselves to wait until the world should get through sulking and conclude to come and buy.

Then it was grand to see how clammy and relentlessly the God-made law of nature asserted itself. The syndicate twisted, turned, wriggled, appealed—but nature kept on never minding. The artificial advance in the price of copper stimulated production as never before. From every quarter of the globe mine owners

rushed to the enchanted spot where a pack of fools, with the coffers of a great bank behind them, were paying for copper three, four, five, six cents a pound more than it was worth. And the faster they came forward, the more the copper users held aloof. Supply was pushed one way, demand another. They got so far apart at last that even the resources of one of the greatest banks in Europe were insufficient to span the gulf between them. And then the great copper syndicate, with the great Bank of Discount at its back, fell with a resounding smash. It had tried to set nature at defiance, and nature just quietly knocked it into smithereens and went on about her business. And the result would have been just the same if the syndicate had had at its command the resources of the Bank of England and of the United States treasury to boot. For though a child may lead a horse to water, an army cannot make him drink. And though a syndicate of capitalists may prevent men using copper, a thousand syndicates, with all the treasures of earth to strengthen them, cannot force men to buy as much copper at a high price as at a low one.

What the copper syndicate tried to do in one industry, is precisely what the legislative branch of the United States government is trying to do in several thousand—to set nature's law of supply and demand at defiance, and compel people to buy as much at high prices as they would at low ones. Congress says to the sugar refiners, to the salt producers, to the peanut growers, to the cloth weavers, to the coal and iron miners, to the men in a hundred other industries: Come, now, produce us sugar, salt, peanuts, cloth, coal, iron, what you will, and we will insure that you shall sell them all for more than they are worth. Here is the grandest market in the world—sixty million people obliged to have the very things that you are producing—and this market we will reserve for you. Nobody else shall sell in it, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Put the prices up fifty per cent, a hundred per cent. The people must have the things, and you can make them pay for them.

But somehow it doesn't work. The protected producers have done their share. The sugar has been refined, the salt evaporated, the cloth woven, the coal and iron mined and smelted. The people need these things and need them badly—they haven't got one-tenth the sugar they want, they could use more salt, they are hungry for peanuts, they are naked for want of cloth, chilled for want of coal, toolless for want of iron. Why don't they buy? For just the same reason that the copper users didn't buy of the syndicate—because they can't afford to. Nature is too strong, even for the United States congress. She is positively disrespectful. When congress makes a schedule of artificially high prices, and so encourages production, she just diminishes demand and goes on about her business, showing no more deference for the government of the great United States than for a gang of bourse conspirators. It's mortifying, but it's true.

But there is one very important difference between the defunct syndicate and the happily existent United States government. The syndicate kept its promises. It had to keep them. The very condition of its existence was that it should provide a market for the copper whose production it had encouraged. So long as it lived, it had to purchase all the copper offered it at the prices it had fixed. When it ceased to do that, there was an end of it. But the United States government holds its lease of life on no such condition. It can afford to lie, and does it gloriously. It contents itself with promising, and leaves the producers whom it has encouraged, to whistle for performance. And since somebody must pay the penalty for the mistake, and the government won't do it, there remains nothing but for the protected producer to mount the scaffold and have his head chopped off in place of the syndicate's that has been humbugging him. And so the refineries close up, and the salt producers go out of business, and the peanuts are not planted, and the cloth mills shut their doors, and coal and iron mines suspend, and the tariff syndicate wags its wicked head, and tells the would-be workers who are mildly complaining about having to go without sugar, and salt, and peanuts, and cloth, and coal, and iron, that there has been an "over

production" of all these articles, and that's the reason why so few can afford to buy them.

How long would the government of these United States exist if it were obliged to live up to its promises and had to provide for all the protected producers the market which it promised them when the tariff syndicate was organized? A week? Perhaps. A month? Well, hardly. Keep within the limits of probability, and say ten days.

The Christian Advocate is horrified to learn, on the authority of an English coroner, that "there is every reason to believe that infants in large numbers are sacrificed by their unnatural parents for the sake of the few pounds insurance on their lives. This fiendish crime is most frequently perpetrated by the use of improper food." No wonder the Christian Advocate is horrified. But will it please note the fact that here in New York, the board of health tells us, nine thousand children die every year for want of proper food and pure air. Their mothers don't kill them—we haven't got quite as far as that yet—but they die just the same.

A little war appears to be raging between the towns of Detroit and Pittsfield, in Somerset county, Maine. The way of it is this. Pittsfield is a large town on one side of the Sebasticook river, and Detroit is a little town on the other side. The Pittsfield people have been trying for years past to get a bridge built across the river, so that Detroiters could come over and buy at Pittsfield stores. The chief men of Detroit, on the other hand, opposed the building of the bridge, because if it were made easy for Detroiters to go to market in Pittsfield, store sites in Detroit would decline in value. The situation was not unlike that which now exists between the United States of America and the rest of the world, the Detroit land-owners representing the protected manufacturers of America, and the Pittsfield storekeepers the world at large.

The Pittsfielders conquered at last. The county finally decided to build the bridge, and built it was, accordingly. Then arose the question, Who should pay for it? The county commissioners assessed half the cost on Detroit, and Detroit held a mass meeting and resolved she wouldn't pay. Then a deputy sheriff summoned a posse of Pittsfielders, led them across the bridge, and levied on the cows and other movables of the Detroiters. Then the Detroiters got out writs of habeas corpus for the cows, etc., and their deputy sheriff led them across the bridge, and brought the stock home again. And so the matter stood at last. Detroit feels much as the United States did when she had to pay Canada five million dollars and submit to the indignity of cheaper fish besides.

The single tax system would put an end to such disputes as this. If the people of the county thought the bridge would be a good thing for the county, as bringing its parts closer together, the bridge would be built with the money earned by the people collectively and gathered for their benefit in the tax on land values. The following year the Pittsfield merchants would probably find their land value tax increased and would thank their stars for it, because the tax would be nothing out of their pockets, while its increase would mean a growing business for them. The poor Detroit men might complain a little, and point to their diminished land value tax as proof of the mischief done them by the bridge. But if they felt very much dissatisfied it would cost them little more than team hire to move over the river and set up store in Pittsfield, where land value taxes would be gratifyingly higher and business correspondingly more brisk.

When will hard times cease? Never. We will always have hard times. We will occasionally have in the future as in the past a large demand and a plentiful supply, but we will never be fully supplied because this world is not intended to give us all we want.

This is not an extract from one of Colonel Bob Ingersoll's addresses. It is an editorial in the Corning (Ohio) Times-Monitor, a paper edited by the Rev. B. M. O'Boylan, pastor of St. Bernard's Roman Catholic church. The correspondent who forwards it remarks that the Sunday Creek valley, in which Corning is situated, "fairly bulges with its wealth of coal and other minerals. Yet the people are practically paupers." The coal companies who own the valley allow the miners to earn only enough to provide a scanty supply of provisions from the

pluck-me stores, and to pay the rent of the hovels, living in which is one of the conditions of employment. It is probable that the Reverend O'Boylan's parochial ministrations are limited to the working classes of Corning. He would hardly be so unreasonable as to tell a congregation of mine owners that the world is not intended to give them all they want. And they wouldn't believe him if he did.

The Tribune tells its readers that "if the persons engaged in the protected industries are not willing to meet that free home competition which it is the express object of protection to encourage, they ought to get out of the business." But that is just the trouble—that they do "get out of the business." The trust, or syndicate, or conference, or whatever else it is that represents the tariff bred "free home competition" in each particular case, takes fine care to drive them out. What we want is a system under which it won't be necessary for men to "get out of the business."

What that system is, the Tribune understands well enough. Speaking of the threatened salt "syndicate," whose object is to increase the price of salt and keep it increased by the simple method of compelling American salt importers to "get out of the business," it says:

If they carry out the plan ascribed to them, they at least will have no right to complain if a congress representing American consumers should sweep away every cent of the duty on foreign salt.

It is great fun to see a protectionist champion swinging a free trade club after this fashion, and knocking down his own followers with it, too.

But just listen to the Press. The Press has been looking into the great question of "work for the unemployed." Not on its editorial pages of course, because its editorial corps is kept constantly busy demonstrating by statistics and fairy tales that there are no unemployed. But the other pages of the Press are run by men who look around them and tell what they see; and on these pages the question of the unemployed has been pretty freely discussed of late. "Neither charity nor correction," says the Press, "is called for in this connection. They attack the result, not the causes, and the \$7,000,000 and more annually devoted to these objects in New York might be doubled or even quadrupled without perceptible improvement. When we go to the real first cause of a great part of the destitution and depravity that cost us so much, the tide of degradation will be arrested, money saved and all the thousands of idlers afforded a fair chance to elevate themselves to the position of industrious, self-supporting Americans."

And with these words by way of preface, the Press goes on to speak in terms of commendation of a solution of the problem offered by Mr. Charles E. Buell, of Newark, N. J., in a letter which it publishes. "Mr. Buell's plan," it tells us, "seems to be not only philosophical but practical." Naturally you would think, hearing the Press talk in this manner, that Mr. Buell must be going to propose an extra 100 per cent duty on clothes or coal, or something else the unemployed stand in need of, because it is a well known protectionist principle that the way to make it easy for a man to get anything is to make it difficult for him to buy it. But you would be mistaken. Mr. Buell doesn't say a word about protection. What sort of a thing he really does propose may be judged from the opening paragraph of his letter:

If a man who is working for wages has a good farm waiting for him, so that when he is out of work at his wage-earning avocation he can go to his farm and there earn more than a living, and on the other hand can at any time leave the farm and go back to his wage-earning avocation, such a man would be independent. If every man was so situated there would be no class of unemployed, no men in search of work, and none of the long list of inequalities in the distribution of the products of labor.

Uh? Talk about the world not moving! It seems to me that it is moving pretty fast, when the Press opens its columns to such expressions as these, and pronounces them "not only philosophical but practical." Or can it be that the Press has only been masquerading as a protectionist periodical all this time and is really at heart devoted to free trade and the single tax. There is a good deal to be said in support of the idea. It cannot be denied that when Mr. Porter first came to this country, his passage was paid with British gold—a circumstance which of itself would stamp him as a free trader. The

Press's editorial page has been crowded with arguments for protection, it is true; but when you come to look at them closely there's a boomerang twist in every one of them. And now this approving indorsement of Mr. Buell's utterance—it must be so. The Press has only pretended protectionism, as a bit of strategy, to make its way into the protectionist stronghold and seduce the garrison from its allegiance. The next thing we shall see in its pages will be an article pointing out that the only thing needed to sweep away "the long list of inequalities in the distribution of the products of labor" is the practical acknowledgement of the equal right of all men to the use of natural opportunities. Then the Press will drop its pretense of protectionism and take its stand, flatfooted, on the platform of the single tax. It may yet be found that British gold never served America better than when it paid for Mr. Porter's outfit and passage across the Atlantic.

The citizens—or, to speak more accurately, the republican citizens—of Winchester, Mass., have introduced a new thing in politics. Instead of allowing the senator or congressman, or chief saloon keeper, or whoever else may be the proprietor of the local political patronage, to tell the president whom he should appoint postmaster at Winchester, they have held a caucus, selected a candidate by ballot, and sent his name on to Washington, with the endorsement of every republican voter in the town. This is a decided improvement upon the time hallowed method. Its only defect is that it doesn't go far enough.

Why shouldn't all the adult residents of a town, non voters as well as voters, democrats, single tax men and prohibitionists as well as republicans, unite in selecting a nominee for postmaster? Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge, who suggested the Winchester caucus, says that under a republican administration only republican voters should have anything to say about it, because if the post office is badly managed the republican party will have to bear the blame, while if well managed the party will get the credit. But surely, this is a very narrow statement of the case. What the people of Winchester or any other town want is not to know whom to blame for a bad postmaster or whom to praise for a good one, but simply a good postmaster. They want their mail handled carefully, their letters delivered promptly. The postmaster of Winchester is not the servant of the Winchester republicans exclusively or peculiarly. He is the servant of all the people of Winchester, of every one of them equally and alike. If any of them are allowed to have a voice in his nomination, surely every one of them should have an equal voice.

Such a system, if it could be generally introduced, would go far toward purifying the civil service. A postmaster, knowing that he owed his office to the suffrages of his fellow citizens, would be apt to devote more attention to the public service and less to the service of his party boss. He would have a well founded confidence of re-nomination if he deserved it, and an equal assurance of discharge if he didn't. If the nominee were selected by a really secret ballot, the citizens of any town would have themselves to thank for any faults in their post office administration. And, what is more important than all else, the effect would be to lift the department of the public service which most closely affects the every day life of the people out of the political mire which now soils and disfigures it.

T. L. M'CREADY.

"Frying Fat" Before and After Election

Joliet, Ill., Press and People.

The Joliet rolling mills subscribed \$25,000 to the republican side of the late campaign. That was the "fat" that was "fried" out of them by the republican national committee. By the twelve per cent reduction of wages of their employes lately posted on the gates of that giant monopoly's premises, they will recoup \$15,000 of that sum. Now they are "frying the fat" out of the workmen who voted for higher wages.

But the Poor Permitted Themselves to Be "Choked" by Such Statements.

Toronto Globe.

The 22,963,598 yards of cotton, valued at a little over six cents a yard, on which duty was paid last year, were worn mainly by rich and luxurious people. So were the 243,115 pairs of boots and shoes at 87 cents a pair. Anybody who has swallowed these yarns ought not to choke over a statement that rich and luxurious men and women paid nearly all the \$108,025 duty on the \$431,743 worth of woodenware, tubs, pails and churns imported last year.

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Mr. Plimsoll on Insurance.

Lloyd's, in London, is one of the curiosities of the mercantile world. It is a corporation the sole object of whose being is to enable its members to work to more advantage as individuals. Every member of the society transacts business altogether on his own account, free from the slightest control of his fellows, yet enjoys the full benefit of the prestige which a successful career of a century or more has given to the association. In collecting news, in surveying vessels and cargoes, in estimating and overseeing repairs, the society acts, through its agents, in the equal interest of all its members, collecting from every one an equal fee to defray the necessary expenses; but in making rates of premium, in accepting or rejecting risks, every member is expected to, and does, act upon his own opinion. Lloyd's, in fact, is simply a co-operative society, whose members carry on the business of marine insurance, each on his own account, and act together only in directions where experience has proved co-operation to possess advantages over individual action. Its tendency is to economize production to the utmost. The individual members of the society are able to reduce the expenses of their business to the lowest point; while the competition between them for business enables the people who buy marine insurance to secure the benefit of the saving thus effected.

The method of transacting business at Lloyd's is very simple. Each one of the four hundred or more associated underwriters has a designated desk in a room set apart for the use of the society in the Royal Exchange. To these desks the brokers bring their proposals for insurance; each proposal specifying the particulars of the risk, the amount of insurance wanted, and the rate offered. The underwriter to whom a proposal is brought examines it, considers whether the terms offered are satisfactory or not, and either rejects it entirely, or writes beneath it—literally "underwrites"—the sum which he is willing to insure, which is often but a trifling fraction of the whole amount. The proposal is then handed to another member, who in turn makes a further underwriting, and so on, until the entire amount of the risk is contracted for. A proposal is rarely underwritten by fewer than fifty members, and often shows the signatures of more than a hundred. In this manner each underwriter, however small a business he may do, is able to spread it over a sufficient number of risks to obtain the full benefit of the law of averages, as effectually as a corporation operating with ten thousand times his capital.

This is the institution which Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, whose name is worthily immortalized in the "Plimsoll mark"—the transcribed circle on every British vessel's side, marking the depth below which she must not be loaded—would like to see swept away, and against which he argues in an article in the Nineteenth Century for March, entitled "Twelve millions per annum wasted in the sea." Mr. Plimsoll's record as a philanthropist gives weight to his words. Fifteen years ago he pleaded for sailors' lives so earnestly, and exposed the cruel murders wrought by the greed of ship owners so boldly, that without the backing of any political party, and despite the opposition of a wealthy and influential class, he fairly forced from parliament a measure of reform under which nearly five hundred rotten ships were broken up within a single year, and which has unquestionably largely diminished the risk of life in the entire British mercantile marine. When such a man speaks, on the subject with which he has demonstrated his familiarity, he commands attention; and, as might have been expected, the press on both sides of the Atlantic have quoted his statements largely, and offered much comment on his proposal.

The facts on which Mr. Plimsoll founds his argument, and for which he gives good authority, are noteworthy. Briefly stated, they are these:

I. Several large British shipowners allow their vessels to remain either wholly or partially uninsured. Among these the percentage of loss is from one-sixth to one-fourth the average among other vessels. In other words, the losses of fully insured vessels, whose owners make a profit, or at all events lose nothing, by their loss, are from four to six times the

losses of uninsured or partly insured vessels, whose owners have a direct interest in keeping them afloat.

II. The annual loss of life at sea in vessels carrying the English flag is rather more than two thousand.

III. A moderate estimate of the money value of British ships and cargoes annually lost at sea is about £16,000,000.

Now, as Mr. Plimsoll points out, if the losses of uninsured or partially insured vessels, compared with the losses of all other vessels, are as one to four, it is clear that by so reforming the insurance system as to prevent any ship owner from profiting by the loss of his ships, the annual money values of ships and cargoes lost, and the annual loss of human life, will be reduced in the same proportion. "We can not, alas!" he says, "do away with all losses at sea. Caution and skill are nearly useless in foggy weather, so we shall still have collisions, and still have strandings; but that three-fourths of our total losses of property and life at sea are easily preventable, the facts and figures I have given abundantly prove."

So much for Mr. Plimsoll's object. It surely is a good one. Fifteen hundred human lives and £12,000,000 of wealth are a fearful yearly sacrifice; and if to save them it is necessary to abolish Lloyd's association, then surely it were well that Lloyd's should be abolished.

Mr. Plimsoll sees quite clearly that an effectual remedy would be the prohibition of all marine insurance; but of this he has no hope whatever. Even to limit lawful insurance to the actual value of the vessel has been found impracticable. A bill to this effect, introduced in 1884 by Mr. Chamberlain, then president of the Board of trade, was so bitterly opposed that it had to be withdrawn. Not only are vessels insured for sums beyond their value, but prospective freights also are insured; so that if a ship outward bound for China be totally lost, her owner may collect in insurance not only much more than her value, plus the full amount of the freight money he would have received on delivery of the cargo in China, but also the equivalent of the return freight the vessel might have earned on her homeward voyage. And all this without any deduction for seamen's wages, port charges, or deterioration.

Manifestly such insurance is simple gambling. The odds, to start with, are in the underwriters' favor—the ship will probably make her voyage in safety. But by just so much as the ship owner can cripple his vessel without detection, the odds against him are diminished. If he can get her off to sea insufficiently manned, with faulty rigging, with a mast sprung, with deficient canvass, with an unreliable chronometer, with a careless or drunken captain in command, with a promising leak, with her cargo improperly stowed, with a rotten plank or two below the water line, with any of a dozen other disadvantages, his chances of profit by her loss are proportionately increased. And the inevitable result is, as every sailor man well knows, that a great many ship owners do, deliberately, send ships to sea, knowing that the chances are against their safe arrival, and careless of the lives of those on board. They are not evil-minded men—many of them are conscientious church members, and liberal contributors to charities and missions. They are doing nothing more than railway managers do when for the sake of saving expense they allow train hands to be killed by using link and pin car couplings and old fashioned hand brakes—nothing more than many a store keeper does who allows a saleswoman to stand all day in a killing draft which the spending of a few dollars would obviate. Nor does their conduct argue any necessary depravity of human nature. They are simply a product of the modern social system—a system which, by impeding and discouraging production, and denying labor its rightful opportunity and its legitimate reward, sets a premium upon gambling, and teaches that the surest way to succeed in life, is to trample on the rights of others.

It is this gambling in insurance that Mr. Plimsoll seeks to obviate. He sees the hopelessness of attacking it by direct legislation. The gamblers are too strong for him. And it must be noted that it is not only the ship owning gamblers that oppose him, but the underwriting gamblers as well. Both players want to keep the game a-going. Mr. Plimsoll quotes an underwriter as saying that he and his fellows are by no means anxious to diminish losses. Each underwriter is anxious

to have as few losses as possible himself, "but collectively we thrive best upon a high rate of loss. . . . If you could diminish losses one half, you would simply cut our business in two. . . . So we keep the premium high enough, and then spread our business over as great a number of ships as we can." But though direct attack is hopeless, Mr. Plimsoll thinks a flank movement would succeed. If he can abolish the individual underwriters, and have no policies issued except by large corporations, he feels sure the gambling features of marine insurance would disappear.

He gives his reasons. The individual underwriter, he says, is much weaker than the ship owner—fatally weaker. The individual underwriter, offering to sell insurance, has to make his bargain in quick competition with several hundred other individuals equally anxious to sell. He has no time for negotiation, for investigation. He must accept or decline a proposal as soon as it is offered him, or it will be passed on to another desk. But a large corporation, Mr. Plimsoll feels sure, would not act that way. Being able to take the whole of any risk, its transactions would be sufficiently large to warrant delay and investigation. It would carefully examine the vessels it might be asked to insure, would refuse to accept any but the best risks, would offer lower premiums as a reward for improvements in construction and equipment, and would thus render overinsurance unprofitable. Mr. Plimsoll supports this view by reference to the system of fire insurance, which is altogether in the hands of corporations. The fire insurance companies, he says, not only insure against loss by fire, but actually diminish the risk of loss. They compel their patrons to take better precautions, to erect better buildings. They expressly limit their liability to indemnity for actual loss. And he thinks that if the business of marine insurance were also confined to corporations, the same beneficial results would follow.

It is easy to detect the weak points in Mr. Plimsoll's argument. His admission that marine underwriters find a profit in the gambling system is alone fatal to it. The failure of Mr. Chamberlain's bill, to which he refers, shows the hopelessness of limiting marine insurance to mere indemnity for actual loss sustained. And experience, in this country at least, is far from warranting the expectation that corporations would be less keen in competition, or less willing to engage in profitable gambling, than individuals. But chief among the objections to his plan is the fact that it would be a restriction upon men's freedom of action, such as should never be permitted, save under pressure of the most dire necessity. If, indeed, it were certain that the lives of 1,500 British seamen could be saved every year by merely taking away from individuals the right to sell insurance upon ships and cargoes at their pleasure, it might be proper to impose the restriction. But it is certain that no such result would follow, not only for the reasons briefly stated, but because nature's law is inviolable, that wrong can never be set right by wrongdoing—it can only be intensified and increased. Even though the particular evil aimed at be swept away, some other greater evil will surely take its place. The only way to cure a social evil, no matter of what kind, is to undo the wrong that causes it. The bent bow can be straightened only by letting go the bowstring. To try to force men to do right is useless; the only way is to remove restriction, and allow them to do right. The bow will straighten of itself when once the string is slackened.

It is curious to see how instinctively, and yet how blindly, the leaders of the free trade party in England have recognized this great natural law. Mr. Plimsoll complains bitterly that when he first pleaded the sailors' cause in parliament, and introduced a bill forbidding ship owners to overload their ships, or send rotten ships to sea, John Bright and Milner Gibson opposed his proposals as "contrary to the principles of free trade." And he appeals to free traders to join him in his crusade against the underwriters, and not to block the pathway of reform again out of any respect to what he terms their "miserable fetish." And yet the free trade leaders, in hesitating fashion, enunciated a true principle, though they erred in their application of it. Free trade implies and is bound up with all other kinds of freedom—freedom to come and go, freedom to labor, to produce, to keep or to exchange at will, freedom to

do all things except only to interfere with the equal freedom of other people. Mr. Plimsoll's law against sending rotten or overlaiden ships to sea was not an interference with true freedom. For it did no more, and aimed to do no more than to compel ship owners to refrain from forcing men to do what they didn't want to do—to go to sea in ships that were unseaworthy. It is quite true that it was a makeshift and imperfect remedy; and being such, it only lessened a little the evil it was aimed at. The true remedy would have been to remove the restrictions that compel seafaring men, like all other laborers, to accept whatever employment may be offered them. But it was in the direction of the true remedy, just as the limitation of the power of the slave owner over the slave is in the direction of emancipation. The free traders were wrong in opposing Mr. Plimsoll then. But they will be right in opposing him now. For his present scheme is aimed at something very different. It attacks the freedom of men to do what they have a perfect natural right to do, namely, to produce wealth out of which to reimburse other men for losses. He is really trying to have one man punished for another man's crime. Because ship owners persist in forcing men to go to sea in unsafe vessels, he wants to forbid underwriters from doing business.

Did men really enjoy freedom—were they all equally free to apply their labor to nature's raw material, to dispose of the product of their industry at pleasure, to come and go at will over the earth's surface, such crimes as Mr. Plimsoll aims at could never be committed. Under such conditions the willingness of sailors to go to sea in a ship would be an ample guarantee of her seaworthiness and proper outfit. For captains, mates and seamen would not then be forced, as now, to take any employment offered them, but would have perfect freedom of choice whether they would sail on one vessel or another, or on none at all. And we may be very certain that they would not jeopardize their lives or their comfort unnecessarily. The single tax system, by making production more profitable than gambling, would release ship owners from the incentive to crime, and by enfranchising labor would render the crime impossible.

To this Mr. Plimsoll may very reasonably reply that granting all that is claimed for the single tax reform, it is hopeless to expect men to adopt it immediately, and that meantime fifteen hundred British sailors are being needlessly done to death every year. Something must be done at once. The necessity is urgent.

Something can be done at once, something that Mr. Plimsoll will probably find easier of accomplishment than his scheme of abolishing individual underwriters. But to do anything worth while, he must strike more directly at the evil he wants to remedy. This is, that many ship owners find it more profitable to lose their vessels than to keep them afloat. The remedy must be sought in making it more profitable to keep them floating than to lose them. Mr. Plimsoll quite admits this, only he says it can't be done. The influence of ship owners and underwriters in parliament is sufficiently strong to defeat any bill forbidding over insurance.

Yet a little reflection will show that it isn't necessary to limit the freedom of contract by forbidding over insurance. It is only necessary that ship owners should be compelled to fulfill their just obligations toward the men whose sacrifice and suffering make over insurance profitable. The insurance gambling system rests at bottom upon the power of ship owners to compel sailors to go to sea in unsafe ships. It can be terminated by making the ship owners responsible to the sailors for the condition of the ships. If they were made liable in damages, in some of £1,000, for every sailor lost, and in some smaller fixed amount for every sailor wrecked, and these damages were made a first lien on any insurance on the vessel, insurance gambling would come to a very speedy end. For even if underwriters consented to insure against such damages, which is altogether unlikely, the ship owner would be constantly paying a heavy premium for insurance from which he could derive no benefit whatever in any event. The owner who should send a floating coffin to sea with a crew of fifteen men on board, would have to pay for insurance on £15,000, of which not a penny would come to him in case of loss. Under such circumstances, he would be pretty apt to keep his coffin in port. Insurance gambling would cease, for the

very good reason that there would no longer be any profit in it.

It is interesting to forecast the ultimate effect of such a reform upon seagoing commerce. Ships are divided into two classes—the low premium and the high premium. The former have a marked advantage in competing for freights, because of the lower rate at which their cargoes can be insured. The Atlantic liner now secures a higher freight rate than the tramp steamer, or else goes full while the tramp has a clean swept hold, because the shippers of her cargo can secure insurance at a lower premium. But if the tramp were made as seaworthy as the liner, which she would be if both were equally responsible for life, the liner would soon lose this advantage in competition. Then we should probably see the great steamship owning firms and companies applying to the cargoes they carry the same principle that many of them now apply to the ships they own. They would guarantee the safe delivery of cargo, without insurance, just as they now take the risk of the safe arrival of the ship. And when once they began to do this, the days of the marine insurers would be numbered.

That ship owners could do this, is evident from facts cited by Mr. Plimsoll. The great non-insuring ship owners keep insurance accounts, which are credited with the regular premiums that would be paid were the ship insured, and charged with the actual losses incurred. Donald Currie reports the credit side of his insurance account as £150,000 for seven years, while the debits are £19,000; the net cost of his insurance being four-fifths of one per cent a year. Thomas Wilson, Sons & Co. of Hull, who own seventy-two steamers, trading to all parts of the world, state the net cost of their self insurance as two and one-sixth per cent for an entire period of eight years. Other ship owners make equally remarkable statements, showing how effectually ship owners can keep their vessels afloat when they really try to do it. And it is just as easy to preserve the cargo as to preserve the ship. While the one is safe, the other must be so, too.

It is easy to see how commerce would be quickened, were the heavy tax now levied on it by the marine insurance systems swept away. But better than any quickening of commerce will be the immense saving of human life that will result when ship owners shall cease to plead the "act of God" as excuse for their own neglect, and build, equip, and man their vessels to keep afloat and not to founder.

The Salvation Army.

The March number of Murray's Magazine contains an article on the history and methods of the Salvation army by General Booth, the founder of the organization. It is one of the most interesting contributions to contemporaneous history that has appeared for years. For the true history of a people or a civilization is written in such movements as that of the Salvation army, far more legibly and truly than in the chronicles of campaigns and parliaments. They are really movements, and not mere maneuvers of parade. They mark genuine advance, or genuine retrogression. They mean that the people are, at all events and all hazards, going somewhere, and really doing, or in earnest preparing to do something. In one of the frozen civilizations of the east the rise of the Salvation army would be a portent perplexing statesmen and making monarchs tremble. Western statesmen regard it with a smile. But it may have its meaning for all that.

"It was near the junction of the Mile End and Cambridge roads that on Sunday morning, July 3, 1865, I took my stand to begin, as I supposed, a fortnight's services among the poor of the East End." In these words General Booth chronicles the beginning of the army. The movement was slow at first. It called itself "the Christian Mission," "but we had become an army, and a conquering army, too, almost without knowing it." At the end of the first ten years there were thirty-two evangelists at work, holding 304 services per week, and missions had been established in eight towns outside of the metropolis. The army now has in 31 countries and colonies 2,533 corps, under the leadership of 7,109 officers wholly employed in the work, who are holding 2,300,000 services per annum in 35 languages, and publishing 27 weekly newspapers, with a united sale of upward of 31,000,000 copies per annum." The rev-

enue of the army exceeds £750,000 per annum. The rentals paid for the use of buildings in England alone amount to more than £100,000 annually. It is very easy to sneer at a movement which, in the face of active hostility and persecution, has, by virtue of its own vitality, attained this amazing growth within twenty-four years. But it would be hard to justify the sneer.

The method of the army's invasions is very simple. "Two young men or women are sent into a town where a hall or building of some kind—perhaps an unused warehouse or workshop—has been taken for their services, but where no one has promised to assist them in any way. Their first services are announced by advertisements or posters of an unusual description, and a crowd of the most unbelieving and miscondacted sort is all but certain to assemble to hear this new thing. . . . They come prepared by all the accounts they have read of the army to see a 'mockery of religion,' a 'sort of theatrical performance.' . . . One can easily understand the astonishment of hearers possessed by such notions when they find themselves face to face with a few plain men and women whose every look and word testifies that their one object is to urge upon everyone's attention simple truths which have been familiar to the Christian minds ever since the days of the apostles. . . . There is in a few weeks a Salvation army corps formed, a settled congregation assembled; in short, a mission holding some score of meetings a week established. Ten years later you find the work going on with as much of the excitement as ever."

As for the methods of the army's warfare, the drums and fife, the fiddles and the tambourines, the peculiar style of address. General Booth accounts for them on straightforward businesslike principles. They are not mere eccentricities, but genuine evolutions. The mission at first had its prejudices in favor of the time-honored methods. But "when we saw that a fiddle well played would draw more men from the public house to the meeting, than the announcement of a reverend preacher, we announced the fiddle; and when we found that a fiddler who was utterly incapable of speaking in pulpit language, could rivet the attention and arouse the consciences of such a crowd by talking to them in the simple Psalmist style about what God had done for his soul, we ceased to impose upon such men the duty of sermonizing. . . . When we discovered that women were not only as capable and as useful as men upon the platform, but had equal ability as leaders in every form of work, we gave them positions equal to those of their brethren."

Altogether the Salvation army is an interesting study. General Booth has painted a striking picture of it, and written a vigorous defense of its warfare. And there is a lesson worth learning by the advocates of the single tax in the gigantic success of this unique effort to bring Christianity to the men and women whose happiness its founder intended it should subserve.

T. L. MCCREADY.

WRITE LETTERS.

Many "Standard" Readers Think it a Good Time Now to Do So.

The single tax campaign is not for election times only. It lasts all the year round. The supporters of the cause never cease to push it by every means practicable. Just at the present time many of them are writing to THE STANDARD recommending volunteer letter writing as the cheapest and readiest method by which all believers may lend a hand in spreading the light. The following extracts indicate the tone of a large number of the letters received:

Cleveland, O.—What a great field this letter writing is for the Nicodemuses and for those who have no money but can and are willing to do something with their hands.

W. A. C.

Washington, D. C.—My opinion is that more good can be done for the cause in a vigorous prosecution of the work by writing letters than can be done in many places in the attempt to hold weekly meetings, although we have no reason to feel discouraged at the progress we are making here; and a recent editorial from the Washington Post, the leading morning newspaper in this city, and, by the way, a straight republican and extremely high tariff sheet, will testify for itself that there are more people thinking as we do on this question than members of single tax societies have any idea of. As I said before, while we are not in the least discouraged, we all think that the glorious cause for which

we are all striving should move forward more rapidly.

W. G.

Streator, Ill.—I would like to point out that nearly every one of our friends can help bring our ideas and our aims into prominence by addressing their local papers. This will bring the single tax before a large class of readers who would otherwise never come in contact with us, and to whom THE STANDARD is unknown.

THE STANDARD, I am sure, will gladly permit all of us to use the wealth of its columns for this purpose if our own inspiration should run short. While passing through Evansville, Ind., I read an editorial urging the necessity of taxing merchants and trades, which pursuits it was pleased to call "privileges," in order to equalize the high taxes which had had to bear. I addressed the editor, pointing out that industrial pursuits were not privileges, and in what manner exclusive taxation of unimproved land values would benefit the town, and create an industrial boom which would be the making of all Evansville.

G. G. G.

Dallas, Texas.—No one can say that he would like to see the single tax adopted yet at the same time sit back and do nothing, for he can take hold and write letters. J. C. B.

Upper Lehigh, Pa.—I believe if the scattered literary forces of "Progress and Poverty" are effectively wielded, they will produce results far reaching and conclusive. For the past three years I have been a humble volunteer in the army of the "single tax." I have constituted myself a literary bureau of one, and have used my humble pen to the best of my ability.

G. M. G.

New York.—Writing is a work all single tax men or women may engage in. It is also a means of educating the writer himself or herself.

E. B. S.

New York.—From my situation and ability my field of work must be in the letter writing line. I have already done something in that way, and have accomplished good work.

B. W. J.

Jamestown, N. Y.—Writing will set our wide awake, active single taxers to thinking, for won't they, during the time they write a letter, and from that time till they write the next one, be apt to be pondering over the land question, its main arguments, their arguments, what arguments they have used and what arguments and thoughts they should advance in the future?

A. G. A.

Atlanta, Ga.—There have been times in the past when correspondence was a great power in politics. During the latter days of the Roman republic, and in our own country during the revolution, and for some years afterwards, private letters instructed and convinced the leaders of the people everywhere. Although the great increase of newspapers has curtailed the sphere of such letter writing, yet what it has left is very large and important still. We must not forget that a letter actually written—not a printed circular—is always read; and if it is read, it is unavoidably reflected upon.

J. C. R.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Several years ago I adopted the plan of writing letters on the subject of the single tax to all of my friends, and of late that of sending marked copies of THE STANDARD to persons I had endeavored to interest in the subject. It is a very telling method of spreading the light.

G. A. W.

Boston, Mass.—The same letter, if copied, might be sent to a number of persons. Every advocate of the single tax has his own way of explaining it. Now, suppose every member who can afford to do so would provide himself with the means of taking a number of copies of his letters, and in his first letter request the privilege of explaining the single tax in a series of short letters, and after such preliminary remarks as he might think proper, close with the statement that, if not objectionable, he would follow it up weekly with short letters until the whole ground is covered. He could then take a number of copies of the letter and mail as many as he might think his means would justify. He could next week mail another lot of them and also start his second letter, doing with it the same as with the first, except that he would send it only to the persons to whom he had sent the first; and so on with the third, fourth and following letters until he had covered the whole ground. Suppose it would take six letters to cover what he wanted to say, and that he would take sixty copies of each letter. The first week he would mail ten copies of his first letter, postage twenty cents. The second week he would mail ten copies of the first letter and ten of the second; postage forty cents. And so on until the sixth week, when the postage would be one dollar and twenty cents. The persons to whom he had first written would then have received the last letter, and the postage would decrease twenty cents a week until the twelfth week, when it would be twenty cents, and the last ten of the sixty persons would have received the last of the six letters. Thus, with the labor of writing six letters, and at an average cost of sixty cents a week for twelve weeks, he would have explained the single tax in perhaps the most effective manner to sixty persons. Think of it! Out of that number he would have made some converts. Who can say how many? Suppose it was but one. Who can say to how many of our despairing brothers that one might bring the good cheer of our glad tidings?

BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Does the present system of taxation aid, or does it hinder, a poor man in acquiring the ownership of his home; and when he has acquired it, does it discriminate in his favor, or against him, as compared with other real estate owners?

Advocates of the single tax are continually met with the charge of endeavoring to establish a system that would put the poor man's home in jeopardy. If they can show that taxation as it is increases the difficulties which a poor man meets with in becoming the owner of a home site, and then when he gains possession of one and builds a home on it puts a heavy burden upon him, they may be listened to while they go on to prove that their proposed system is equally favorable to the small house holder as to any other tax payer.

To the poor man himself, however, the question is one of hard earned dollars and cents. As a rule, when he becomes a house owner, it is by a series of part payments. Is he encouraged or discouraged by the state while saving some of his scant wages, denying himself and his family many a little enjoyment, and anxiously planning small economies that he may in the course of years have a home of his own? Of course, he has no right to look for special encouragement from the state. In a democracy, the government should not recognize any class as privileged. But it is his right to demand that he be not discouraged through unfair burdens being placed on his shoulders. His self-interest prompts him to seek equitable taxation.

How taxes affect a workingman's chances for getting possession of a home may be seen to advantage in this metropolis. Here the illustration is to be had on a large scale.

Within a few miles of the New York city hall are the offices of more than one hundred building and loan associations. The Home-Seeker and Co-operative Bulletin, the newspaper representative of these associations, estimates the number of their shareholders at thirty thousand. They are adding to the community—to the great population centre of New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City—one thousand home owners annually. Their average loan for a house is \$3,000. Their loan fund is \$3,000,000 a year. Nearly all the buildings that they erect are in the suburbs of the cities.

Beyond the more compactly built up parts of each of the cities named there is an area of land, from two to five miles in width, that, it is expected by its owners, will be wanted in time as sites for homes and business houses. Speculation imparts a value to nearly every acre of it in view of the needs of those who shall one day wish to use it. Much of it is held by large estates. Some of these, like the Astor estate, do not improve their land until after the rest of the locality is pretty well built up. Others build as soon as tenants create a demand for additional house room in a neighborhood. Others do not build at all, but merely hold the land for a good market, and then sell it out in lots. What is called a land improvement company, however, goes to work systematically to make the highest possible profits out of small buyers.

The West Brooklyn land improvement company is a type of its kind. It is a stock company. Its managers a few years ago bought up in a quiet way a tract of land about the size of Prospect park lying between Greenwood cemetery and Bay Ridge. It lay in the old town of New Utrecht, was entirely unimproved, and was sold at the value of farm land. The company developed it for lot buyers by cutting streets through it. First corners were given inducements in very low prices to be paid on easy terms. The erection of their houses in turn proved to be an inducement for others to come. Members of building and loan associations took many lots, and their houses have been erected or are going up, or are being planned for. The completion of the Thirtieth street ferry, the construction of the Fifth avenue elevated road and other improvements, together with the influx of the people building homes, advanced the prices of vacant lots, 25 by 100 feet, from \$50 and \$100, what the early comers paid, to \$300 and \$600, at which they are held to-day. The promoters of the improvement company, well satisfied with their profits, bought another farm last week, intending to convert it into city lots.

These land speculators depend for their earnings on forestalling and cornering a market for home sites. They produce nothing. For this the state rewards them by the lightest possible taxation.

The members of the building and loan associations do not speculate in land. They build homes. Their interests are directly opposed to those of the land speculators from whom they buy. They employ labor and capital, circulate money, stimulate business, and add to the wealth of the nation, improve the comforts of life and help make the world more beautiful. For this the state "confiscates" a progressive portion of their wealth as they create it.

The experience of several members of building and loan associations in this respect has been gathered. Mr. Charles Sibley May, a member of the East Brooklyn association, has lately given his reasons in the Home Seeker why he did not build. Three or four years ago he acquired thirty lots in the outskirts of Brooklyn. He figured on building six double cottages at \$3,000 apiece on a plot of twelve lots that cost him \$30 apiece. After calculating every expense save that of taxes, he decided he could take the risks of building his cottages and selling or letting them. When, however, he found that the taxes on his proposed cottages would be over \$270 a year he reluctantly concluded he could not make the venture. He then became a speculator in vacant land. He held his lots unimproved for three years and got 500 per cent profit on the \$360 he had paid for them. A man who had built a little house on two lots across the street from Mr. May's land paid \$40 a year taxes for his house and lots, while Mr. May was paying \$9 a year for all his vacant lots.

A man who works at a trade in New York at wages that average perhaps \$16 a week the year round, bought a lot in Brooklyn for \$450 about five years ago. He put up a house that cost him \$2,700, and he has been struggling ever since to pay off a mortgage on it. His \$3,150 property is assessed at \$2,500, and his taxes have been running along at about \$60. It was bad enough that as soon as he had built his house it was assessed at about seventy-five per cent of its value, and the state began to "confiscate" about two and a half per cent of it annually; but that was not the worst of it. His lot, as a part of improved property, was also assessed at seventy-five per cent of its full selling value. Had he left the lot vacant it would have been assessed at only about forty per cent of its value, as have been all the vacant lots in his neighborhood.

It cannot be calculated, but it may be imagined, how many poor men do not build at all, or in building erect smaller houses than they wish to live in, or buy only one lot instead of two for their children's playground, because of the costs through taxation increasing as they improve land.

An approximate calculation, however, can be made of the taxes added annually to the amount paid by members of the building and loan associations of New York and the vicinity. Three million dollars, as has been said, is the sum that is being advanced by the association to members the present year for building. Assessed at seventy-five per cent, and at the rate of \$2.50 per \$100, the amount of taxes on \$3,000,000 worth of real estate in round numbers would be \$56,000. If, therefore, the average of \$3,000,000 in loans were to continue for a period of ten years, the taxes paid on the members' houses erected during that time would then amount to more than half a million dollars a year.

Just try to realize what this means. Thirty thousand men are now saving \$100 a year apiece in the hope of ultimately acquiring homes. So soon as they shall have got them, the legislature will step in and fine them each at least \$56.25 a year for having dared to get them. At least that. Most probably a good deal more. Isn't that a rather original way of encouraging home production?

Considering the work that is being done all over the state by building and loan associations—the poor man's most profitable form of banking—it can be said with little fear of contradiction that the members are paying several million dollars in taxes on their modest homes.

On the other hand, what is the total sum paid on the millions of dollars' worth of suburban land which is being held by speculators? Assessed wrongfully as agricultural land, or mercifully as unproductive urban land, it adds but a mite to the

public treasury, while its accretions in value are always sufficient to make it a tempting investment. Its owners are through custom a privileged class in our democracy. Why should assessors rate their lands at only forty per cent of their value? Why should they be given a premium for withholding from the community "that by which and on which all men must live?" They have neither toiled nor spun. Almost their sole work is to plan how to increase their toll upon capital and labor before permitting them to go to work on that land to benefit mankind.

The small house owner is looking into this promising question of taxation. The New York Home-Seeker, the St. Louis Western Building Association Journal and the Chicago Building Society Advocate, three representative building and loan association newspapers, are having it discussed at length in their columns, both editorially and by correspondence. The two western papers show a preference for the single land value tax. The New York paper is not afraid of talking about that tax, and evidently wishes to elicit all the facts on both sides.

An officer of a building and loan association, on being spoken to about the discussion of taxation among members, said, after requesting that, for business reasons, his name be not published:

"A good many small home owners have already arrived at conclusions on the taxation question—conclusions that thoroughly agree. They will watch with interest the progress of the investigation of the building and loan associations. They themselves think that as things are every poor house builder is called on to pay two taxes, for besides his payments at the tax office he makes a most onerous one to the man from whom he buys his home site. The remedy for this state of affairs the small home owners referred to have also agreed upon. An outline of it may induce members of building and loan associations generally to look further into it.

"If he wishes, the poor house owner need pay only one of these taxes. The poor house owner, or would-be house owner, is numerous. By the edict of his vote he can cause the annual rental value of land to be the thing to be taxed by the state instead of a part of his own savings. Such a form of taxation would aid him greatly in getting his home, as it would destroy speculative values and obviate the necessity of his paying a lump cash sum for his lot. It would justly discriminate in his favor, as a producer of wealth, against a vacant land holder, who prevents wealth from being produced. With a tax on land values alone, the poor house owner might improve his home site to any extent without fear of being fined for it. His profits, however, would be far from ending with that gain. As a consumer, he now pays a disproportionately large share of all indirect taxes on things of every-day consumption as compared with those paid by the rich. With the public treasury filled with the proceeds of the land value tax every other tax could be swept away. But even these would be his smallest gains. Idle land proving unprofitable to the holders, labor could always find free access to the abundance of land now held idle and on speculation. The unemployed would be able to find employment with a never failing employer—nature. The pressure of competition among the laborers for work thus removed, the poor house owner could demand increased wages. Under such conditions, how long would he remain a poor house owner?"

The progress of the investigation of the matter of real estate taxation by the building and loan associations will be watched with deep interest by a large number of the workers outside these organizations who desire to find the quickest way to the ownership of their homes.

J. W. SULLIVAN.

It Stimulates Production.

We believe that a tax on land values does not restrict production or lessen the reward of the users of land; but by making it unprofitable to hold land out of use, it opens natural opportunities for labor, stimulates production and facilitates exchange.—[Burlington, Vt., Independent.

To the Point.

Taxes on the products of labor tend to restrict production. A tax on land values does not restrict production.—[Pensacola, Fla., Commercial.

Indeed, It Is.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.

This land question is reaching out amazingly.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

Gunpowder and Straws.

A new gunpowder has recently been tested, and the results point to it as a promising substitute for black powder for military and sporting purposes. The new powder is prepared from straw, which is pulverized, chemically treated, and finished in granular form for use. It is claimed for this powder that it is smokeless, flameless, practically non-fouling and non-heating, and that both the recoil and the report are less than those of black powder, with superior penetrative power. From the powerful character of this explosive, which, weight for weight, is 150 per cent stronger than gunpowder, and is not explodable by concussion, it is probable that in a compressed form it will be found to be applicable to blasting purposes.

Paper Organ Pipes.

A Catholic priest who happened to be located in a poverty stricken parish in Italy is credited with having manufactured organ pipes from paper. It appears he wanted an organ for his church, and being unable to raise the money, he constructed an organ, the pipes of which and much besides are of paper paste. The invention is patented, and there are already from Germany alone orders for \$2,500 worth of the article.

Utilizing the Power of Niagara Falls.

Silas Haines Hamilton, of Washington, D. C., has secured a patent for a method of utilizing the force of the falls of Niagara. He seeks to avoid the construction of expensive tunnels proposed by some, as well as the other schemes that would spoil the view by planting ugly machinery immediately in front of the falls. His plan is to get in behind the big, plunging body of water, and there erect vertical pipes or flumes that shall catch a large portion of the water on the inner side of each fall, conveying it downward to ordinary "double discharge" turbines, or water-wheels, directly connected with lines of shafting in chambers excavated under the falls. This shafting would drive dynamos of various types, according to the class of service to be rendered, one circuit supplying power for an electric road, another for arc lights, a third for incandescents, a fourth for motors in manufacturing establishments, and so on. The Electrical World says that the body of water that goes over the falls each minute is 150,000,000 cubic feet, and it is supposed that power could be collected equal to four or five million horse-power.

A Test For Tea.

A Russian analyst, writing to the papers, gives the following as a test by which tea can be proved to be genuine or not: Take a pinch of tea in a glass, pour upon it a little cold water and shake it up well. Pure tea will only slightly color the water, while a strong infusion is quickly got from the adulterated or painted leaf. Now boil both sorts separately, and let them stand till cool, and the difference between them will be most marked. The false tea will become still stronger after long standing, but will remain transparent, whereas the pure tea will become muddy or milky. This last appearance arises from the tannic acid, which is a natural property in pure tea, but which in artificial tea is entirely absent.

Cheap Fuel and Light.

A correspondent who is interested in a gas engine, using cheap gas and petroleum, for driving dynamos for electric light and power, writes to the Progressive Age that he is now operating a gas engine with crude oil, costing at Lima, Ohio, fifteen cents per barrel. With four gallons of this oil he says he can produce twenty-five incandescent lights ten hours.

Electric Power for Small Industries.

The two villages of Johnstown and Gloversville, N. Y., are probably ahead of any other American city or village in the application of electric power to small industries. The company that furnishes the power utilizes a waterfall some six miles from Gloversville and two miles from Johnstown. Copper wires convey the current to the villages. Geo. K. Holmes describes in Electric Power some of the uses to which it is put. He says: The principal use is for running sewing machines in making gloves, and hundreds of these machines are so operated in both villages. This power also operates machines for splitting leather in the glove shops. The presses of the Gloversville Leader are operated by an electric motor; Jonah Hess, a carpenter, uses one in his shop in Johnstown for planing, sawing, making moldings and brackets, and for the various uses of shop power in his trade; a paper box factory has electric power for making boxes and for running an elevator; a knitting mill winds yarn by means of it; A Johnstown dentist, Dr. W. H. Colgrove, has a motor for the novel application of electric power to the boring out of cavities in the teeth. He says that he can do twice as much work in a given time as he did before with foot power. J. H. Smith, a Johnstown baker, at one time used a motor for kneading his bread; a butcher runs his sausage machine by electricity; ice cream freezers are turned by it; and a Gloversville barber, Augustus Peiper, gives you a shampoo by means of an infinitesimal portion of a water power six and a half miles distant, conveyed to his shop and there converted into motion for him by electricity. Electric power is used in a small machine shop in Johnstown for operating machines and grindstones; grocers apply it to their coffee mills and peanut roasters; it was recently used for turning a circular saw for cutting up firewood; and it was used in a Gloversville restaurant last summer to operate fans.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

The Tax in Sparse Settlements.

DOUGLAS, Wash. Ter.—How would the land value tax affect a sparsely populated county where land has comparatively no value? Similar questions have been asked here by men somewhat posted in county affairs. They run something like this: How much money could we raise from the value of our land which has no value? How should we maintain our public schools? How pay the expenses of our local government? Would it not take a greater per cent to pay expenses here, where land has no value, than in New York, where it has great value?

W. A. WHINVEY.

To speak in this connection of land having comparatively no value is ambiguous. If the idea be that it has no value compared with local public expenses, the statement must be erroneous; and if it be that it has no value compared with the land of densely populated districts, it may be replied that your expenses as well as your land values are comparatively nothing.

How much money could you raise from the value of your land, which has no value? None. How should you maintain your public schools? You could not without getting the revenue elsewhere than from your lands. How pay the expenses of your local government? Perhaps by confiscating the property of your citizens as you do now, only in less degree. Would it not require a higher rate of taxation in a thinly populated section than in a place like New York? In my opinion it would not.

A clearer idea of what are properly local and what general public expenses, would remove all the objections of which questions like these are the expression.

The maintenance of public schools, if it is a public duty at all, and I believe it to be, is a duty of the state and not of the district. The reason for making schools public is that the state may have good and competent citizens. That reason aside, the public school question becomes one of local caprice. But it is against the interest of the state as a whole that the question of public schools in any part of the state should be left to the caprice of the locality. It is in the interest of the state as a whole that all citizens, those in its most sparsely settled places as well as those in its largest cities, should be properly educated. The expense of public schools, therefore, is justly a state expense.

The expense of administering justice is also a state expense. Whether a tribunal be the highest in the commonwealth or the lowest in a township, it is a state institution; for it is to the interest of the state as a whole that the scales of justice throughout its length and breadth should be evenly balanced. But if this be the duty of the state as a whole, the expense of performing the duty should in all cases fall upon the state as a whole. And the expense of administering justice includes not only the cost of tribunals, but also the cost of all the machinery necessary to make tribunals effective clerks, sheriffs, constables, jails, witnesses, etc. None of these expenses are properly a county charge.

Nor should the expense of public highways be a county charge. The highways of a county are not for the convenience and prosperity of the county alone. They form part of a system which is common to the whole state. This is indisputably true of general highways. Of roads that are mere local institutions, it might be fairly claimed that the expense should be local; but that expense is too trifling to consider against the general proposition that highways are properly a state charge.

Then as to the expense of public charities, including hospitals. Under the single tax this would be greatly diminished; but waiving that, it is no part of the duty of a county to bear the expense. It is a state charge, because it is the duty of the state as a whole, and not of a county more than of an individual, to provide for its helpless citizens in whatsoever part of its territory they may be. The expense of collecting state taxes is obviously a state charge.

Treating all these as state expenses, there is no community in the country—be it city, county, township or village—that could not regulate revenues from that source after paying its proportion of state taxation.

The single tax would be levied on all the land of the state according to its value. Where there was comparatively little value there would be comparatively little tax. And yet in places where the tax was low there would be as good

schools, as good highways, as efficient an administration of justice, and as good care for the helpless as in the most densely settled and heavily taxed sections. If, for example, the land value of a sparsely settled district were 10, as against 100,000 in the most thickly settled district, and the state tax were 5 per cent, the sparsely settled district would pay for state purposes .50, while the other would pay 5,000; and if rent were equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the value, the thinly settled district would have left for purely local purposes .25, and the other 2,500. True the latter might be able to indulge to a greater extent than the former in what may be termed public luxuries; but the former would be able to provide all local public necessities, and the state would supply such necessities as were general in character. The sparsely settled district would be much better off than it is now.

This explanation, it seems to me, harmonizes with the expediency and justice of the case, and should be satisfactory to candid questioners. But suppose otherwise. Suppose that after adopting the single tax we were compelled in sparsely settled districts to continue to raise a deficiency by taxing industry. What follows? Only that sparsely settled districts would not get quite as much benefit from the single tax as those that were more thickly settled. They would be better off than they are now. Their industries would not be quite free, but they would be freer. Land speculation would be killed; for the tax would leave no land values for speculators to gamble on. And as the mere possession of land would not give an advantage, no one would care to possess land except to use it, and all unused land would be free. It is obviously no argument against shifting taxes from industry and enterprise to land values, that either generally or locally land values are not high enough to fully pay the tax. If it be a good thing to take the burden off of industry and enterprise, the fact that it cannot be taken off altogether is no objection to taking off as much of it as possible. If it is a good thing to make land values pay the expense of government, the fact that they are not high enough to pay the whole expense is no objection to making them pay it as far as they go.

L. F. P.

Should the Pioneer Settler be Rewarded?

NEWTON CENTER, Mass.—The claim is made that the far west is settled by people who not only expect to make a living but also hope to get repaid for hardships and lonesomeness, connected with settling, by the increase in value of their lands. Would not this be just? Should there not be some recompense to the colonists who clear away the forests, make the first roads, etc.?

W. F. WOODMAN.

The pioneer settler has done no more for those who follow him than past generations have done for the present. He strives to better his condition, and in doing so he makes it easier for others to do the same. His motive is not philanthropic, and even if it were you cannot pay a man for being philanthropic. The first settlers in a country get all their labor produces. If population grows and the single tax goes into effect they will continue to get all their labor produces. If they own the choicer locations they will pay a ground rent to the community. This, you think, will tend to destroy any advantage they possess by having been courageous enough to come first. That is true. But the presence of population has, by permitting the sub-division of labor, added many fold to the product of every man, and the first settlers are benefited like everybody else. You might as well pay the last incomers for joining the community as pay the first settlers for starting the community. As for the "pioneer" who starts out with the idea of grabbing land and waiting for other people to come and pay him for the use of it, that is just the man we want to knock out.

Adding Rent to the Price of Goods.

NEW YORK.—A tailor recently moved from a side street to a store on Broadway. He always had the reputation of making pretty good clothes, and in moving to a fashionable street continued to sell the same goods, cut and made no better than before. Nevertheless he raised his prices very considerably. Some of his customers asked him how it was he charged more in his new store than in his old one for identically the same garment. He answered that his rent was very much higher, and he had to make it up by charging more. Now, does not this tailor add the rent to the price of his goods; in other words, is not the rent shifted to the consumer, just as a tax on velvet coats would be added to the price the user of velvet coats would have to pay?

SAMUEL RESAIGUES.

The tailor, when he moved to Broadway, ceased to make the same clothes he made on the side street. True, they were

made of the same goods and cut and trimmed and lined in exactly the same style, but the mark he put on them was "John Smith, tailor, Broadway and Olive street," not "John Smith, tailor, East Houston street." In other words, he made Broadway clothes instead of Houston street clothes, and Broadway clothes are worth more than Houston street clothes, and, although made of the same material, they are not the same clothes. It makes a great difference to very many men whether they can say that they are clothed by a Broadway tailor or not. In other words, the tailor produces goods of more value on a Broadway lot than he could on a Houston street lot with the same amount of labor. He also attracts a better class of customers. It is the value of the product that fixes the rent, not the rent that fixes the value of the product. If the tailor were a wholesaler and sold to country retailers, whose customers did not care where the goods were made, then he would get no more for a suit made on Broadway than on Houston street; but in the case of a custom tailor whose Broadway mark adds value the two suits are not the same products.

England's Subsidized Vessels.

LADUE, Henry County, Mo.—Please to inform me whether England subsidizes her merchant marine, or any portion of it? An opponent in a tariff discussion affirms that she does and gives Jim Blaine as his authority.

ARTHUR GROVES.

As near as we know England subsidizes certain lines and vessels only under the following conditions: First, when the vessels are the only means of carrying regular mails to some distant port and appear to be entitled to or need aid in order to run regularly. Second, in the case of certain fast vessels that the government may want to use for transportation of troops in time of war. The agreement is, apparently, that the government shall not be obliged to buy the vessels when wanted, but shall pay a rental in addition to the original subsidy. These subsidies are hardly what could be classed as "merchant marine subsidies."

Notes.

C. H. Libbey, Lynn, Mass.—We do not know of any list of great American landlords. A list of large foreign owners of American lands was published in the query column a few months back. It showed that twenty-nine alien individuals and corporations owned, a few years ago, over 20,000,000 acres of American lands.

C. M. Huist, St. Louis, Mo.—It is not true that the corruption and fraud and intimidation that our ballot system permits is as prevalent in Canada under the Australian system. It is true that the government does manage to retain its grip in contested districts by promising to make appropriations for those districts, and by bringing over the leading men by patronage. But this is not bribery at the polls nor intimidation, and it does not prevent a candidate without money from having his name printed on the official ballots and having equal chance with the rich man. The free expression of the people's will is not interfered with as it is here, and when they once see that appropriations and the promises of politicians are not worth as much as just government, they will vote for just government.

F. R. Rogers, San Francisco, Cal.—We do not know what is meant by mutual banking.

Thos. Woodliff, Virginia City, Neb.—The question you ask was answered in THE STANDARD of March 2, as follows: "A tax on monopoly cannot in any case be shifted; that is, it cannot in any case be added to the existing price charged the consumer, because production would stop if it were. It would make no difference whether the single tax took all of the rental value or only a part; the user would pay no more in the former case."

Joseph McAlroy, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Capital is wealth in course of exchange; see chapter 2 of Book I, "Progress and Poverty." Exchange is a part of production. In fact, production in all its branches consists simply in moving things, and parts of things, and the production of an article is not complete until it is in the hand of the consumer. As an article goes from hand to hand and gets nearer the consumer it becomes more and more valuable, and the final act of exchange adds value as much as the first act of production. If a man bought a thousand baskets of peaches and transported them from a peach district to a city, those peaches would be capital, and transporting them would be an act of production, it would make them more valuable. So with the case you suppose. The production of eggs commences with the building of the hen and purchase of chickens and ends only when the consumer has them in possession; and these eggs are part of the capital of the producer, no matter whether he is the owner of the hens or the retail egg dealer.

A Searcher After the Truth, Covington, Kan.—In reply to your second question it is

not "possession of land" merely that is necessary, for the land possessed might be utterly undesirable land or so far away from centers as to be next to useless. It might require the expenditure of too much capital and so ruin the holder. What is wanted is the joint ownership of all land, and the consequent distribution of public revenues therefrom together with the forcing into use of all idle but valuable land near the centers. Then no one will go to the outskirts unless he is sure of making more than in the settled districts. For an answer to your first query see "The tax in sparse settlements" above.

W. S. S.—The unearned increment is that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community. It is called "unearned" increment because it is an increment of value which under present conditions the owner pockets without earning it.

J. M. Heard, New York City.—See query and answer above entitled "The tax in sparse settlements." W. B. S.

Consumption Cured.

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

MISCELLANEOUS.

What Scott's Emulsion Has Done!

Over 25 Pounds Gain in Ten Weeks. Experience of a Prominent Citizen.

THE CALIFORNIA SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE, SAN FRANCISCO, July 7th, 1886.

I took a severe cold upon my chest and lungs and did not give it proper attention; it developed into bronchitis, and in the fall of the same year I was threatened with consumption. Physicians ordered me to a more congenial climate, and I came to San Francisco. Soon after my arrival I commenced taking Scott's Emulsion of Cod Liver Oil with Hypophosphites regularly three times a day. In ten weeks my avoirdupois went from 155 to 180 pounds and over; the cough meantime ceased. C. R. BENNETT.

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

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to spend a dollar on watches without getting full particulars about the best watches made, our Keystone Watch. Proof and our mode of selling them in Clubs at \$1 a Week. We guarantee you absolutely against loss. Exclusive territory given to Active Agents. Prices, \$7 to \$150. Our special \$43 Watch is the best watch made for Railroad use. We guarantee our prices to be the very lowest at which any watches of equal quality can be sold, and we protect our customers fully. We refer to any commercial agency.

Full Paid Capital, \$300,000. We have selling agents in every large city. We want AGENTS everywhere. Write at once to THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO., 904 Walnut St., Philadelphia.

ELY'S CREAM BALM

It is wonderful how quickly Ely's Cream Balm has helped and cured me. For a week at a time I could not see. I suffered from acute inflammation in my nose and head.

—Mrs. George S. Judson, Hartford, Conn.

CATARRH

ELY'S CREAM BALM

CURES COLD IN ROSE-COLD HEAD

HAY-FEVER

DEAFNESS

PRICE 50 CENTS

ELY BROS. NEW YORK

PRICE \$1.80

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MONEY FOR YOU

In buying or selling our Watches, either all cash or in Clubs, at \$1 00 a week. Reliable Agents wanted. Lowest prices guaranteed. Exclusive territory given.

THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO.

PHILA.

PERSONAL.

A late number of the New York Union Printer says that Joseph M. Hazzard has been appointed superintendent of the mechanical department of the American press association, and Charles Quail foreman of the composing room.

Everett Glackin's letter in last week's STANDARD, recommending the formation of a committee to carry on the discussion of the single tax in the printing trade, is the cause of considerable talk among printers, and will probably result in a conference soon.

Joseph Silbernik is rather pluming himself on the way he "downed" his socialistic friend Oppenheimer at a late meeting of the Progress and Poverty class of the Manhattan club. Mr. Silbernik is a staunch advocate of the single tax idea and a fluent speaker, as his friends can testify.

T. Unnever, of whose illness mention was made last week, was permitted on his own request to leave the New York hospital last Friday; but on Saturday he found it necessary to return.

Captain John Sullivan of Naugatuck was at the Manhattan club rooms last Sunday afternoon. He has brought his schooner to this port looking for a load. He says freighting is very dull—duller than it has been for a long time. He doubts if 10,000 tons of coal were shipped to Connecticut during the week previous to last Sunday.

The Munier Vocal union, under the direction of Mrs. Agatha Munier-Atkins, gave its first concert last Monday evening at Chickering hall. The programme consisted of solos and choral selections, interspersed with instrumental music and recitations, followed by Gilbert and Sullivan's sparkling little operetta, "Trial by Jury." All the selections were generously applauded, and the operetta, rendered in costume, was a decided hit. Mrs. Atkins was unfortunately not able to sing on account of a severe cold.

J. G. Malcolm is writing a series of articles for the Detroit Advance and Labor Leaf, under the heading "Increase of Crime." The following quotation will give an idea of his line of argument: "In New York, where not one person in a hundred owns land, the percentage of crime is highest."

W. E. White, of East Dubuque, Iowa, presided over a meeting of the Trade and labor congress of Dubuque on March 10, at which nearly all of the Knights of Labor assemblies and organized trades were represented. After the transaction of routine business Mr. White was requested by the delegates to deliver an address on the single tax. The Industrial West says he "made a telling speech in defense of that system of taxation."

W. I. Boreman, of Parkersburg, W. Va., has a long letter about taxes in the Sentinel, a democratic paper.

"Chips" (a nom de plume) is furnishing an interesting series of articles to the Canadian Workman under the heading, "Words From Our Workshop."

George G. Guenther of Streator, Ill., writes a letter to the Evansville, Ind., Tribune, which appears in the place usually occupied by the leading editorial article, in which he criticizes the position taken by the editor in favor of "a privilege tax." Mr. Guenther points out that the only tax that can be laid with justice is the one tax on land values. In answering Mr. Guenther's argument the editor of the Tribune admits that there is much food for thought in the proposition to abolish all taxes save the one advocated by Henry George; but that it will not be practicable "as long as the present system is in vogue." Mr. Guenther has also a letter on "Henry George's plan" in the Milwaukee Sentinel of March 15, in which, after a general review of our present methods of taxation, he states the idea of the single tax men in these words: "It is the proposition of the single tax men to free all labor products from every kind of taxation whatever."

N. F. Barlow, a member of the Manhattan single tax club, not having steady employment just now, has been killing time by canvassing for "Progress and Poverty." He says he is making a little something each day, and he is having "lots of fun."

The Chicago Herald prints a letter from James Malcolm on rapid transit. He shows that the main benefit from improved methods of transit will inure to the landlord, for he will be sure to raise his rents sufficient to meet the increased convenience of his tenant. Then he, Mr. Malcolm, insinuates the single tax idea a little further into the letter, and shows how Chicago could have rapid transit that would be a benefit to the community.

The New Christianity of Germantown, Pa., in February printed an article from the pen of Isaac Hoffer of Lebanon, on the "Individual Ownership of Land," in which he took ground against "the idea of incumbering the land of free men with interminable ground rent charges." A. J. Auchterlonie, a member of the new church single tax society of New York, answers in the March issue of that paper, showing that by placing a tax on land values only would "an equitable distribution of land" become probable.

D. C. David of Ville Platte, La., had a letter in the Southwest a short time since in answer to a correspondent's assertion that property in land was like property in horses or anything else. Mr. David is a single tax

man, so it is easy to divine what his answer was. The Memphis Appeal reprints Mr. David's letter, and says it is "a fair exemplification of the single tax theory which is growing in Louisiana and Arkansas, and especially among the farming classes." In editorial columns it approves the arguments set forth by the writer.

O. P. Gothlin of Columbus, Ohio, has two letters in the Ohio State Journal of March 18—one a protest against double taxation, showing the ills that result from it; the other an answer to an "Anti-single tax man," who has said "that a single tax assessed on land values will compel farmers to pay the bulk of the taxes and thus discourage agriculture." Mr. Gothlin shows that the strong point of the single tax theory is that it will encourage farming.

The Ohio State Journal prints a letter from Charles S. Prizer, and heads it with "The single tax advocates still in the field and enthusiastic as ever." Mr. Prizer thanks the editor for opening the columns of his paper to the discussion of the question.

A. Severance, of Sugartown, La., has been writing letters to the Lake Charles Echo on the school question, in which he showed the effects of the tariff and the accumulation in the treasury on the taxation of the parish in which he lives for school purposes. He approached dangerously near the land tax question, evidently trimming his sails so as not to run directly counter to the opinions of the Echo.

The Toronto Globe reprints from THE STANDARD Professor Hamlin Garland's poem, "A Wind From the East Sea."

W. H. T. Wakefield of the Anti-Monopolist and J. R. Rogers of the Commonwealth, both of Kansas, are having an animated discussion as to what the effect of the single tax would be on farmers. Mr. Wakefield asserting that it would reduce their taxes and Mr. Rogers asserting that it would destroy them. Mr. Rogers show evidence of loss of temper; but when he has cooled off sufficiently to make a closer examination of the matter in discussion he may revise his opinions on taxation; meantime the poking up Mr. Wakefield is giving him will be rather beneficial than otherwise.

George H. Wood of Poplar, Montana, suggests that provision could be made for blind men under the secret ballot system through the use of embossed ballots, but this is probably not as good as the plan of perforating the ballots, which has been suggested.

H. J. Clavier of New Orleans wants to form a single tax club, and calls upon others interested in the matter to communicate with him. His address is 545 North Claiborne street.

The Trades council of Detroit, Mich., has approved resolutions prepared by Mr. A. W. McCann, commending the bill presented in the legislature by Representative Wetthead, to levy all state taxes on the value of land, and declaring that any attempt made in the future to apply the same policy in municipal taxation would meet the approval of the council.

At a recent meeting of the Pioneer land and labor club of Montreal, F. H. Brown, of Rutland, Vt., who was one of the leading democratic speakers in that state last year, delivered an extremely able address on the land

question, taking the single tax position. He permitted his audience to ask him questions, answering them quickly and most satisfactorily. This meeting was the occasion of a debate being arranged between Mr. Brown and Roswell Fisher, the latter an opponent of both free trade and the single tax, which was presided over by L. L. Pellier, president of the Land and labor club. Mr. Brown proved more than enough for his opponent. The meetings have given a boom to the cause in that vicinity.

Words of the Scotch Seer.

This short passage from the close of Carlyle's essay entitled "Baillie the Covenanter," is one of the many things he said that make him a good authority to quote from in support of the single tax:

Did a God make this land of Britain, and give it to us all, that we might live there by honest labor; or did the Squires make it, and—shut to the voice of any God, open only to a Devil's voice in this matter—decide on giving it to themselves alone? This is now the sad question and 'divine right' we, in this unfortunate century, have got to settle! . . . Alas, 'intolerabilities' do now again in this new century, 'cry to heaven'—or worse, do not cry, but in low wide-spread moan he as perishing, as if 'in heaven there was no ear for them and in earth no ear.' 'Eleven pence halfpenny a week' in this world, and in the next world 'zero!' And 'Sliding Scales' and endless wriggings and wrastlings over mere 'Corn Laws' a Governing Class hired (it appears) at the rate of some fifty or seventy millions a year, which not only makes no attempt at governing, but will not, by any consideration, passionate entreaty, or even menace as yet, be persuaded to eat its victuals, shoot its partridges, and not strangle out the general life by mis-governing! It cannot and it will not come to good.

Jefferson's Fear of the Growth of Royalty.

As relevant to the coming celebration of Jefferson's birthday, the following excerpt from B. L. Rayner's "Life of Jefferson" is interesting, as showing the intensely democratic spirit of the great Virginian:

The date of his nativity was unknown until his decease. It had been a subject of speculation and eager scrutiny among the votaries of liberty, for a long series of years, with a view to its special commemoration. Repeated attempts had been made to ascertain it, by formal application to him personally, on various occasions, by individuals and public bodies; but from scruples of a patriotic nature, he always declined revealing it, and enjoined the same privacy upon his family. The principles which determined him on this subject were the great delicacy and impropriety in permitting himself to be made the recipient of an homage, so incompatible with the staunch dignity and independence of the republican character; the still greater repugnance which he should feel to seeing birthday honors of the republic transferred in any degree to any individual, and the paramount importance over all of suppressing, at the first blush, every tendency to fanatize the moral sense of freemen to the artificial forms and ceremonies of royalty.

Even the President Gazes at Him.

San Francisco Examiner.

No sooner does Mr. Blaine enter a parlor than the ladies turn from their gallants to contemplate him, even to hear him say a word. Whether through love or through hate, the fact is that the famous republican champion now constitutes in Washington

society the chief object of curiosity and the one topic of conversation.—[Washington Post. Well, Mr. Blaine is worth looking at. It is not in the gilded halls of pride and pleasure alone, either, that he is regarded with interest. We dare say that President Harrison often gazes at him with a thoughtful, not to say troubled, expression.

It is Almost Here.

Memphis Appeal.

The people of Europe are still held down by the restrictions of caste, and the protection laws enforced by each prevent the growth and expansion that are the just dues of the toiling masses. As these restrictions are removed, as now and then they are, the people quickly respond and prove their intelligent appreciation of the fact by an instant availing of the benefits accruing from the modicum of reform. So it will be in this country when free trade prevails—when intercourse between this and other countries is as free as it is now between the several states.

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SOME FOREIGN ITEMS.

King Leopold of Belgium wants very much to go and visit Africa, and his ministers have had some difficulty in balking him of this whim. He has just spent a handsome sum of money in ordering a new map of Africa for his palace—a huge chart, with the mountains in relief and the water courses of glass.

Sarah Bernhardt's bill at the Austrian custom house for herself and troupe was \$6,500, at the Roumanian frontier she paid \$4,000, and at the Turkish \$7,000. Experience has made her a strong advocate of free trade.

A company has been formed in England with a capital of \$100,000 to open up trade in the Sudan. The extraordinary thing about it is that it is going to go at the thing peacefully and instead of clubbing and shooting the natives into friendly relations it will encourage them to raise tobacco and cotton by showing them the best methods of conducting those occupations.

Viscount Portman, who died in November last, left behind him a personal estate that has been valued by the officials at about \$1,200,000. His idea was to leave as much personal property as he could so that his younger children would be provided for, the law taking good care of the eldest son in any event. This is what the viscount said in his will: "I have, by the system of self denial, adopted with the cordial concurrence, and maintained by the invaluable affectionate assistance of my beloved wife, for the purpose of adding to the fortunes of our younger children, been able to save a sum sufficient to enable me to effect this object in my lifetime without imposing any burthen on my dearly beloved eldest son and heir."

The Shah who was recently entertained by the royal and aristocratic families of England, is credited with the following little idiosyncrasies: Spitting from his royal box at the Berlin Opera house into the stalls, where all the greatest and most beautiful of Germany were collected; pinching the arm of the empress to attract her attention; turning Buckingham palace into a petit maison where he held unbridled orgies; and a persistent trick not only of breaking things wantonly, but of throwing everything on the ground; so that after his occupation the suite of rooms given up to him had to undergo a complete cleansing and redecoration.

A sample of German hero worship (which in that country is not always delayed until the hero is deceased) is given in the establishment of a Bismarck museum. It is to be in Berlin. Prince Bismarck himself will be invited to contribute such historical treasures as he can spare from his mansion in the Wilhelmstrasse, and the rest are to be gathered together by means of a public appeal to all lovers of the iron chancellor to sacrifice on the altar of adoration whatever keepsake they may possess of the great man.

An English edition of Edward Bellamy's book, "Looking Backward," which has created such a sensation in the United States, was brought out by Mr. William Reeves of London about the middle of this month. The published price is one shilling.

At its sitting on March 5 the London county council did some good work. An open space (public) was preserved from the grabbers who wanted it. The iniquitous coal dues—a sort of municipal tariff on coal—were abolished. The shutting off of streets by bars and gates owned by private individuals was condemned, and the beginning of a movement against that custom was made. It was decided to prevent "sweating" in all contracts let by the council.

The duke of Sutherland, who has married a second time—and within six months of the death of his first wife—has a rent roll of \$700,000. He has estates in Florida. His father evicted fifteen thousand tenants in nine years.—[London paper.]

It may not be generally known that the original of "Alton Locke," a new edition of which Messrs. Macmillan have just added to their cheap reissue of Kingsley's works, is still living and working. In short, Kingsley's chartist, tailor, and poet hero was no other than Gerald Massey, poet, philosopher, and lecturer.—[London Star.]

"The Tendency is to Employ Labor That Gets the Lowest Wages."

Textile Record (high protection).

There is some complaint that the law regulating child labor in mills is violated to a serious extent in Rhode Island. The commissioner of industrial statistics reports that 3,885 boys and girls are employed in that state in various industries, contrary to the statute. The majority, it is said, are at work in cotton mills, and the woolen mills are second on the list. Whatever disposition manufacturers may have to seek to enlarge the amount of child labor used by them comes solely from the pressure of competition. The tendency is towards continued cheapening of the cost of production, and consequently towards employment of labor that gets the lowest wages.

One of the Beauties of Protection.

Philadelphia Record.

The owners of a factory for making felt boots in Northern New York propose to remove their establishment across the line into Canada. By this change they will escape the heavy duty on wool which they are obliged to pay in this country. While their raw material will be thus cheapened, they will be able to send their manufactured products over the line and sell to American consumers in spite of a duty of sixty-seven per cent. In other words, the manufacturers in Canada will pocket the amount of the tax on wool, while the consumers in the United States will pay the high tax on the goods. This illustrates one of the beauties of a tariff system which in taxing raw materials despoils American producers, as well as consumers, for the benefit of foreign industries.

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Chicago Tribune.

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