# THE STANDARD

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THE FREE TRADE MEETING.—Since last Thursday there can be no doubt of the presence in this community of a large body of earnest and devoted Free Traders. The weather was simply abominable. No one could face the biting wind that drove mingled snow and rain before it without experiencing keen discomfort. Yet thousands of men and women defied the storm and fairly filled the great hall of Cooper Union. Had the weather been half way decent, the meeting would have been one of the largest ever held there. But even the bad weather was not altogether an evil. It kept away the mere curiosity seekers, who would otherwise have been attracted by the foolish falsehoods that have been circulated concerning Jerry Simpson. The great audience present was almost exclusively composed of those having an intelligent sympathy with the objects of the meeting, as was shown by its enthusiastic but discriminating applause, and by its courteous silence at times when the speaker ran counter to its convictions.

Jerry Simpson—Jeremiah seems not to fit him—of course, was the principal attraction. He unquestionably made an excellent impression. He does not attempt to practice any of the arts of the orator, but he is an earnest and interesting talker in behalf of principles in which he really believes. He is a simple, sincere and honest man of real ability. His talk for Free Trade was most effective, and his ridicule of the Protection theory was amusing but merciless. This was his main topic, though he evidently felt that he owed it to his friends elsewhere as well as to the audience he was addressing, to briefly declare his belief in the need for a large increase in the circulating medium, and for the governmental control of public highways and transportation. He also made a short argument for the Single Tax. On the whole, however, his speech was a powerful plea for Free Trade and a denunciation of Protection, delivered to an applauding audience, and the meeting was an event that every sincere Free Trader ought to rejoice in. It goes without saying that Thomas G. Shearman made a vigorous and logical argument for absolute freedom of trade.

The letters from Congressmen and others were not so numerous as they ought to have been, and several of them were purposely non-committal. Several, however, contained ringing declarations for real Free Trade, and only one, that of Governor Hill, was hostile. This letter is commented upon elsewhere. The fact that so many men in public places were ready to address friendly, even though non-committal, letters to an openly proclaimed Free Trade meeting gave gratifying evidence of increasing courage. Still more significant were the signatures to the supplementary call for the meeting, and the presence on the platform of E. Ellery Anderson, president of the Reform Club; ex-Governor Morton, of Nebraska, and other "old Free Traders" who have not run away in terror now that the movement for real Free Trade has begun in dead earnest. So far as Mr. Cleveland is concerned, the managers of the meeting treated him as they did all other prominent Democrats or Tariff Reformers in the city. They sent them platform tickets with a polite invitation to attend the meeting, and left them to come or not, as they chose. Such invitations were sent to all of the New York and Brooklyn Congressmen. John De Witt Warner, who was out of town, wrote declaring his sympathy with the meeting, and so far as is known none of the others responded. There was no desire to force anyone to declare himself, but all who chose were given opportunity to assist in the demonstration.

The club that originally called the meeting has never pretended to believe that all Democrats are Free Traders; but it misses no opportunity to give those of them who are an opportunity to say so. It does not resent what it regards as a failure of men to see the truth, nor does it look with contempt on considerations of expediency that may lead men to avoid the premature expression of their views; but it proclaims itself as a club of Free Traders and asks all who share its views, to that extent, to join it in promoting Free Trade and in resenting any such denunciation of our principles by professed Democrats as is found in the letter of Governor Hill. The timid Democratic managers have for years been conciliating "Protectionists." Let them understand henceforward that they must conciliate Free Traders or go to the wall.

The one thing to be regretted last Thursday night was the absence of Henry George. He was immediately responsible for calling the meeting, and took an active part in arranging for it. He was able and willing to speak, but he was bound by a promise to his physicians to make no speeches for some time yet, and he reluctantly remained away, though he sent an eloquent letter declaring his heartfelt pleasure that such a demonstration in behalf of real Free Trade can be held in New York.

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HILL CELEBRATES ALL FOOLS' DAY.—The managers of the Free Trade meeting at Cooper Union on Thursday evening were surprised as much as they were gratified by the receipt of Governor Hill's letter. They had sent invitations to all Democratic Governors and Congressmen-elect who could be reached in time. Mr. Hill was included in the list, but without the least reason to suppose that he would reply. He seems, however, to have considered the occasion as an opportunity for declaring himself, and he accordingly wrote his letter of April 1st. He sent the letter by special messenger from Albany, so that it could not fail to reach the meeting in time. If he now contemplates the result with satisfaction, he is for once in entire accord, in one thing, with the men who got up the demonstration.

Shortly after the death of Judge Muller a gentleman from Elmira, talking about the event in the editorial rooms of THE STANDARD, remarked that it would play the mischief with Governor Hill. Being asked to explain, he said: "Hill is really a rash man, without much judgment, and he is surrounded by sycophants who flatter him by approving everything that he proposes. Judge Muller was the one man intimate with him who habitually held him back. This influence is now gone, and, mark my words, Hill will some day open his mouth and put his foot in it up to the knee. Left unadvised, he is sure to make a fool of himself." The prophesy has come true, and the Governor appropriately chose April 1st as the time for its fulfillment.

It is true, as Governor Hill says in his letter, that the Democratic party has not in its platforms committed itself to Free Trade. It is true that his own formulation of his belief on the tariff question does not antag-

onize any of the party's formal utterances. It is true that the majority of Democratic leaders have, thus far, been unable to agree upon any substitute for tariff taxation as a method of raising the necessary revenue for the Federal Government. Under such circumstances the Governor's declaration of faith does not in the least impeach his boast, "I am a Democrat;" and yet the whole tenor of his letter displays an utter failure to see the trend of public opinion and a crass ignorance of the vital question that enabled the Democratic party to win a sweeping majority in the next Congress and to carry New York State, despite the demoralization of the Democratic political machinery through the selfish machinations of Governor Hill. He palters with the meaning of formal phrases, framed to conceal differences of opinion among platform makers, and misses utterly the unformulated desire of the people, which alone can lend the passion that is the motive power of great revolutions in public sentiment. He has "put himself straight on the record," and at the same time antagonized the spirit and purpose of his party.

THE STANDARD is a Free Trade paper, and because it is a Free Trade paper it supports the Democratic party's efforts toward Tariff reduction. It does not claim, however, that that party even understands Free Trade, much less that it is committed to it. For the past twenty or twenty-five years its Tariff planks have not been declarations of principle, but mere pretexts for only so much criticism of the Protection policy of the party in power as was necessary to justify the existence of an opposition party. They are not worth the paper they were written on. It was not until Grover Cleveland made the Tariff question a living issue, by risking the Presidency upon it, that Democrats began to be vitally interested in it at all. Since that time the tendency inside the Democratic ranks, and even to a greater degree among the allies to whom it owes its sweeping success has been, consciously or unconsciously, toward a bitter opposition to tariff taxation and away from the meaningless platform declarations on which this idealess and unsympathetic machine politician pins his belated April fool day declaration of faith.

The issue that really divided the people in the campaign of 1888 and gave the Democratic party its marvelous victory last Fall was that of Protection. The important question as to the best method of taxation has not yet been really considered by the people. It is beginning to demand consideration in the separate States, and in this State this travesty of a statesman has instinctively arrayed himself on the wrong side and against the conclusions of every careful student of economic questions. The people generally have not yet concerned themselves with the question as to how to best raise Federal revenues, but they have divided on the question as to whether "Protection" is a good thing or a bad thing for themselves. The revolution last Fall was simply their verdict that Protection is a bad thing, injurious to the people, and that they want an end put to it. But there sprang up along with this a sentiment of sincere disgust with the system that they had been deceived into supporting, and the outspoken expression of a wish that the whole thing could be abolished. People who feel thus are Free Traders in desire and purpose, and they will be Free Traders in fact and in name, as soon as the discussion reaches that stage which necessitates the consideration of some substitute for tariff taxation. They are proud to call themselves Free Traders, even now, and they are numerous enough to make it suicidal for the Democratic party to nominate any candidate for President who has stupidly sought occasion to denounce Free Trade in the year 1891, even though his denunciation be consided as an April fool joke.

Of course, we do not believe that Hill had any chance of securing a Democratic nomination, even if he had not written his All Fools' day letter, but any seeming chance that he had has now gone. Well informed men all over the country have for a long time regarded him as a petty trickster, without any real political convictions. Better informed men, in this State, have suspected that behind the Aqueduct deal, the operations of the late Judge Muller, and the recent appointment of Jim Pierce as Insurance Commissioner, lie discoverable facts that would damn Governor Hill in any Presidential contest. Politicians in New York know that, despite his seeming extreme partisanship, Hill has, as the result of deals, appointed more Republicans to office than any of his Democratic predecessors. Yet he has somehow managed to impress the country at large with the idea that he is a peculiarly "straight" party man, and "smart" to a degree that inspires the ordinary machine manipulators with actual awe. All who have advocated his nomination for the Presidency have done so on the ground of his availability. On April 1st Hill sought and found an opportunity to make himself unavailable.

Henceforth, without studying the intricacies of New York politics, or entering on a discussion of personal character, men who have distrusted Governor Hill, for reasons they could not readily explain, will be able to oppose him on principle. Thousands of men who have stood with the Democratic party for years past now have proof that Hill is hostile to all that has attracted them to that party, and they can and will serve notice on the next Democratic National Convention that, whoever else may be chosen, Hill must not be, on penalty of losing their votes. The whole country should congratulate the Manhattan Single Tax Club on having unconsciously provided Governor Hill with the means for eliminating himself as a factor in national politics, through his voluntary and appropriate celebration of All Fools' day.

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MUNICIPAL RASCALITY.—The City of New York has a claim against the United States Government for $2,292,159.73, principal and interest of "the Union defence fund," advanced in 1861. If the claim is just there ought to be little difficulty in explaining it to Congress, and the explanation ought not to cost much. Some time ago the Board of Aldermen authorized the Comptroller of the City to employ some one to bring the matter before Congress and collect the amount due. Corporation Counsel Clark says that last June, Comptroller Myers suggested Tim Campbell as a suitable person to represent the city's interests. Tim's fee was to be 10 per cent., or about $220,000 in all. As Tim was a County Democrat, the Tammany Corporation Counsel thought this was rather high. He advised the Comptroller that Tim's appointment would unquestionably be improper and possibly illegal. For some reason the matter was dropped, and after a time Tim was elected to Congress.

Recently Comptroller Myers concluded that ex-Congressman Jack Adams would be a good agent to collect this claim, and he accordingly appointed him, Adams agreeing to accept 7 1-2 per cent. on the principal, that is, $75,000, for his services. Mr. Clark opposed this strenuously, because he did not like Jack Adams, who is a County Democrat. He told Myers that he would agree to the appointment of anyone else. Myers stood firm, and Mayor Grant and Attorney Clark had the Board of Aldermen pass an ordinance taking away from the Comptroller the power to appoint an agent for the collection of this claim. Mr. Myers insists that Adams had already been appointed, and that he, therefore, is the city's authorized agent, despite the subsequent action of the Mayor and Aldermen. He further shows up the insincerity of Corporation Counsel Clark, by

declaring that Mr. Clark recently allowed Burton N. Harrison 10 per cent. for collecting some back taxes from the State. Mr. Harrison appears from this to have received $17,000 for collecting a bill of $170,000 against a solvent debtor.

How disgusting the whole thing is! This is the way in which favorites of the politicians are enabled to pocket vast sums of the people's money without having the fact appear on the salary list. "How long, Oh Lord, how long!"

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THE TOWN JESTER.—Elliot F. Shepard, who for some unexplained reason, is commonly called Colonel, attended the Free Trade meeting at Cooper Union last Thursday. The unaccustomed experience of listening to some sensible talk stimulated him to unusual performances, and the Mail and Express next day eclipsed any clown that Barnum can produce at Madison Square Garden. Among other things that the millionaire by matrimony did was to write an editorial article for his own paper with his own hand. Here it is:

THE COOPER UNION.—The union of Hon. Thomas G. Shearman attacking Senator-Governor Bothofthem Hill; of David attacking Cleveland and Roger Q. attacking Bothofthem; of Brainless Jere Simpson attacking Hill and Shearman and Cleveland, of Henry George attacking friend and foe alike; of Chairman L. F. Post not being able to mix Tom (Johnson, M. C., from Cleveland, Ohio) and Jerry (Simpson, M. C., from Kansas); of taxation and no-taxation; of heterogeneity itself Coopered up in one barrel last night. No amount of coopering can prevent the people from staving in the head of such a barrel.

Of course this is the best of its kind, but it is not the only evidence of the powerful stimulus administered the night before to the unique intellect of the so-called Colonel. He makes several allusions to Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, and with a sense of humor peculiar to himself calls him Toml Johnson. He also scatters through the paper solid chunks of wisdom of his own production, and attaching to them brief alleged quotations from Jerry's speech he credits the whole composite production to "Brainless Jere Simpson." It is a good thing that Shepard does not corruscate this way at all times. If he did it would be folly to try to run the Mail and Express and a circus simultaneously in the same town. One or the other would have to give way from lack of patronage.

What kind of people must those be who regularly read the Mail and Express?

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AN INCONSISTENT PAPER.—A fatality pursues the New York Times. Its news and editorial pages somehow cannot "get together." The managing editor manifestly has no desire to bring into prominence the facts upon which the editorial writers dwell. It is pretty well understood that the Times does not love David B. Hill. On Thursday night of last week Mr. Hill deliberately committed political suicide in public by his letter to the Free Trade meeting at Cooper Union. The news department of the Times had not sense enough to know what had happened. It gave an utterly inadequate report of the meeting and failed to print the full text of the Governor's fatal letter.

Such failures are frequent in its news columns. The Albany correspondence of the Times gives no prominence at all to the legislation that the paper advocates in its editorial page, and contemptuously disposes in a parapraph of such a measure as, say the Stein county option tax bill, to which the editor devotes a column of double-leaded commendation. In its cable news the Times was the first to show how utterly Parnell's faction has collapsed in Ireland, and particular care was taken by its correspondent to bring out the fact that disgust with Parnell is a genuine popular feeling, merely reflected by the voice of the clergy; but a desk man in the office is not deterred by this fact from putting over the dispatches concerning the Sligo elections the sneering and misleading head-line, "Voters led to the polls by priests opposed to Parnell." There was no justification for this in the dispatch other than the incidental statement "that in some instances" the bodies of anti-Parnell voters coming in from outlying parishes were led by their priests.

The paper is as inconsistent as it is unfair. This is all the more exasperating because there are many things about it that lead people who care more for the important than for the sensational to look to the Times as the one paper likely to satisfy the demands of healthy-minded people for reasonably accurate information and sufficient consistency to enable men to make due allowance for bias in accepting or rejecting a paper's conclusions. We wonder that Mr. Jones regards it as good business policy to make the pages of his own paper the record of a constant struggle between the intelligent purpose of the scholar and publicist on the one hand, and the natural tendency on the other hand of a malignant blackguard toward sensationalism and inaccuracy that are against the paper's professed policy.

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NOT A PANACEA.—We read with satisfaction, but not with assent, an article that appeared in the Christmas number of the Christian Advocate, entitled "The Single Tax." It was written by Professor Richard T. Ely, of the Johns Hopkins University, in response to an article by Henry George that had previously appeared in the same paper. Prof. Ely is always courteous, and he opens his paper with an acknowledgment of "the valuable service" which Mr. George's writings have rendered to economic science and to humanity." Mr. Ely indicates a doubt as to whether it is "morally right for the community to appropriate the rent of land," but he insists that Mr. George is morally free to urge his own view in the matter, and he dismisses as unworthy of serious consideration the suggestion frequently made that the discussion of Mr. George's proposal may impair property rights in general. We have in this country, Professor Ely thinks, "a sufficiently keen appreciation of the property rights of the individual, but altogether an inadequate one of those of the public at large." He further says: "I have no fear about the property rights of the individual, but I have much fear that the property of the public will be stolen in the future, as it has too frequently been in the past. Henry George, and others like him, are helping to protect the property of the public, and for this the millions, whose rights are too often overlooked, ought to be grateful."

Of course, THE STANDARD is in entire accord with Professor Ely in recognizing that the public, as well as the individual, has property rights. The whole Single Tax theory is based on an apprehension of the common right of the people to land values, and the recognition of this right carries with it a declaration that the Government and all product of governmental activity belongs to the people, who constitute the Government. It is only necessary, in order that Professor Ely and THE STANDARD should reach a common basis for practical work, that the former shall think out clearly for himself the line which divides that which of right belongs to all from that which of right belongs to the individual. If Mr. Ely does not like the phrase "of right," he can easily substitute another, but we must use it, because we believe that there is a natural law that regulates the proper relation of people with one another, and with the earth they inherit, which is as fixed as the law of gravitation, and which owes its existence to the source whence that law sprang. It seems to us, in fact, that civilization is nothing but the approximation of a people to a knowledge of, and obedience to, this law of righteous human relations, though we are entirely con-

tent that the utilitarians shall reason backward and judge of the law from its effects. With every wish to show the respect that we entertain for Professor Ely, we cannot avoid feeling that if he would make an earnest and persistent effort to ascertain and define the line separating private rights and ownership from public rights and ownership, he would see that Mr. George is not, "in some respects," "too radical," and in others "too conservative," but that he has discovered the true line and is carefully following it. If Professor Ely would do likewise, he would lose his present tendency toward State socialism.

We should not refer to this article at this late day, but for the fact that a correspondent sends it to us with this paragraph marked.

**The advocates for the Single Tax believe that they have found the one great remedy for industrial evils, and that practically nothing else is needed. One of the strongest practical objections to their programme I find in this fact. If they do not entirely neglect all other remedies for social evils, they give too little attention to them, and discourage attempts to secure timely reforms which are at present altogether practicable.**

Later on Professor Ely alludes to the Single Tax as "a panacea." Right here we take issue with him. In the first place, the Single Tax advocates do not refuse to assist in other reforms that appear to them practicable and not to be based on false ideas that ought to be criticised and resisted. Their theories are antagonistic to the socialistic tendencies of the times, and they refuse to assist plans that tend to lead men into dependence on paternal governmental interference for the removal of evils that are effects of deeper evils that remain untouched. They have, however, taken the lead everywhere in the movement for ballot reform, and they have lent effective aid in educating people to see the folly and injustice of the protective system. In this and other cities they have been active in all efforts to relieve the people from burdens imposed upon them by the corporations that monopolize public streets for the transaction of private business conducted solely with a view to private profit.

Nor do they believe that all evil will instantly vanish when the great primary wrong involved in the present system of land ownership is abolished. As well suppose that disease would instantly cease if everybody had an abundance of wholesome food, sufficient clothing and pure air. Inherited tendencies and evil habits thoroughly rooted, even under such circumstances, would cause many diseases to persist, and death and misfortune will bring sorrow to many under any circumstances. Nevertheless, any man who aimed at making our race happy and robust would be perfectly right in declaring that that could never be accomplished so long as people were deprived of sufficient food and clothing and compelled to breathe tainted air. Practically, this is what the Single Tax men say. They do not oppose philanthropy, but they deny that it is a sufficient substitute for justice. They insist that, so long as a few are permitted to seize the common storehouse, and refuse all others the right to work for a living, except on condition of paying tribute to the few, that production can never be sufficient to satisfy reasonable wants, and that the distribution of the product can never be fair. They insist that the heritage of the people shall be restored as the only condition on which any permanent establishment of just relations can be hoped for, and when that is done they are content to join with others in any practicable schemes for putting the common heritage to the best use.

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THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.—The work of federating the Australian colonies has been practically accomplished, and there seems to be no room to doubt that the separate colonies will ratify the new constitution. It seems to be in many respects modelled upon the Constitution of the United States. The English Crown, however, is given the power to appoint a Governor-General for an unspecified term. The separate States will elect their own Governors and choose Senators and Congressmen. There will be two Houses, the Senators being chosen by the Legislatures and the others by popular vote.

If the Australians had studied the results of this system in the United States, they would not have copied the blunder of our fathers. They can get along better without any Senate at all, but if they must have one they make a great mistake in allowing its members to be chosen by the State Legislatures. It will merely give them a spurious House of Lords, irresponsible to the people, and promote corruption in the local bodies. They intensify this in their new constitution by making the Governors of the States also elective by the Legislatures instead of by the people.

The seven Ministers, who are to constitute the Council, have functions similar to those of the members of the American Cabinet, but they may sit in either House and are apparently responsible to the House in the English fashion. This, however, is not made quite clear in the dispatches. The Lower House has a three years' term and the Senate a six years' term, one-half retiring every three years. The colonies will have local Courts corresponding to our State Courts, but there will be a Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, though an appeal from it can be made to the Queen and Council. In this and various other ways there has been a manifest yielding to the tendency of the Conservatives to maintain a close connection with England. One result of this is that New Zealand, which demanded an elected President for the Commonwealth, will probably refuse to ratify the constitution or join the Federation.

The formation of the Commonwealth is a step towards independence, but it is entirely possible that that advantage will be dearly bought if the proposed constitution is as difficult to amend as is that on which it is modelled. It not only copies the worst points of our own constitution, but it intensifies them.

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CAPTAIN POWER'S NEW PARTY.—Captain C. A. Power, of Terre Haute, Ind., who signs himself as "acting for signers to call." has issued a new call for a convention to meet at Cincinnati on May 19th, "to adopt a platform and make such arrangement for the conflict of 1892 as the conference may deem fitting." It is addressed to "all reformers who can federate upon a platform demanding relief in the issues of currency, land and transportation." There is not a word about the tariff or any other form of taxation.

Among those who sign the call are:

**Robert P. Elder, National Chairman Union Labor party; William S. Morgan, State President of Arkansas Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union; A. J. Streeter, candidate for President on Union Labor ticket in 1888; A. R. Anderson, member of Congress, Sidney, Iowa; James B. Weaver, ex-member of Congress: Captain C. A. Power, Terre Haute, Ind.; S. F. Norton, Chicago Sentinel; John McGovern, Chicago Express; J. H. Allen, Chairman People's party of Indiana; W. P. McMahon, Secretary of People's Party of Indiana; Robert Schilling, Chairman of Union Labor party, Wisconsin; S. W. Chase, Chairman of People's party of Kansas; J. F. Willits, national lecturer of F. A. and I. U.; W. A. Peffer, United States Senator from Kansas; H. Vincent, editor Nonconformist, Winfield, Kan.; W. F. Rightmire, National Secretary National Citizens' Industrial Alliance; W. F. Gilruth, National President National Citizens' Industrial Alliance, Kansas City, Mo.; Asa A. Antisdale, New York; M. C. Rankin, Treasurer Union National Labor Committee, Indiana; J. G. Kingsbury, editor Alliance Advocate, Indiana; Van B. Prather, State Lecturer Farmers' Alliance, Columbus, Kan.; R. M. Humphrey, Houston, Tex.; Noah Allen, Vice-President National Citizen's Industrial Alliance, Wichita, Kan.; S. H. Snider, National Lecturer National Citizens' Industrial Alliance, Kingman, Kan.; Joel I. Hoyt, Jamestown, N. J.**

Among those who have not signed the call are Jerry Simpson and Messrs. Davis, Clover, Baker and Otis, Congressmen from Kansas, and Congressman Featherstone of Arkansas, who are in a third party already formed. There is evidently some friction, for Captain

Power appends an "explanation," intimating that some men who ought to be with him are trying to delay the necessary getting together of all reformers, and he serves notice on the Farmers' Alliance that it cannot run the affair. He says:

> This conference, as the calls imply, must be a people's national conference, free from the rule or control of any one of the several industrial organizations or their leaders, who will not meet and agree to co-operate together in a new National Union party for the best interests of the industrial forces, on the farms, in the workshops and mercantile pursuits in towns and cities. In view of the condition of agricultural and other labor, patent to all men not afflicted with "selfish partisan blindness," it behoves all lovers of "home and liberty" to come together, take counsel of each other and lay the foundations for a "*new political home*" outside of the corrupt Democratic and Republican parties—neither of whom will redress the just grievances of the people.
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> We do not believe that the National or State officers of the Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, F. M. B. A., Federation of Labor, or any other organization, has the right to bind the private judgment of members in regard to their political action, or has any right to prevent local assemblies of any organization from taking such action as they choose to exercise in the selection of delegates to this conference, and we invite and desire the presence of delegates from local organizations throughout the Union. We are for harmony and union on a platform that will express the views of the largest number in the various industrial and reform organizations. To this end it is not intended for a K. of L. meeting, a trades union gathering, or a Farmers' Alliance convention only, but a representative meeting of all for the best interests of all the people.

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THE RIGHT TO OWN LAND.—John S. Smith, of Philadelphia, has had a dispute with two of his fellow-members of the Kensington Tariff Reform Club, concerning which he asks the opinion of THE STANDARD. Mr. Smith's opponents denied the right of any man to own land. The gentlemen are disputing about words rather than ideas. In chapter 2d, book viii., of "Progress and Poverty," Mr. George says:

> We should satisfy a law of justice, we should meet all economic requirements, by at one stroke abolishing all private titles, declaring all land public property, and letting it out to the highest bidders in lots to suit, under such conditions as would sacredly guard the private right to improvement.

But he goes on to say that such a plan, though perfectly feasible, does not appear to him to be the best, and he suggests, as something simpler, easier and quieter, and not involving a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought, the only definite plan that "Progress and Poverty" presents, and which the existing Single Tax movement is intended to finally bring into practical operation. Mr. George says:

> I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust; the second, needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain, if they want to, possession of what they are pleased to call *their* land. Let them continue to call it *their* land. Let them buy and sell, and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell, if we take the kernel. *It is not necessary to confiscate land; it is only necessary to confiscate rent.*
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> Nor to take rent for public uses is it neeessary that the State should bother with the letting of lands, and assume the chances of the favoritism, collusion and corruption this might involve. It is not neceesary that any new machinery should be created. The machinery already exists. Instead of extending it all we have to do is to simplify and reduce it. By leaving to land owners a percentage of rent, which would probably be much less than the cost and loss involved in attempting to rent lands through State agency, and by making use of this existing machinery we may, without jar or shock, assert the common right to land by taking rent for public uses.
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> We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all.
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> What I, therefore, propose, as the simple yet sovereign remedy, which will raise wages, increase the earnings of capital, extirpate pauperism, abolish poverty, give remunerative employment to whoever wishes it, afford free scope to human powers, lessen crime, elevate morals, and taste, and intelligence, purify government and carry civilization to yet nobler heights, is—*to appropriate rent by taxation.*

There is no lack of definiteness about this. As Mr. George himself says: "In this way the State may become the universal landlord without calling herself so, and without assuming a single new function," while "in form the ownership of land would remain just as now."

This is so plain that it ought not to be a subject for controversy among Single Tax men. It has been our misfortune in the past that too many of our friends have given their time and energy to disputes like this, instead of to work for the thoroughly practicable plan outlined in the chapter from which we have quoted. "Inasmuch," says that chapter, "as the taxation of land or land values must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes, we may put the proposition into practical form by proposing to abolish all taxation save that upon land values." The Kensington Tariff Reform Club is engaged in the practical work of assisting to abolish all other taxes, and it is thereby aiding to bring about the Single Tax. For this all its members deserve honor and commendation, but we fear that those of them who choose to insist strenuously that there is some essential difference between permanent possession and ownership of land are not likely to help the cause by work. They do not choose what Mr. George calls "the simpler, easier and quieter way," nor accept his advice to avoid "a needless shock to present customs and habits of thought." Yet this is the way to make converts. When men are once brought to a full comprehension of the truth set forth in Mr. George's great work, they will view with indifference the mere phrase in which that possession of land that he proposes, under conditions of justice to all, shall be described. It has been the curse of this movement that many of the exponents of our doctrines have sought the notoriety achieved through sensational and extreme statements of the truth, rather than the good results that can be brought about only through temperate and sometimes gentle presentation of the facts and arguments on which our whole propaganda rests.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.—We hope that every reader of THE STANDARD who takes an interest in the paper, will not only read the "Publisher's Notes" in this issue, but consider what he or she can do to promote the increased circulation of the paper, and thus enable us to carry out definite plans for increasing its value and influence.

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A BRAZILIAN FREE TRADER.—Senhor Sampaio Ferraz, a member of the Brazilian Congress, in a debate on February 14th, declared himself "entirely" in favor of Free Trade. He said: "I have frankly adopted the opinions of the great propagandist, Henry George, who on the platform, in the press, in meetings and everywhere else in North America, with a brilliant eloquence and an incontestable prestige sustains the great advantages of a free commerce, of an ample exchange of products, without taxes, without imports and without that depressing and withering system—protection." The Journal de Commercio, of Rio de Janeiro, from which the quotation above is translated, says that Senhor Ferraz was elected to Congress from that city by a flattering majority. He seems to be a man of sense as well as a man of distinction.

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A SUN FALSEHOOD.—The Sun pretends to fear that in his recent article in the North American Review, Cardinal Gibbons "has been carried away to aver that which is not so." It denies that "flesh and blood are daily becoming more cheap," and declares that it does not know where the "strong men, maddened by the tears of wife and starving children," are to be found. The editorial writers of The Sun ought to read its news columns. The very issue in which the editorial denial of Cardinal Gibbons' statements appeared, contained a long account of a riot in the coke regions of Pennsylvania, arising out of a strike by foreign workmen against a reduction of wages, and the taking of the places of the strikers by a still cheaper class of laborers. The rioters were

exploding bombs, destroying buildings and so on, and in one case a band of infuriated Hungarian women attacked the new workmen with clubs and stones and drove them from the ovens. Does The Sun imagine that anything short of desperate need led the new workmen to take places that subjected them to such dangers? For that matter, however, the papers print from day to day stories of distress and suffering among those willing to work who can find no work to do.

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HOME RULE.—The Fassett Committee has made a long and minute report of the result of its investigations into the various cities of New York. We have not yet seen the full text of the report, and therefore cannot comment upon it intelligently, but the Committee seems to have learned something through its inquiries. The report strongly favors actual home rule for cities, to be guaranteed by a constitutional amendment that will render it impossible for the State Legislature to tinker with charters after they have once been made. The summary gives some indication of a slight reservation concerning cities of more than a million people, which, of course, is a dangerous loophole for further criminal activity in Albany in the way of bedeviling the people of New York City. If the full report justifies the summary in this matter, the advocates of home rule must take particular care to see that this feature is eliminated from any plan adopted. Since Mr. Fassett can see the excellence of home rule for cities, it is a pity he cannot lend his support to the County Option Tax bill now pending at Albany.

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THE RHODE ISLAND ELECTION.—The Democrats of Rhode Island secured a plurality for all of the candidates on their State ticket in the election of last week. The various kinds of cranks that play at politics cast enough votes to prevent either of the real parties from having a majority, and the election, therefore, goes to the Legislature. That body is Republican on joint ballot, and will, of course, elect the Republican candidates defeated at the polls. The Democrats offer all sorts of explanations of their defeat. There is no doubt that a pretty bad lot of men in the Legislature, and miserable dissensions between self-seeking politicians, had much to do with the result. However, they deserve defeat. The party convention went out of its way to declare that it had no sympathy with Free Trade, and we are glad to see that the people of Rhode Island have repudiated it while it stands on that platform. The Free Traders should follow this course everywhere. Let it be understood in every State, and in the country at large, that the time for conciliating Protectionists has gone by and that Free Traders are to be conciliated, with a great big C, or there is going to be trouble.

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TAMMANY AND HILL.—Hill and Tammany have never trusted each other. They both know too much for that. There is some reason to suspect that distrust may grow into hostility. Senator Fassett is very anxious for the passage of the proposed Bridge Commission bill. In order to make sure of it he concluded to gratify the Governor by giving him the coveted privilege of naming the Commissioners without asking the advice and consent of the Senate. According to the Continent the Tammany Senators not only objected but demanded an understanding that no nominations for Commissioners made by Hill should be confirmed without the consent of the Senators from New York City. They said that Hill had sent in the nominations of Barnum and Calkins for reappointment as Port Wardens without consulting a single New York Senator, and that they do not propose to have that discourtesy repeated. The action of these Senators will be peculiarly exasperating to the Governor, as he is trying to have a general bill passed dispensing with the necessity for asking the consent of the Senate to any nominations where such consent is not required by the Constitution. If Tammany ever concludes to down the double officeholder let it declare for Free Trade.

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VOORHEES ON CLEVELAND.—Dan Voorhees, called by his admirers "the tall Sycamore of the Wabash," is out in a public declaration against the re-nomination of Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for President. If, like Patrick Henry, we are to judge the future by the past, this will assure Mr. Cleveland's nomination with the subsequent enthusiastic support of the Senator from Indiana. It is the supreme virtue of Mr. Voorhees that he always comes right in the end, whereas his fault is that he is never by any accident right in the beginning. He did more than any other ten men to demoralize the Democratic party in Indiana by concessions to protectionism. He went to the convention of 1884 howling against the nomination of Cleveland or anybody else on an anti-protection platform, and yet after Cleveland had brought the country into line against the protective principle he sought the honor of making the first onslaught on protection from the Democratic side of the Senate. We are afraid Mr. Voorhees takes himself too seriously.

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THE SLIGO ELECTION.—Parnell's candidate for Parliament in Sligo was beaten by over eight hundred votes, despite the fact that he had the open support of the Tories of the district. This shows that there are not enough Parnellites and Tories together in Ireland to break the force of the Home Rule party, and it ought finally to dispose of any claims of Mr. Parnell to the sympathies of patriotic Irishmen in any part of the world. It is to be hoped that his beggars, now traveling in this country, will understand the meaning of this defeat, accept the advice we gave them last week, and go home.

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THE TWO HILL PAPERS.—Governor Hill, by his denunciation of Free Trade seems to have recovered the support of his old organ, the Sun, without alienating that of his new organ, the World. The World says that the Governor in his letter "states his own and the Democratic position on this question with precision and force," and adds, on its own account, that no rational man—such a direct taxer as Chas. O'Conor, for instance, is in favor of depriving the Government of the revenue from a tariff. It adds, "upon this as upon other questions Governor Hill is a Democrat." The Sun is equally delighted with the performance, which it probably rightly attributes to Mr. Hill's belief in Protection, which it declares "has always been an undisputed principle of the Democracy, as of other parties." Does the World agree with the Sun? Does it support Hill as a Protectionist? Let us have an authoritative exposition of the tariff policy of Hill's friends. We beg leave to assure them both that if it be true that Protection is still an undisputed principle of the Democracy as well as of the other party, that a party that does dispute that policy will promptly enter the field. It may not be very big, but it will grow, and its size at the start will suffice to put an end to the hopes of any assistant Protectionist party that poses as the opponent of the main Protectionist party. The people in this country who want protection know where to get it, and they will not apply to the Sun or the World for a guarantee as to the genuineness of the article. A Protectionist who does not support the Republican party is a fool. Any opposition party that fails to oppose Protection is idiotic.

# THE FREE TRADE MEETINGS.

## *A GREAT GATHERING AT COOPER UNION DESPITE THE STORM.*

### SPEECHES BY JERRY SIMPSON, THOMAS G. SHEARMAN AND LOUIS F. POST—NUMEROUS LETTERS FROM CONGRESSMEN AND PUBLIC MEN—GOVERNOR HILL OPPOSES FREE TRADE.

Said the driver of a Fourth avenue car, last Thursday evening, to a man who was riding on the front platform with him: "What a beastly night it is. It's the nastiest night we've had this Winter. When I took my car out this afternoon I never dreamed of the weather that was coming, so I left my rubbers at home. Now I am soaked clear through, from head to foot, and chilled almost to the marrow, and I've got to make another trip before I can go home and get my rubbers and sou'wester. Ugh! I'm chilled through."

As the driver said, it was "a beastly night," a heavy cold rain had been falling since four o'clock in the afternoon, and it had been followed by a heavy, wet snow. To add to the general discomfort a strong, cold wind was blowing, seemingly from all points of the compass.

Well, under such circumstances all interested were much surprised and delighted on reaching Cooper Union at half-past seven o'clock, to find the hall already more than half filled with people who had gathered there to celebrate Jefferson's birthday by holding the first straight-out Free Trade mass meeting ever held in this city. The members of the Manhattan Single Tax Club were there in full force, for this meeting was to be held under their auspices, and, for this occassion only, they were all office holders, from the president of the club, who was the presiding officer of the meeting, to the door tenders, ushers and collectors.

Despite the rain, and the snow, and the wind, the crowd in the hall was constantly added to by patriotic men and women, who had left their comfortable homes and firesides to do honor to the natal day of the great Democrat, as well as by their presence to indorse the principle for which he stood, "Free commerce with all nations."

Among many present on the platform were: E. Ellery Anderson, President of the Reform Club; J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska; Capt. John Codman, Jason Hinman, E. J. Shriver, W. B. Crum, Capt. Lloyd, J. P. Cranford, P. Chauncey Anderson, Chas. O'Connor Hennessy, T. Wistar Brown, of Philadelphia; Wesley Bigelow, W. B. DuBois, Dr. Walter Mendelson, W. D. Williams, Jerome O'Neill, Thos. G. Gilligan, Benj. Doblin, Richard F. George, G. W. Everett and numerous members of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, as well as a number of ladies.

When Chairman Post and Congressman Simpson appeared on the platform at eight o'clock they were cordially greeted by an audience which nearly filled the hall. Mr. Post lost no time, but came to the front and called the meeting to order, and went into a detailed statement of the reasons for its being called. In a few words Mr. Post told his audience how the tariff question had three years ago been brought to the front as a national political question by President Cleveland, in his famous message to Congress; how the Single Tax men, seeing the breach that had been made in the Tariff wall by that message, had jumped into it. They were there to-day, the advance guard of true Democracy, and were working to widen that breach. We have, he said, been going with the Democratic party in the direction of Tariff Reform, and would continue that way until we came to the cross-roads, when, perhaps, our paths would lead in different directions. Meantime it was our duty to point out to our present allies the road that eventually Single Taxers would take, and perhaps invite them to accompany us a bit further than they had intended at first to go. So, in celebrating Jefferson's birthday the Manhattan Single Tax Club had determined, by holding this meeting, to emphasize—to bring out distinctly—the main principle for which Jefferson stood, and on which the Democratic party rested its claim to be considered by the citizens of this republic. In this view the club had called this meeting, and the call had been taken up by representative Democrats who are Free Traders, but not Single Taxers. They had issued another call which had been largely signed, and the result was this magnificent gathering to voice the sentiments of the people in favor of straight-out Free Trade.

As has always been the custom, concluded Mr. Post, the meetings called by the Single Taxers have to be paid for by voluntary contributions from those attending such meetings; so he called on the collectors to pass the baskets. While his was being done Mr. Steers, secretary of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, read the following letters:

CONGRESSMAN BRECKINRIDGE, OF ARKANSAS, SAYS, "LET TRADE BE FREE."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1891.

MR. LOUIS F. POST, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I heartily concur with you and your associates in every effort to liberate production and commerce from restrictions. Reason and experience must be more powerful than fallacy and prejudice, and you are bound to succeed. It is still argued that the old slave holders, in favoring freedom of trade, were the enemies of labor. But, as they derived their incomes from the profits of laborers they owned, they could not desire to make that labor unprofitable. Let every man be free, and let trade be free, that every freeman may enjoy the maximum profits of his own labor. Very truly yours,

CLIFTON R. BRECKINRIDGE.

CONGRESSMAN HARTER, OF OHIO, WANTS "THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD FOR THE AMERICAN WORKMAN'S PRODUCTS."

MANSFIELD, O., March 28, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq., President, New York City.

DEAR MR. POST: However, we may differ on other questions connected with the great subject of taxation (on which I have yet much to learn after a short life-time spent in its study), we can most heartily clasp hands on the question of Tariff Taxation. I think we are at a point where the great bulk of the intelligent citizens of the country believe that the only justification for any tax is necessity.

Here, in Ohio, we feel that trade should be free and commerce untrammeled, except by such burdens as we are compelled to carry in order to produce revenue; and the phrase, "incidental protection," has ceased to deceive any. Our people look upon the man who asks to have his business "protected" by taxing other people, very much as they do upon a footpad; and they respect the intellectual attainments of those who still advocate this kind of robbery about as highly as you do the intelligence of the Hottentot.

The change which has come over the people in these matters, to those of us who for so many years have labored, in season and out, to bring it about, is as welcome as the gentle rain and warm showers after a long year of drought. Our rejoicings are not selfish, but all the deeper because we know that protection can only help a mere fraction of the people, while it robs the multitude; and we are the advocates of what is called Free Trade because we believe it to be the common law of God and the birthright of the humblest American citizen.

It is worth a lifetime of effort to see, as we now do, its glorious fruit; and to stand where we can witness the awakening of a great nation, and the casting aside of its chains by an emancipated people. I am sorrow I cannot be present, and that I shall miss an occasion when the birthday of Jefferson is to be so appropriately celebrated.

Our war cry must continue to be: "Down with unjust tariff taxation. The World for America, and its markets for the American workman's products." Yours truly,

MICHAEL D. HARTER.

CONGRESSMAN STOUT, OF MICHIGAN, FOR ABSOLUTE FREE TRADE.

PONTIAC, Mich., March 28, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq.,

DEAR SIR:—I profoundly sympathize with every effort which looks toward an un urdened trade.

When Protection was young it asked ten to twenty per cent. to equalize alleged differences between foreign and domestic facilities for manufacturing; when it is old, it demands a four-fold bounty, still under the same pretext, but really to secure extortionate profits.

Again, when Protection was young, it promised competition; when it is old, it repudiates its part of the bargain, and through prohibitory taxes, and combinations, inaugurates a remorseless monopoly. There is no alternative for an outraged people but to demand absolute free trade in everything that is the subject of trusts and combinations. Truly yours,

BYRON G. STOUT.

THE GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND FAVORS A LARGER FREEDOM OF TRADE.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
Providence, March 28, 1891.

MR. LOUIS F. POST—DEAR SIR: Yours of 26 h is before me, with notice of meeting, appointed for Jefferson's birthday anniversary, a time well chosen for the subject to be considered. The problem, taxation, is an important one, and should be treated as broadly as its character demands. The personal and public welfare of good citizenship is largely bound up in the question, and there is hardly another in which greater abuse obtains. I am not of those (if there be any such) who look for relief in immediate revolution in methods, but think we have reason to hope for more equitable methods to come in with a larger freedom to trade. Respectfully yours,

JOHN D. DAVIS.

EX-CONGRESSMAN VAUX, OF PENNSYLVANIA, SPEAKS OF THE CRIME OF THE "BILLION CONGRESS."

PHILADELPHIA, March 30, 1891.

Hon. LOUIS F. POST, President the Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York City.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 26th of March most respect-

fully acknowledged. It is too plain to be misunderstood, that the sovereign power under our system of government is vested totally in the people.

The people made the Colonies. The Colonies made the States and in them was the sovereignty of the people of those States. The States made the Federal Government. The power to tax under the delegated authority from the Constitution to Congress is limited to strictly enumerated objects. Taxation is a token of sovereign power. If the people will ever condone the crime of the "Billion Congress" then it is time to awake to efforts—the tax-payers—the wage earners—to punish the violation of their rights, the thieves who steal their substance, and the politicians without conscience, who aid in these outrages.

Respectfully yours, RICHARD VAUX.

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CONGRESSMAN WARNER, OF NEW YORK, FOR FREE TRADE.

REFORM CLUB, 12 East Thirty-third street.
NEW YORK, March 31, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, President Manhattan Single Tax Club, 73 Lexington Avenue, City.

DEAR MR. POST: I regret that an engagement to speak in Milwaukee on the 3d inst., will deprive me of the pleasure of taking any part in the Cooper Union Free Trade meeting other than that of joining in the call, as I have been glad to do.

The occasion seems to me most auspicious and certain to prove important. The presence of Mr. Simpson in especial will help to emphasize the community of interest between the farmer of the West, and we, his agents, at the seaboard. Our business is to sell abroad in the best market we can find the food surplus the American farmer must dispose of, and to buy abroad, wherever they can be bought to best advantage the goods the American farmer must have.

Our business, therefore, is to find him more customers—and therefore better markets, and to add to those who shall compete in providing what he needs—and therefore give him the chance to get more goods for his money. Our prosperity and his are equally dependent on the amount of his surplus for which we can find a market, the cheapening of transportation which shall leave to him more of what the food consumer pays, and the removal of tariff barriers, which shall enable us to get to him the goods we get in exchange at the least advance possible upon their original cost.

The extent of our prosperity is therefore dependent upon the amount of profitable business that we can do for him, and we and he are equally opposed in interest to those who, by obstructing our foreign trade, would thus compel him to sell his surplus more cheaply to them, at the same time that they are enabled to charge him more dearly for what they compel him by law to buy of themselves. Faithfully yours, JOHN DE WITT WARNER.

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CONGRESSMAN SPRINGER, OF ILLINOIS, NON-COMMITTAL.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 31, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq., President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, No. 73 Lexington avenue, New York.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 26th instant, having been forwarded to me from Springfield, Ill., is just received. I thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the mass meeting to be held in New York city on April 2d, the anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birthday.

I have been confined to my room for over three weeks with severe illness, and am still unable to attend to business except to a very limited extent. I am going to Fortress Monroe for a few weeks in order to recuperate. I regret, therefore, that it will be impossible for me to accept your kind invitation.

I am very truly yours, WM. M. SPRINGER.

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GEORGE H. BATES, OF DELAWARE, SAYS THE BATTLE FOR FREEDOM OF TRADE MUST BE FOUGHT TO THE END.

WILMINGTON, Del., March 31st, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, President Manhattan Single Tax Club, 73 Lexington Avenue, New York.

DEAR SIR: I regret that the continuance of a long and tedious illness detains me from my usual activities and from participating, on your invitation, in the celebration of Jefferson's birthday.

There could certainly be no fitter occasion upon which to express and enforce the principles which, from time to time, depend for advocacy upon the great party, of which he was the founder. And yet, as a signal illustration of his democracy and his patriotism, it is not out of place to remember that such a celebration could never have occured in his lifetime.

The City of Boston having asked for the date of his birthday, to observe it as an anniversary, he replied: "That disapproving myself of transferring the honors and veneration for the great birthday of our Republic to any individual, or of dividing them with individuals, I have declined letting my own birthday be known, and have engaged my family not to communicate it." He thus showed with what parental jealousy he regarded the birthday of the Republic.

A superficial mind might question the propriety of selecting this day for a Free Trade demonstration. Jefferson was not prominent in any sense in connection with the tariff, and his writings are almost barren of any discussion of it. In the presence of an anticipated surplus, he proposed to provide for education and public improvement rather than to "suppress the impost and give that advantage to foreign over domestic manufacturers." Nevertheless, in the same connection he advocates the suppression of duties on articles of more general and necessary use, and their continuance on "foreign luxuries, purchased by those only who are rich enough to afford themselves the use of them." From this, probably his strongest declaration in favor of any tariff, it is very easy to appreciate the feelings with which this great man would have viewed a proposition to tax the plough of the farmer or the dinner pail of the artisan to add to the capacity of the already wealthy manufacturer for a more luxurious life.

The truth is that in Jefferson's day the Tariff was not a leading question, but his relation to the vital issue of to-day is none the less marked. The logical basis of the demand for ultimate freedom of trade is to be found only in those imperishable principles to which Jefferson first gave utterance in the immortal declaration of 1776, and of which he afterwards became the exponent as the founder of the new party organized to enforce them.

There can be little doubt that if Jefferson could have forseen the situation which we confront to-day, his political creed would have emphatically declared that freedom of contract was as much an inherent part of free government as freedom of person, of speech and of the press. He did in fact express the opinion that the claim of power, under the "general welfare clause," to give bounties for the encouragement of particular manufacturers, amounted to an assertion that we live under an unlimited rather than a limited government. Indeed the multitude of sins which have since been covered by the general wellfare clause are witnesses, trumpet-tongued, in support of the close construction of that clause which Jefferson ever maintained.

The crowning merit of his political philosophy is that it is a talisman which in every crisis has been sufficient to determine which was the false and which the true. So it is, that the party of Jefferson, when it has adhered to the principles of Jefferson, has been successful, and when it has dallied with the heresies which Jefferson opposed, has found deserved defeat.

In dealing with the latter, the last Democratic President showed himself no unworthy compeer of his great predecessor. As Jefferson first crystalized the principle which has had no finer expression than Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people for the people," so Cleveland, looking forward and not backward, seized the living issue of his time and rallied the Democracy for a vigorous attack upon the hydra of Protection. Each became the champion of the people against the menacing danger of his time.

The reverse of 1888 simply showed that Cleveland's message was too late to give time for that extended discussion which is the essential basis of political revolutions. But the deadening blow at monopoly, struck in 1890, shows clearly that the brave way is the best way and that the great battle of freedom of trade, being on, must be fought to the end. To press forward is victory—to hesitate or fall back will be a rout.

The present tariff system is the root of all the heresies which he who claims to be a follower of Jefferson must now combat or be false to his faith. Let him therefore take heed that he strike boldly at the root and not by lopping off the branches, simply energize and invigorate the upas tree which he would kill. Very truly yours,

GEO. H. BATES.

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TALCOTT H. RUSSELL, OF CONNECTICUT, SAYS, "IF LABOR MUST BE PROTECTED, LET IT BE DONE DIRECTLY."

NEW HAVEN, Conn., March 31, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of March 26, asking an expression of opinion for use at the coming Free Trade meeting, is received.

Whether I am a Free Trader or not, I consider scarcely worth discussion. In my opinion, a large portion of the public revenue must for a long time to come be raised by a tax on imports. The founders of Protection advocated that policy as a temporary expedient and a preparation for more unrestricted trade. We have now abundance of capital; we have also the best and cheapest labor in the world; that is, if labor is paid to accomplish results, and not to kill time. Those who have been most importunate in demanding Government aid for the protection of American labor have been its heaviest oppressors. While grinding down wages to the lowest point and importing the most degraded labor of Europe, they have, by unjust legislation, extorted a large portion of those scanty wages for their own benefit. Like the Pharisees of old, they bind heavy burdens upon others which they themselves will not so much as touch with their little finger. The question has long since ceased to be one between Protection and

Free Trade; it is now a question between protection to American capitalists and protection to American labor. In the latter sense I am a Protectionist. By all means protect American labor from unjust legislation in favor of petted manufacturers, if necessary, from the introduction of masses of degraded labor which drive out the native workman and lower the standard of citizenship. The capitalist has had his share of legislative aid; give labor a chance. If a beggar, with breath reeking with whisky, seeks alms for his starving family while he himself is selling the bed under them to minister to his vices, the prudent giver will distribute his alms directly to the members of the family rather than to the faithless parent. So if we are to protect labor, it should be done directly. The capitalist has proved an unsafe guardian of its interests. The time has come when the end to which protection was advocated as a mean should begin to be realized, and a large portion of the legislative favor which the protected manufacturers have so shamefully abused should be withdrawn. And yet, in the manner of doing this, regard should be had to such vested interests, if any, as would be unjustly affected by too great and too abrupt changes. Yours very respectfully, TALCOTT H. RUSSELL.

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HIRAM HOWARD, OF RHODE ISLAND, IN SYMPATHY.

PROVIDENCE, March 27, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, ESQ., President Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Hon. Hiram Howard desires me to acknowledge receipt of your favor of March 26, and to say in reply, while his present condition of health prevents him from writing you even a brief expression of opinion on the subject of the mass meeting to be held in New York on April 2, he is entirely in sympathy with the objects of that meeting. Yours truly,

W. EDWARD FISKE, Secretary.

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A. B. FARQUHAR, OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN FAVOR OF FREE TRADE.

YORK, Pa., March 31, 1891.

MR. LOUIS F. POST, President Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: You ask of me a few words to support you in "raising the standard of Free Trade as the leading national issue," at a mass meeting to be held on the birthday of the apostle of freedom, our first, greatest and truest Republican. A few words I can easily send, where my heart has gone already.

When I see the distress thrown upon agricultural and other producers of exportable goods by legislation which prevents them from profiting in their necessary purchases by the same world-free competition to which they are exposed in all their sales; when I reflect that the protective system throws the burden of taxation upon the poor; when I mark the sufferings of workingmen under the shutting off of factories and pruning of wages, to which the necessity of laboring for State-assisted combinations and monopolies has subjected them; and, then, when I have to confess the success of so many purveyors of quack treatment for these evils, in closing the eyes of those afflicted by them to the one genuine remedy, I believe the work to be done at your meeting the most important which can enlist American patriots, and that the memory of Jefferson could receive no more fitting tribute.

Why does this work have to be done? Why have not those on whom the sore and unequal burden of the Protective system rests, long ago become aroused to the nature and the cause of their grievances, and converted into unflinching foes of the iniquitous system? More than anything else, because Free Trade has been made to wear so terrible an aspect before their eyes—because their guardian angel has been disguised for them as a malignant demon. You are proposing to dispel terrors, to strip disguises, and to show Free Trade in its true light. You could be in no better service. Nor will you have long to await the reward of courage and clear sight. Who does not remember the obloquy heaped upon the "abolitionists" thirty years ago, and who but feels at this day some envy for the fame of those sturdy champions of right, whose prophetic wisdom the march of events so speedily vindicated?

If permitted to choose a sentiment for your Free Trade mass meeting, I would suggest the following, from Macaulay's great essay on Milton:

"When a prisoner first leaves his cell he cannot bear the light of day; he is unable to discriminate colors, or recognize faces. But the remedy is not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage. But let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it." I am, very respectfully,

A. B. FARQUHAR.

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DAVID A. WELLS FOR FREE TRADE.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq., President Manhattan Single Tax Club.

DEAR SIR: I am in sympathy with every movement organized as "Tariff Reform," "Tariff for Revenue Only," "Free Trade," "Farmers' Alliance," or any other name which has for its object the destruction of the most arbitrary, unjust and unscientific system of taxation that has ever been inflicted in modern times upon any country claiming to be characterized by a high degree of civilization. The soldier in the hour of battle does not need to concern himself about the pattern of the musket he uses, provided it shoots efficiently, or whether the man who stands next to him in the ranks goes without stockings or wears silken hose, so long as he is valorous against a common foe.

I recognize further that in the formation of the so called Farmers Alliance the long anticipated and long delayed practical protest against the further tolerance of a national fiscal system which has brought discomfort, debt and poverty upon the American agriculturist, by compelling him to sell whatever of his surplus crop he desires to dispose of in the cheapest markets, and buy with the product of his exchange whatever he desires to consume in the dearest, and has thus practically ignored and reversed that great economic axiom, that as all trade is essentially barter, he who buys in the cheapest market, necessarily sells in the dearest, and consequently to the greatest advantage.

I am well aware that in letters of this nature no long dissertations on any subject, however pertinent to the occasion, are desirable, but I cannot forbear asking attention to one point which ought never to be overlooked by the advocates in the United States of absolute Free Trade, and that is the small disadvantage or detriment apart from consideration of raising revenue, that could accrue to those employed in the gainful occupations in the United States, from the granting to all its citizens the right to buy and sell free from all restrictions, save those imposed for moral or sanitary reasons.

To those doubtful in respect to this matter, or who are desirous of further information reference is made to the results of an investigation instituted by the Secretary of the Treasury in 1885, and published by him in an appennix to his report for the year. It was here demonstrated on the then basis of this classification of persons engaged in, according to the census of 1880, the gainful occupations of the country, that if trade was made entirely free, not over 6 or 7 per cent. of our industrial population at the outside, could be injuriously affected thereby and inferentially that the other ninety-three or ninety-four per cent. would be benefited. And yet it is continually and confidently asserted that the country owes its industrial growth and prosperity to a system that restricts trade and multiplies taxes, and if the present average tariff of fifty per cent. and upwards on imported goods were in any degree abated speedy and wide spread industrial ruin and calamity would be inevitable. I remain yours most respectfully,

Norwich, Conn., March 30, 1891. DAVID A. WELLS.

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PROF. JAMES H. CANFIELD, OF THE KANSAS UNIVERSITY IN FAVOR OF FREEDOM.

LAWRENCE, Kans., March 28, 1891.

President LOUIS F. POST.

DEAR SIR: I have but a moment in which to reply to yours of the 26th.

The United States is too large a country, has too varied resources, and is occupied by too intense and too intelligent people to either need or endure artificial limitations of trade.

Business cannot be safely conducted when its results depend upon or are affected by the majority vote of a political body—especially when that "is not a deliberative body."

Men who are shrewd enough to make money are shrewd enough to be entrusted with its expenditure. The mass of the people are certainly quite as patriotic as average Congressmen.

If we can compete with England in Brazil we can compete with England in England. The simple fact is that in capital, in labor, and in natural resources we can safely compete with any nation on earth. The weak need "protection"—not the strong.

Society asserts that man must labor—it strikes hard at idlers. Unrestricted emigration practically admits that a man has a right to sell his labor freely in any market that he can reach. If he must labor, and may so sell his labor, there is no avoiding the conclusion that he may so sell the products of his labor.

Every American is interested in this question of trade because every American wishes to enjoy the fruits of his labor and all the fruits of his labor; and because the public business of America is the private business of every citizen.

In the history of this country we have successfully fought the battles of a free press, of free speech, of a free church, of a free State, and of free men. It only remains to secure that freedom of trade which is as instinctive as the right to breathe, which will revive our commercial supremacy, and which will put new life-blood into every vein and artery of the nation. Very hastily but very cordially yours.

JAMES H. CANFIELD.

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CONGRESSMAN WATSON OF GEORGIA IN FAVOR OF ABSOLUTE FREE TRADE.

THOMSON, Ga., March 30, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, President.

DEAR SIR: Yours with enclosures received. Among the deter-

mined opponents of Protection who will respond to your call for the meeting on April 2, there will not be found anyone who is more bitterly and aggressively the enemy of that cruel and shamefully dishonest system than myself. God being my helper, I shall fight it to the death. Yours truly,

THOMAS E. WATSON, M. C., Tenth Georgia District.

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HENRY GEORGE WANTS INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

NEW YORK, April 2, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, President Manhattan Single Tax Club.

DEAR SIR: I cannot be at your meeting. But allow me in this way to express my joy that men differing on other things at last unite to declare for Free Trade and to proclaim uncompromising hostility to all tariffs.

Political freedom has been gained, so far as it ever can be gained without industrial freedom. That is the task of our time; the task we must accomplish if other gains are to avail anything. To abolish undeserved poverty, to secure to labor its natural opportunities and its full earnings, to open to all the moral, mental and physical advantages which increasing knowledge and multiplying invention make possible for all, is to me the one thing worth struggling for in politics. And in this time and this country the road to this is that of Free Trade.

Jefferson was right. The secret of a healthy society, of a stable state, of national peace and plenty, and virture and happiness, lies in the practical application of the Golden Rule—in the recognition by all of the rights of each. The cause of low wages, of depressed trade, of farmers eaten out by mortgages, of cities filled with those who live on charity or gain by hard struggle only a poor and pitiful living, is that men are robbed under the guise of law. And the only remedy is that of abolishing the robbery. No devices for helping some men at the expense of other men can avail the masses. The few may live at the expenseof the many, but the many cannot live at the expense of the few. Workingmen's unions that have no larger aim than the establishment of labor trusts and labor restrictions, farmers' combinations that would help farmers by making them participants in the plunder of the treasury, they can no more help the masses than can those rosewater reformers who would cure political corruption by electing good men to office and solve the awful problem of poverty by doles of alms. The only thing that can help the masses is freedom.

And, therefore, it is that in raising the banner of Free Trade you raise the standard of the true labor movement, you raise again for another leap forward the glorious standard of human liberty.

Free Trade! Can there be real freedom without freedom to trade? Is it not a natural right; an unalienable right? With its abolition of custom houses and spies and lobbyists and trusts, with its union of the world in the bonds of commerce, and its guarantee of peace among the nations, is it not indeed the "international law of God?"

The day of the compromisers on the tariff question is nearly over. The future is ours. When such men as will be represented at your meeting to-night gather together to proclaim a great truth for which the time is ripe, its victory is already half won.

With hearty congratulations, yours, HENRY GEORGE.

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The following telegram was then read:

CHICAGO, Ill., April 2, 1891.

HENRY GEORGE, care Chairman Free Trade Meeting, Cooper Union, New York:

Chicago Jeffersonians assembled to do honor to the author of the immortal Declaration of Independence, send greeting to the New York Free Trade Meeting, expressing the hope that the standard of absolute Free Trade raised by you will not be lowered untill free commerce between all nations without restrictions of a single custom-house shall be established, THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX CLUB.

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Mr. Post announced, facetiously, that he had expected to treat the audience to a "Tom and Jerry," but, unfortunately, the "Tom" was unavoidably absent in person, though with us in spirit. He handed Mr. Steers a letter to read from Mr. Johnson. It was as follows:

CONGRESSMAN TOM L. JOHNSON FAVORS FREE TRADE, WITH CLEVELAND FOR PRESIDENT AND MILLS FOR SPEAKER.

CLEVELAND, March, 31, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq., President Manhattan Single Tax Club, New York City.

DEAR SIR: To my great regret, pressing duties will prevent my presence at your meeting, but I wish to express my unreserved concurrence in its object. Count me at all times for Free Trade and direct taxation.

I am a Free Trader because I am a Democrat; because I believe in equal rights to all; because protective tariffs are a robbery and revenue tariffs an injustice.

I am opposed to taxes on necessaries, because they put the burden of government on those least able to bear it, and to taxes on luxuries, because they confine luxuries to the few. I am opposed to all forms of "crooked taxation," because they increase the public burden, multiply officials, create crime, corrupt politics; and engage moneyed interests in the manipulation of government. I am for straight, honest taxation, because it is the cheapest, the fairest, the purest; because it collects the revenues without the intervention of middlemen, and the people know what they pay.

I am for Mills, of Texas, for Speaker of the House, because I want to have an out-and-out Free Trader take the chair held by Reed, and to let the trusts and monopolists know that at last a Democratic Congress has come that means to undo class legislation.

Grover Cleveland should be our candidate for President next year, because the Tariffites of all degrees fear him, and he well justifies their fear.

We should not permit any question to come up that will divert attention from the Tariff fight. When men are attacked by wolves they have no time to kill rats or fight "gold bugs."

Democrats must see that we have passed the babyhood stage of tariff reduction, and even the boyhood of anti-protection. Let Democratic leaders, then, be men. They acknowledge Free Trade in private; let them stop talking in public of percentages merely. Let them trust the people, as Thomas Jefferson did, and learn that tariff reduction raises as much opposition as Free Trade, without gaining its strength. I know, as my Free Trade colleague from Kansas who is to address you knows, that Free Trade will not frighten the people, but will rally to its standard those who will not turn their hands for the talk of the timid.

Tariff reduction is like moderate cancer, reasonable smallpox or temperate delirium tremens. The only complete cure for Protection is absolute Free Trade. With best wishes for the success of the meeting, I am, very truly, TOM L. JOHNSON.

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At this point Mr. Post stepped to the front and said that only one letter had been received opposing the object for which the meeting had been called. It had been handed to him by a special messenger just as he was entering the hall. It was from the Governor of the State of New York, David B. Hill. The mention of the name was received with a storm of hisses, repeated again and again during the reading of the letter by Mr. Post:

GOVERNOR HILL DENOUNCES FREE TRADE.

STATE OF NEW YORK. EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, April 1, 1891.

LOUIS F. POST, Esq., President, etc., 73 Lexington avenue, New York City.

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of your letter of March 28th, inviting me to attend a "Free Trade mass meeting," to be held at Cooper Union on Thursday evening, April 2nd.

While thanking you for your courtesy, I cannot attend the meeting, because I have no sympathy with its professed purpose. I had supposed that my opinions upon the tariff question had been so frequently expressed in public that nobody could expect me consistently to attend a meeting intended to promulgate the doctrine of Free Trade. I am not an advocate of Free Trade, and never have been. I stand with the Democratic party in favor of tariff reform, which means a reduction of the present excessive and iniquitous tariff, and the retention of a tariff limited to the necessities of the Government economically administered. I do not believe in reforming the tariff by wholly abolishing it. I believe that the best interests of our country—industrial, agricultural and commercial—demand the establishment of that tariff policy declared and particularly defined in the national Democratic platforms of 1876, 1884 and 1888, and I am earnestly opposed to the attempt which is now being made in some quarters to undermine the sound and conservative position of the Democratic party upon this question, and to commit it irrevocably to the doctrine of Free Trade. The men who are engaged in this effort, no matter how honest or sincere they may be in their individual convictions, have no right to longer masquerade as true Democrats, while seeking to commit the party to a policy which it has always distinctly repudiated, and which, if adopted, must inevitably, in my judgment, affect injuriously the welfare of the country, and unfit the Democratic party for the maintenance of those wise principles of government of which it has for nearly a century been the proud and unyielding representative. They greatly mistake public sentiment who assume to construe the revolution last Autumn at the polls as a popular manifestation in favor of radical tariff legislation; it was, so far as the tariff was an issue, a popular outburst against excessive duties, against restricted markets, against war taxation for the benefit of favored industries, but only blind theorists could see in it any indication that the people are impatient of all tariffs, and desire a resort to direct taxation to secure the necessary revenues for the support of the Government. As a Democrat, I must respectfully decline to support any movement, no matter by whom instigated or championed, having for its purpose the adoption of any

such suicidal policy as is sought to be promoted by the meeting to which you have invited me.

In my opinion such movements only embarrass and endanger the cause of tariff reform. I remain, very truly yours,

DAVID B. HILL.

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When the groans and hisses which followed the reading of Governor Hill's hari-kari letter had subsided the chairman introduced the celebrated Congressman from Kansas as the speaker of the evening.

As Mr. Simpson walked to the front of the stage he received an ovation probably never exceeded in the wilds of his own western country. He was cheered again and again until, as he said, when quiet had been somewhat restored, it almost made him think that it was a Kansas audience then in front of him. It seemed to him like the dawning of a new era when so many men and women would come to the Cooper Union from their homes on such a stormy night to listen to and applaud the declaration made in favor of Free Trade.

Before beginning his address he thought he ought to relieve the anxiety of his audience on a much mooted question—his socks. [Laughter.] But, if he had not concluded to put on socks after the beating which the Republican party of Kansas received last November, he certainly would feel encouraged to do so after meeting with such an audience. He predicted that we were nearing the dawn of a new era of prosperity to the country which would enable every person to wear socks if he chose. [Applause.]

Mr. Simpson said it was a strange thing to him that, over a hundred years after the writing of the Declaration of Independence, the declaration that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," that it should be necessary for American people to come together to protest against a tariff system that is crushing down the people and trampling on their liberties—that prevents people from trading with the people they choose to trade with. What is protection? Out in Kansas we protect our cattle and our hogs. When we have the money, we buy lumber and build sheds and pens to protect them from the storm; we build fences around them, so they shall not stray off to places where they might suffer and die; we see that they are properly and amply fed, and that they become fat. Do we tend them and feed them because we love them? Not a bit of it. We do these things for them because we want to eat them. [Laughter and applause.] And I think that these benevolent people who are so anxious to protect us from the rest of the world have in their minds the same idea toward the producers of this country that we have when we are taking care of and fattening our cattle and hogs. [Great applause.].

Now, we used to be gullible out in Kansas, and we hung onto and voted with the Republican party for years. That party used to tell us to vote for a protective tariff and we would have all that we wanted, and as that was exactly the condition of things we were after we continued to vote for the protectionist party. We got tired of that after awhile, and we said: "Let us try Cleveland and tariff reform," and, as we went on with tariff reform, we found that we got poorer and poorer, and a good many of our farmers had to take on another mortgage. At last came Harrison, and he said, "Vote for me and high protection, and we will make you rich," and again we voted for them, and here we are. It used to be a common sight out in Kansas to see an old farmer going along with a torchlight on his shoulder and a gunnysack patch on his pants, rah'n for Harrison and protection. [Laughter.] Now, then, we have had two years of Harrison and protection. We find our case growing worse year after year. We find in the West we are growing hopelessly in debt; mortgage upon mortgage. We have grown tired of this, and now we have determined to sweep both parties from the face of the earth and inaugurate the reign of the people once more in the history of this country. [Applause.]

We have concluded out in Kansas that if we would be lifted out of the mire in which we find ourselves we must do the lifting ourselves. We have turned the school houses of our State into places where the people meet every week to talk over the situation as it affects us farmers, and to find, if possible, how matters can be shaped so as to better our condition; and we are getting a pretty clear insight into matters and things. One of the baits thrown out to catch our vote last election was that if we would vote with the Republicans they would make an appropriation for improving the harbor at Galveston. "Then, don't you see," said the Republicans, "you will be within 500 miles of a harbor, and your corn, and cattle and hogs can be shipped to the seaboard at a much less cost for land transportation than now, and you will be able to sell your produce in Europe for less than you do now and still make a larger profit." But we answered—because we have been learning—"Yes, you will make a harbor for us, so that our products can go out easier than they can now, and you will also put a custom house there, to prevent the things that we want in exchange from coming in. [Applause.] It is not the things that go out of the country that will make us rich, but the things that will come back in exchange." [Applause.]

When I was down in Florida last Summer I spent a day or two at Pensacola. Being a sailor, I went along the water front to take a look at the shipping. There were sixty-five vessels there of all classes at the wharves and in the roadway. Out of the lot, two little schooners flew the American flag. [Laughter]. The rest of the vessels flew the flags of many nations, but the largest and best of them displayed the British union jack at their peaks. I talked with a number of the skippers, and asked them what they brought to Pensacola. All the vessels then in that port had come in ballast. They brought us dirt and rocks, some of it so foul that the vessels containing it had to be unloaded at quarantine, and in many cases had to remain there for thirty days or so before they could be sufficiently purified to be fit to come up into Pensacola harbor. [Laughter]. But they didn't go away in ballast. They went away loaded with things produced in this country that were wanted in other countries, and we had got, in exchange, dirt, rocks and filth. Now, there were many things produced in the countries from which these vessels came that we want, and those vessels would rather have loaded with them than with the dirt, rocks and filth, and the people of those countries would have been glad to have exchanged their goods for our goods. But our protective laws stand in the way; we cannot trade, and we in Kansas know the reason why, and we intend one of these days to sweep that reason out of existance. [Applause].

Major McKinley said, in a speech in Providence the other day, that the American people were never so prosperous as they are now; and in the same paper in which I read that bit of news I also read that it was estimated that there were over a million men tramping from place to place looking for work. The Major must have been thinking of the men who are beneficiaries under his Protection bill, and not of the men who are walking the streets of our cities and our country roads.

I read in a paper the other day a story. A woman was found dead in an old hut on the edge of a town in New Jersey. Mrs. Sheridan was her name. The officials who examined into the cause of the poor woman's death say that she died of starvation. This in the country that Major McKinley says was never so prosperous as now! I am told that over 15,000 of the people who inhabit this great city live on swill—they live on the pickings from the garbage barrels in the streets and around your hotels. I am told that nearly 100,000 of your people live on charity; and I am also told that about the same number go to bed, if they have beds, hungry every night in the year. And this in a country that was never so prosperous as now! If all these things are true, then it is time that we drew up another declaration of independence. [Great applaus .]

These things are directly chargeable to the accursed system that "protects" us from trading in the markets of the world, and that system must be dug out, root and branch. But I am not one of those who believe that when that system is destroyed and Free Trade established that all will have been accomplished. Your island is a natural depot; you have one of the finest harbors in America; your great city has been built up by the foreign trade that has come into our country through your port. I marvel when I hear a resident of New York City say he is a Protectionist. Carry protection to its ultimate and New York City will disappear. [Great applause.] This city will be benefited immeasurably by the fullest and freest interchange of commodities with all the world. Your population will grow under Free Trade until you will have five, six or ten or more times your present population. And as the ships increase in number in your harbor, and as your population increases, the men who own this island will absorb more and more of the products of your toil. [Great applause.] There is the root that must be dug up before the condition of your people can be materially changed. There lies the problem that must be solved. Oh, that the man would appear that is to solve it! [A voice: "He's here now! Another voice: "George!" Tremendous applause.]

Mr. Simpson then turned his attention to the money question. He had been down in the vaults of the Sub-Treasury on Wall street, in company with Mr. George, and had seen millions in gold, silver, bonds, treasury notes and greenbacks, all under lock and key. He said that the Kansas farmer wanted more money put in circulation. We need it, said Mr. Simpson, as a medium of exchange. We have got past the old days of barter, and we need a representative of values to do our trading with. We do not care much how we get it into circulation, but we do know that its scarcity embarrasses us in business. We would prefer, however, that it be issued directly by the Government, whether in gold, silver or paper, makes but little difference to us.

Another evil from which the Kansas farmers suffer is the monoply in transportation. I was told, said Mr. Simpson, in an editorial in an evening paper, that probably I would learn a great deal here in New York, if I was careful and observed. That I would find out when I came down here that it took money to build railroads. Well, that is a revelation to me. Out in Kansas we had made up our minds that all it took to build a railroad was cheek and labor.

[Laughter.] We have 8,000 miles of railroad in Kansas, to the building of which the National Government, the State and the various localities contributed, in lands and money, $100,000,000: more than enough to build and equip the roads. As soon as these roads were built the men controling them bonded them for $200,000,000 and mortgaged the land given to them for $300,000,000 more, so that every pound of produce that we try to send out of Kansas has to pay freight on $600,000,000 instead of the $100,000,000 which was given to them in the first instance. We have figured all this out in our school house meetings. And we have also figured out that it is absolutely necessary to our well being in Kansas that the Government should take possession of and run those roads in the interest of the people, instead of having them run, as now, in the interest of capitalists and monopolists. [Great applause.]

Mr. Simpson said he was more than ordinarily pleased to meet the audience before him. He was pleased because out West the idea was becoming prevalent that the people of the East were the enemies of the people of the West. When he went home he could tell the people that after all we belonged to the same race and that what oppressed the people of one section of the country oppressed the people of the whole country. Our longings, desires and aspirations were the same. We all had the same fight on our hands, and it was against the common enemy.

Mr. Simpson was enthusiastically cheered at the close of his address.

The chairman then introduced Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, who was cordially greeted by the audience. The speaker criticised, in a pleasant way, several of the things said by Mr. Simpson, and then made a careful argument for Free Trade. His point was that it would not do to confuse the issue now before the people by lugging into it side issues of any kind. Mr. Simpson and he were agreed on the main question. Then let the battle be fought on that line.

Mr. Shearman closed his address by scoring Governor Hill's letter.

The meeting then adjourned.

## *THE CHICAGO CELEBRATION.*

### THE SINGLE TAX BANQUET IN HONOR OF THOMAS JEFFERSON'S NATAL DAY—THE LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

CHICAGO, April 4.—Our Jefferson celebration was a triumph. Every phase of it was completely successful, and even the most sanguine found the reality beyond their expectations. The attendance was up to the capacity of Jefferson Hall, in which the banquet was spread, and there was not a vacant seat at the handsome tables when President W. W. Bailey called the gathering to order and introduced the Templeton quartette as as a sort of grace before meat. Their singing was received with pronounced favor, and the audience applauded long and vigorously. The dinner was then served, all agreeing as to its excellence and doing it ample justice. When all had feasted to repletion, the reading of the letters of regret was called for. Mr. J. T. Ripley responding. He did not undertake to read all that had been sent, because the number was too great, but among those that he presented was one from Henry George. It was the last one read and it was greeted with long-continued applause, its sentiments striking a responsive chord in every breast. The letters of Gov. Russell of Massachusetts, Gov. Campbell of Ohio, William Lloyd Garrison, John DeWitt Warner, Louis F. Post, Wm. T. Croasdale, Judge T. J. Portis and Mrs. Milne, the latter in verse form, were also cordially received. The following from the editor-in-chief of the Chicago Herald was heard with very marked pleasure:

CHICAGO, April 1, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR: I regret that I will not be able to accept the invitation of the Chicago Single Tax Club to join it in celebrating the anniversary of the birth of Jefferson. No man of any race or of any epoch is more entitled to the honor of a universal democracy. To him tyranny, privilege and aristocratic pretension were hateful, no matter in what guise they might appear. While the men who opposed Jefferson feared the people, he feared monarchy. While they were jealous of the masses, he was jealous of the classes. They believed that the people should be governed. He held that the people should govern. They would have established a government based upon caste and money. He did establish a government based upon manhood and freedom. His services in the cause of American liberty previous to 1800 were most illustrious, but if he had never written the Declaration of Independence or drawn the Virginia statute of religious freedom or inspired the ordinance of 1787, his labors as President in shaping the democracy of a new world, in making odious the attempts of monarchists and aristocrats to narrow the scope of the republic and to discredit the people in the temple constructed by their own hands, and in setting an example of the responsibility of public servants that is to last for all time, would have rendered him famous. He assumed the Presidency at a time when a determining touch was to be placed upon the American Government. It had been aristocratic, tending toward monarchy, titles, property qualifications, class rule and the mimicry of courts and dynasties. Under his master hand it became popular and democratic. The twenty-four years during which Jefferson and his disciples, Madison and Monroe, administered the Government fixed the character of our institutions, and since that day parties have triumphed or fallen as they have adhered to or departed from the ideas underlying the system that he founded. He was truly a great man, and Americans of every political faith honor themselves in honoring him. Thanking you and the Chicago Single Tax Club for your courtesy, I am, yours very truly, H. W. SEYMOUR.

Mr. George's letter was as follows:

NEW YORK, March 31, 1891.

W. F. IRWIN, Secretary Chicago Single Tax Club:

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your invitation to take part in your celebration of the one hundred and forty-eighth anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson. I cannot be with you in person, but I join you in spirit. With you, I recognize the greatest of American Democrats as the clearest of American statesmen. With you, I see that in his simple political philosophy lies the only means of curing the evils of our time and of making the American Republic truly great and truly glorious.

It is fitting that we Single Tax men should honor Jefferson's memory. For his faith is our faith, his hope is our hope, and his effort, in our later generation, we renew. Times change, names alter, but principles remain. The lapse of years and the fuller development they have brought, enable us to see some things with greater clearness than to him was possible, but all that we contend for is embodied in the ideas that Jefferson proclaimed. It is not among so-called Republicans, the advocates of bounties and tariffs and monopolies; it is not among so-called Democrats, shrinking from the avowal of clear-cut Democratic principles, that Jefferson could now take his place. Were that great soul again in the body, we Single Tax men would know him as our own, and he would recognize us as his.

"Equal rights to all; special privileges to none!" Who truly propose that but those who would abolish all restrictions upon production or exchange, who would tax no man for buying or selling, making or saving, but who, recognizing unavoidable monopolies as the charge and function of the State, would take for public revenues only those values which the public growth creates, and thus secure to all men their natural, industrial freedom—the freedom to work, and the freedom to use and dispose of the results of their work, as they themselves see fit.

"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights!" Who really acknowledge these self-evident truths save those who would secure to all men their equal and unalienable right to the use of that element which the Creator has given to man as his dwelling place, his workshop, his storehouse; that element indispensable to his very life?

The failures, the disgraces, the dangers, of the American Republic—demoralizing wealth and degrading poverty, the perversions of law by which some citizens are authorized to rob other citizens, the growth of trusts and of tramps, of an untitled aristocracy and a rack-rented peasantry, political corruptions and business depressions, blacklists and strikes, our apings of the European curses of a standing army and a standing navy, the growth of all the social conditions which we once associated with the effete monarchies of the Old World—they come from our ignoring of the Jeffersonian principle of the equality of rights; they can only be cured by its vindication.

But let us celebrate Jefferson's birthday with hope and with rejoicing. For all over our country his ideas are taking root. Every day, as it passes, brings evidence that the principles for which we have labored are steadily and rapidly diffusing themselves. Every day makes it more and more clear that the future is ours. With greeting and congratulation, yours sincerely,

HENRY GEORGE.

Governor Campbell wrote as follows:

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR, COLUMBUS, March 23.

MY DEAR SIR: I beg to thank you for the invitation just received to attend the meeting of the Chicago Single Tax Club on the evening of April 2. Nothing would afford me more pleasure than to assist in celebrating with you the anniversary of the birth of Thomas Jefferson, but I have another engagement for the same purpose on the same evening, and will be unable, therefore, much to my regret, to attend. I agree with you most heartily that the country has been drifting away from the principles of Jefferson, but believe the tide has now turned, and we are coming back to goverment by the people, which is democracy in its pure and unadulterated form. The fight that went on between Hamilton and Jefferson has been going on ever since, and will continue until the principles of Jefferson shall be finally triumphant. With the kindest regards for yourself and the members of the club, and the wish that you may have an enjoyable meeting, I am sincerely yours, JAMES E. CAMPBELL.

Speaking began immediately after the reading of the letters, Edward Osgood Brown responding to the first toast, "Special Privileges to None." Then followed Mrs. Emma Webb Haskett, "Equal Suffragists: Are they Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian in Their Tendencies?" She answered in an eloquent speech that for her part she was a Jeffersonian and that her sister suffragists might be counted on in the great fight against privilege. Next Mrs. Marshall Beck read a very happy original poem on Jefferson, which she had written especially for the occasion, Mr. John Z. White following in reponse to the toast, "The Prophets of Yesterday and the Prophets of To-day." Mr. George Horton, of the Chicago Herald editorial staff, next read a striking original poem on Jefferson, written for the occasion. He was followed by Clarence S. Darrow, who spoke to the sentiment, "Jeffersonian Democracy." The speaking was concluded by two happy little five minute talks by A. H. Stephenson, of Philadelphia, and W. J. Atkinson, of New York, who happened to be present and were given a hearty greeting. Every speech was enthusiastically applauded, and mention of Mr. Cleveland's name was the signal for a lively demonstration of approval. It was nearly midnight when the meeting broke up,

the chairman announcing at the close of the entertainment that the club would make the birthday of Jefferson the occasion of an annual celebration.

Mr. Brown's address was as follows:

I am glad to be here to-night, that, in the company of the only organized body in Chicago, as I believe, who are really Democrats, knowing what true democracy is and not afraid of its expression, I can do honor to the man to whom, under God, we owe it that without altering the form of government or the political institutions of our Republic, but by merely carrying out their full spirit and intent, we can make, in truth, a triumphant democracy—"a government of the people, by the people and for the people." Except for Thomas Jefferson this age of democracy—for it would have been an age of democracy, nevertheless, against which no political institution could have long stood—would have found no such field for its experiment as America to-day presents. Through turmoil and blood and suffering, not through legal, natural and peaceful means, could true freedom have been established here had Jefferson's great opponent, Alexander Hamilton, had his way one hundred years ago. It is significant that those who are most virulent and vehement in their denunciation of the Single Taxers are the same men who make Alexander Hamilton their political idol. I am not one of those who honor and revere the memory of Jefferson in any half-hearted way. I cannot join with the men who attempt to divide impartially what seems to me their indiscriminating praise between Jefferson and Hamilton. Whatever may have been Hamilton's admirable abilities, I think that his name and his memory are entitled to no respect from true Democrats. "Democracy," he said, "is a disease." While Jefferson, whom Hamilton called an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics, believed in the natural rights of men, their freedom and their equality, and that the earth belonged in usufruct to the living. These are our principles, too. I am speaking mostly to Single Tax men, and it is not necessary for me to remind them that our economic and political doctrine is but the amplification of the propositions of the American Declaration of Independence. It is only upon one element of our political platform that it is my duty to say a word to-night.

I am asked to respond to the sentiment, "Special Privileges to to None." It is but the necessary corollary to the other, "equal rights to all," for where special privilege exists there can be no equality in the true sense. We demand no abnormal and unatural, no artificial, law-regulated equality. Differences of natural endowment there will always be, and those differences, we doubt not, will result in inequality of conditions; but men do not differ so much in natural capacity that if given a fair and equal chance, some industrious men will become worth $200,000,000, and others equally industrious and virtuous will live all their lives from hand to mouth. The only equality that we ask is the equility of true democracy, the equality of opportunity. "The Republic," said the present Chief Justice just before he took his seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States, speaking at the banquet given to him by the Chicago bar, "the Republic is opportunity." It is to make this a living truth, not a mere rhetorical flourish, that we are fighting. There is no true equality of opportunity where some men stand upon glittering heights of special privilege. By a special privilege I mean some guaranteed peculiar benefit or advantage, some immunity or alleged right held without due compensation to the community which grants it and not open to all. It is not necessary that I should enumerate them to you. Special legislation in the interest of classes is the chief work of our law-making bodies. We are opposed to that. We are opposed to giving the control of these things which are necessarily monopolies to individuals or to corporations without an annual and fairly appraised return to the body politic. We would unwind from our municipalities the ever-tightening coils of the gas companies and the water companies, which are fattening upon labor's product. We would overthrow that crowning iniquity of legislation, a protective tariff, where the power of the Government is avowedly used in sustaining special privilege, directly and purposely applied to give some of the people an advantage over others of the people. But we would go further still: we would abolish that most dangerous special privilege which indirect taxation gives to the classes as against the masses; for the ability to shift taxation to the consumer, to so arrange things that one need not pay the expenses of the Government in proportion to the benefits or services which one derives from the Government, nor in proportion to one's ability, but in proportion to the number of people that one may have dependent upon him, and, therefore, in most instances, in exact proportion to his inability, is a special privilege interfering with the equality of opportunity in a most marked and decisive way.

We have made a good beginning in our fight against crooked taxation in electing a Congress pledged to the overthrow of its most nefarious methods, but there is a long, long fight to come, in which we must not falter. I admit that privileges may be granted, nay, must, in a highly developed state of civilization, be granted, but they can and should be in every case divested of their injurious effect, so that they shall be in no true or obnoxious sense special. When, upon grounds of expediency, the community grants to any man, or set of men, a privilege and right not enjoyed nor open to others and to all, but exacts and receives from such men a full, fair and continuing return, the privilege is no longer monstrous and unjust; it may be expedient, useful and beneficent. Such, we believe, a system of franchises may become where each year a new appraisement for rental value is made, and that value paid to the community for the benefit of all. And so do we believe the private possession and ownership of land, a privilege, as all men agree, granted by the State not upon the ground of natural right, but solely as an arrangement of expediency, might become, if it was paid for in full and continuously to the community which grants it. The private ownership of land under present conditions is the most unjust of privileges, the creator of hereditary castes of masters and of serfs. To make of it an entirely different thing, serving by its assurance of permanence of possession and continuity of tenure the highest end of civilization, but deprived of all of those malignant and unjust conditions which have made it the intrenched seat of privilege in its most injurious and unjust form, we have but to apply to it the effective remedy, the Single Tax. When rent in the economic sense, is taken by all, instead of by a privileged few, no man will be usurping another's birthright. Let us not then waver nor falter in our work. To this great end, the overthrow of special privilege, in its most supremely fortified and intrenched position, we must steadily advance. But we need not look far to see the direction in which we must march toward this final and supreme conflict. The enemy, fortunately, is all before us. Against all indirect taxation, against all grasping monopoly, it is our work to fight. Wherever "special privilege" lifts its ugly head there is the enemy!"

To the sentiment, "The Prophets of Yesterday and the Prophets of To-day," John Z. White responded as follows:

True prophets are great men, and as large objects are better seen at a distance than when close at hand, so a measure of space or time enables the mind more clearly to realize a prophet's worth and more justly weigh his work. The prophet of yesterday is discerned more plainly than he is of to-day, and therefore more truly judged and more highly honored. Napoleon seemed conscious of this truth when he made the request that his life be not published until twenty-five years after his death; and Robert Burns not only gave testimony to the same end, but spoke words we now know to be true when he said to Bonnie Jean: "They will think more of me in a hundred years." Only yesterday, as it were, Jefferson realized fully the peril inseparable from "standing armies in time of peace;" the re-eligibility of the President he would not hazard. He would not jeopardize the liberties of the people by special grants to monopolies, the baneful effects of which were fully apparent in France even in his time. Even his prophetic mind was unequal to the thought that monopoly would one day, and that soon "usurp untold millions of acres of vacant land and place these, too, in the balance against liberty and justice." He knew not that he was attacking but the outposts of tyranny. He did not dream that the great territory which he fondly hoped would ever remain an ample basis for public credit would so soon be monopolized, though still unused, and furnish the lever for tyrannical exactions beside which the monopolies of the old world were as puny as was the wealth given by the free-flowing fancy of fiction to Monte Cristo in comparison with the actual fortunes possessed—not in fairy tale but in fact—by individual members of America's aristocracy. In failing to appreciate the full power of monopoly, or, rather, not realizing the full strength of aristocracy's last and greatest fortress, Jefferson's measures for popular defence now prove inadequate.

It is idle to preach the law of love while yet the law of justice remains unfulfilled—therefore, have prophets in all ages sought remedies for the unjust—not unequal—distribution, for the unjust distribution of wealth is the canker which destroys the life of nations, developing on the one hand a class idle and wasteful because they are too rich, and on the other a class idle and wasteful because they are too poor. For this purpose was the effort of Jefferson put forth to this end the exertion of the prophet of to-day. With keen discernment he analyzes the laws of production and exchange, of demand and supply, of wages, of interest, of rent, and, agreeing with Jefferson when he declared in favor of "unrestricted commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with none," he asserts the justice the expediency, of free trade with all the world. Discover, immediately that the unchallenged right to trade is of little value unless production be also free, and that production is impossible without access to the earth, he proclaims free land for each and all. Prophets in their day are thought to be extremists. The Tory of forty years ago was sure that every Abolitionist desired negro supremacy, and wished each Caucasian girl to become the bride of an Ethiopian. The facts of history, however, clearly prove the prophets to be the true conservatives—or, at least the conservators—of the truth. If the warning given by Abraham Lincoln, who saw the growing power of monopoly, the growing tendency to place capital on an equal footing with men, the evident desire to make labor a commodity in the market, the struggle to maintain protection to raw material, with free trade in human beings, had been heeded, the discovery would have been made that he was the real conservative, and they who have since guided the affairs of state revolutionists. Far in front, from intellectual heights, with little cheer from human associations, but strongly sustained by a vigorous sense of right, the prophet of to-day beckons to us and reveals the path of material and moral progress from material and moral poverty. Walk ye therein!

WARREN WORTH BAILEY.

## HOW CALIFORNIA WON BALLOT REFORM.

Even poor monopoly-ridden, boodle-bespattered California has cause for gratitude. The Governor has signed one of the most efficient Australian ballot laws yet enacted in any State of the Union. This beneficent result is due to the ability and skill, zeal and devotion of our tried and true Single Tax leader, ex-Judge James G. Maguire. All our Single Tax friends, and other earnest reformers, rendered most efficient aid in the great struggle that has just ended so satisfactorily to us all, but I am sure I but express the opinion of all when I say that without Judge Maguire we could not have succeeded in carrying an Australian ballot bill through this Legislature at least. Reforms do not come about spontaneously, nor without effort and sacrifice. But the rapid advance of this great reform has gratifying lessons of hope and encouragement for earnest, faithful men and women of our day, who propose reforms simple and clearly defined, for which they are ready to give labor and sacrifice. When, a little over two years ago, the movement for ballot reform was inaugurated in this State, California seemed to be a hopeless field for reform effort. It was the worst boss-ridden, monopoly-cursed State in the Union. Yet the faith of a courageous few faltered not. As soon as the Legislature of 1889 organized, a ballot reform bill prepared for, and endorsed by, the Council of Federated Trades was introduced into both houses. Judge Maguire, during that session, visited the capital three times, remaining two days on each occasion. He appeared before the

committees of both houses, explained the advantages of the proposed measure, and delivered a lecture on the subject of ballot reform in the Assembly chamber to a large audience made up of legislators and citizens interested in the question. Much to the surprise of every one when the bill came up in the Assembly it passed by a large majority. But the bosses and their minions rallied their forces and secured a reconsideration. The bill was not allowed to come up again during that Legislature. But ballot reformers were not discouraged. Prior to the meeting of the State conventions last year, Judge Maguire prepared another bill for the Federated Trades, of which they had a large number printed and circulated through the State. They sent a delegation with this bill to each of the party conventions, to request them to insert in their platforms resolutions in favor of the Australian ballot law. They failed with the Republicans but succeeded with the Democrats. The Republican leaders, however, discovering before election day that that their State convention had made a mistake, recommended their various local conventions to pledge their legislative candidates in favor of the measure, and this was very generally done. The unsparing use of Stanford's money secured the election of an overwhelming Republican majority in the Legislature of 1891. The complexion of the Legislature and the means by which a great majority of its members were known to have been elected were calculated to depress the courage of ballot reformers. But they did not despair. Judge Maguire, although overwhelmed with private professional business, repaired to Sacramento at the beginning of the session and never relaxed his efforts until the bill was finally passed and sent to the Governor. He went to the capital six times during the session, remaining there from two to six days at a time, giving freely his best thought and counsel to the friends of the bill. He wrote several able letters which were published in the Sacramento Record-Union, and exerted a powerful influence in favor of the measure in the Legislature. In addition to his labors at Sacramento he spent two days in this city preparing the substitute bill which was adopted by the Senate Committee and passed by the Senate almost unanimously. After the bill passed the Senate and came to the Assembly a vicious fight was made against it by the political manipulators. During this crucial conflict Judge Maguire devoted his entire time and all his energies to the work of encouraging the friends and bringing to naught the devices of the enemies of the measure. So strong was the pressure brought to bear upon members of the Assembly by the political bosses, that some of those who admitted that they had signed pledges to support the bill publicly proclaimed their intention to break their pledges and shamelessly exhorted others to follow their disgraceful example. The public scorn and contempt, however, which these base avowals called forth produced such an effect that when the bill came up for final passage but three votes were recorded against it.

The outcome of the struggle for ballot reform in California may well encourage reformers everywhere. For if the persevering faith and generous self-sacrifice of a small body of earnest men can accomplish so much under such unfavorable circumstances, what may not friends of reform in more favored States hope to accomplish.

San Francisco, Cal., March 23. JOSEPH LEGGETT.

## HAS GOLD CHANGED ITS VALUE?

In THE STANDARD of last week Mr. Buell makes the indictment against gold that it has changed its value relatively to other things. In doing so he quotes David A. Wells in such a way as to leave the impression that that eminent economist holds the view that this change of relative value has been caused by some fluctuation in the value of gold itself. Here is the passage from Mr. Buell's article to which I refer:

The question is, "having a commodity money, what is the more honest dollar, the silver one of 412½ grains or the gold one of 25.8 grains?" Evidently the one which is maintaining its purchasing power most evenly and constantly. Mr. Wells shows that the purchasing power of gold has increased nearly 40 per cent in the past twenty years—2 per cent. a year! Gold is therefore a *dishonest* dollar. It increases all debts 2 per cent. a year. On the other hand the silver dollar has neither increased nor diminished in purchasing power to any considerable extent during that period. It is, therefore, the dollar.

Now this is clearly an illegitimate use of Mr. Wells' statement; it is a perversion of that statement. Mr. Wells asks the question whether the increased purchasing power of gold "has been due to something which has befallen commodities, or something which has befallen gold itself, such as scarcity of supply or extraordinary demand;" and he shows by the most indisputable facts that there is no scarcity of gold which could increase its value. "So far from there being any scarcity of gold, there never was a period in the world's commercial history when the existing quantity was so large as at present, in proportion to the necessity for its use or the purpose it has to serve." The treasuries and banks of the principal civilized countries held four times as much gold in 1885 as in 1850. From 1879 to 1889 the gold and silver coin and bullion in the United States was increased by $726,000,000; yet this was only half of the period in which Mr. Buell infers that gold was growing scarce, therefore dear, and therefore dishonest!

It is also shown by Mr. Wells that the increased purchasing power of gold is due to "something that has befallen commodities." Inventions and improved processes have made labor far more productive. If flour is cheaper, this is due to the grain drill, the self-binder, the improved threshing machine, the grain elevator, the steel roller-mill, the multiplication of railroads and cheapened transportation. Mr. Wells claims that "no important product of the United States can be named in which the labor cost of production has not decreased very much more than has the gold price of the same between 1865 and 1885." For example, the labor cost of making a ton of bar iron, or a ton of steel has diminished by more than half since 1865.

Mr. Buell makes an astounding claim for the silver dollar: "it has neither increased nor diminished in purchasing power to any considerable extent" in twenty years. Is Mr. Buell sure of that? In 1871 the price of silver in London was $1.21 per ounce; in 1875 it was $1.14; in 1880, $1.04; in 1885, $0.97; in 1888, $0.86. Here is a variation of thirty-five cents per ounce in eighteen years. Is not that a "considerable extent?" Mr. Buell must be familiar with the fluctuations of silver during last year. At the beginning of the year silver was worth 98 cents per fine ounce; on August 19th the price was $1.21; and on December 31st it was $1.04½—a fluctuation of 26 per cent. in a single year.

Mr. Buell says that "the one only vital and necessary quality in any commodity to fit it for a standard of value is that its value remains permanent—that the ratio between its labor cost and the labor cost of other things remain constant." But assuredly he will not claim that the labor cost of those "other things" varied 26 per cent. in the first eight months of last year.

When Mr. Buell demands that his standard of value remain permanent he rules out silver as such standard—absolutely. Such a demand is an "insult to silver."

I always wonder why a certain question does not occur to the minds of people who want a cheaper dollar than the gold dollar. It is this: If the gold dollar is hard for me to get, is it not equally hard for my neighbor to get it from me? If I am a farmer and find that I have to give more wheat to get a gold dollar now than twenty years ago, do I not also find that my neighbor, the grocer, has to give me a great deal more sugar to get that dollar, and that the dry goods merchant has to give me more cloth? A cheap dollar to earn is a cheap dollar to spend.

New York City, April 6. WM. C. DREHER.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Central Labor Union of this City, last Sunday, passed resolutions calling on the Governor to remove the entire State Board of Arbitration, and especially the "representative of labor" on the board, because of the board's recent letter to the Legislature recommending the passage of laws against boycotting. As said before in this paper, the Arbitration Board, while created in deference to the wishes of labor organizations, has never been of the slightest use to them. On the contray, it has been hitched to the Labor Bureau, and both have been mostly used to further Governor Hill's political ends, which they have done at the expense of the people of the State, and to the detriment of workingmen. We hope that not only will the members of the board be removed, but the board abolished, on the ground that it is and has been a nuisance.

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Up to about ten days ago the Recorder was the prettiest looking daily paper published in this city; now it is positively the ugliest.

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The Rochester clothing workers' strike, which two weeks ago threatened to assume great magnitude, has been scattered as chaff. The papers tell us that "all is quiet, nearly all of the strikers having returned to their work." Those still idle were the leaders of the strike, who will in this case, as in many another, be punished for battling for their fellow workmen by being prevented from getting employment, not only in Rochester, but wherever the bosses have influence. And so it goes—working people constantly fighting against the conditions which oppress them, instead of seeking a method by which those conditions may be improved.

* * * *

The London Star says that "if the American-Irish can swallow Parnell's last manifesto, they will swallow anything."

* * * *

If you want a bill passed through the Legislature quickly give it to General Sickles, and he will have it made into a law while you wait. It took him but an hour the other day to get a bill passed by both Houses at Albany giving some of the money of the people of this State to the widow of the late Judge Brady. True, the Judge had been on the bench some thirty-five years, during the whole of which time he had received from $10,000 to $17,500 a year. A reasonable person would think that he should have been able to save enough to leave his widow in comfort; but no—he left but $3,000 behind him,

the balance having been swallowed up in Wall street. General Sickle's bill will make the people pay the late Judge's salary for the balance of this year, and thus swell his widow's mite.

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The Tribune, Press and Mail and Express are pleased that the price of sugar has fallen. We're pleased, too.

* * * *

On last St. Patrick's Day the City Hall and Tammany Hall displayed the American and Irish flags in honor of what Assemblyman Tim Sullivan called "Ireland's patron saint." Last Thursday, April 2, the birthday of the founder of the Democratic party and writer of what Tammany Hall orators call the "immortal Declaration of Independence," the flag poles of the City Hall and Tammany Hall were bare of flags of any description. A cynical An erican on Park row gave as a reason for this neglect that Jefferson wasn't Irish.

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A Single Taxer who fails to send his name wants us to tell the story of the cat in the columns of THE STANDARD. This has frequently been done. If the correspondent will send his address, we will send him the cat cards containing the story.

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On Thursday last, April 2, about five hundred of the striking coke workers near Morewood, Pennsylvania, beg n rioting. A Sheriff's posse was soon on the field, and soon after eleven of the rioters were shot to death and twenty-seven wounded. Later in the day the Governor of the State ordered the Tenth and Eighteenth Regiments of Militia to assist the Sheriff. On Saturday the killed men were buried, ten thousand people taking part in the funeral proce-sion. Trouble was feared during the ceremonies, but the fears were not realized. This strike of the cokers is against a reduction of wages.

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The officers of the American Federation of Labor think that 250,000 working people will go on s rike for eight hours on May day.

* * * *

Assemblyman T. D. Sullivan, of this city, has introduced a bill at Albany to restore Battery Park to its former condition by compelling the removal of the elevated structure and stations which occupy that property. If Timothy will persist in pushing that bill he will make himself popular in publ c estimation, and more than atone for his past sins. We fear, however.

* * * *

The land holders of Detroit are bursting with indignation. The city Assesors have been assessing the land of that city at a higher rate than ever before, and have thus added several millions to the taxable values. The *Detroit Journal* thinks that "the ideas of Henry George have not been without influence on the Assessors, for there has been a more systematic effort to get at land values than ever before." The Assessors have struck their heaviest blow at "acreage property," and the holders of this property—"the men," says the Journal, "who are holding for an increase of land value"—will be pinched terribly, "many of them to the point at which they will be forced to sell to those who will improve, or else improve themselves." Good.

## COMMISSIONER COLEMAN AND THE TIMES ON TAXATION.

On last Monday, before a Legislative Committee, Tax Commissioner Coleman gave it as his opinion that the effect of the taxation of personal property in this State had been to drive out of this city, in one year, over $320,000,0 0 in capital represented in corporations alone. At least 15 to 20 per cent. of that amount represented the capital of companies which had been doing business in this city. They had found it more profitable, however, to wind up their affairs in New York and reorganize in New Jersey. Excessive taxation had driven them across the river. Although organized in New Jersey, many of these firms did business only in New York City. This information was the result of special investigation on the part of Mr. Coleman. Among those firms the witness named the Thurber-Whyland Company, Park & Tilford, the Celluloid Company, the United States Book Concern, Devoe & Co. and the Hoffman Café. The Hoffman Café was capitalized at $1.250.000 in New Jersey. This fact greatly surprised the Senators. These concerns all received the same protection from the fire and police departments as those incorporated in this State. They contributed in return practically nothing to the government of New York. They depend upon New Jersey for nothing except exemption from taxation. It was true that they were obliged to pay some money to the State of New Jersey. The amounts, however, were comparatively small. New Jersey did not compel her corporations to make returns of their property. Much of the other testimony given by the Comissioner has been printed in THE STANDARD heretofore; but he made one new point against the personal property tax. He said that it was sapping at the roots of home life in this city, "for," said he, "the rates of personal taxation are so obnoxious that people instead of building fine residences engage a suit of rooms in some hotel and live at some club. A few years ago hotels were but seven stories high. now they are seventeen stories high." The Commissioner said that the virtual abolition of the tax on personal property would be of the greatest benefit to the City of New York.

The Times of yesterday morning printed a long editorial in approval of what Mr. Coleman said before the Committee, against the personal property tax, and then brought out its views on the question of taxation, thus:

The great advantage of a tax upon land is that it can be *equitably adjusted* and *economically collected*, that *there can be no escape or evasion*, and that *it will bear upon a value that is absolutely proportioned to the profitableness of its occupation and use*. In other words, it will be proportioned to the wealth that is employed in the use of the land, which, directly and indirectly considered, is the entire wealth of the community. The tax will necessarily be paid out of the surplus of production. When the tax is levied anywhere between the land and the wealth accumulated from its use, it falls upon the active agencies of production, and interferes with their activity and fruitfulness. This induces inequality of burdens and efforts to escape, and whenever the pressure is greater in one place than another, there will be a shifting of ground as inevitably as air or water moves in the direction of the least resistance. In our efforts at tax reform we are driven more and more back to the land, or to what is called real property, as the true basis of public revenues.

## THE FIRST GUN AGAINST HILL.

In the town of Ossining, in which Sing Sing is situated, the Single Tax men actively aided the Democratic party in the recent town election. After a bitter fight in the Democratic caucus James Mahon, a Single Tax man, was nominated for Assessor. After his nomination some of the Democrats declared that his opinions would defeat him through loss of votes among the farmers. Mr. Mahon was elected by a majority exceeded by that of but two other men on the same ticket, and it was in the farming districts that he ran ahead of his ticket.

One of the most active workers in the campaign was Mr. E. L. Ryder, another Single Taxer, who was a member of the Democratic Town Committee. He is such no longer, for reasons fully set forth in the following letter of resignation:

To FRANCIS LARKIN, JR., Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Democratic Town Committee of the Town of Os-ining.

DEAR SIRS: It is the general impression that the present Town Committee is a part of the Hill machine, and as I am not in sympathy with the political aspirations of that gentleman, by remaining a member of the Town Committee I am placed in a fal e light before the people. I do not believe that a narrow politician like D. B. Hill can be trusted to represent the tendencies of the Democratic party. I am an absolute Free Trader. Mr. Hill in his letter to the Cooper Union meeting last Thursday evening sought to read Free Traders out of the Democratic party. How illy he will succeed the future will show. I do not look to D. B. Hill for my Democracy, but to Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the party, who believed in the principle of "*Free Commerce* with all nations." If trade is taxed in the least degree it cannot be free. It must to the extent of the tax be restricted. Therefore I ask you to accept my resignation as a member of the Town Committee.

I am your most obedient servant and friend.

E. L. RYDER.

## THE CONFERENCE PHOTOGRAPH.

No. 109 is Mr. E. L. Ryder, Sing Sing, N. Y.; No. 110 is Mrs. O. D. Wood, Passaic, N. J.

## ELECTORS TO COME FROM CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS.

Last Wednesday the House of Representatives of the Michigan Legislature passed the Miner bill, which pr vides for the election of Presidential Electors by Congressional districts. The Democrats and Patrons of Industry, who are in a majority in the House, voted solidly for the bill, the Democrats because by a proposed gerrymander they expect to secure seven Electors in a Republican State in 1892, and the Patrons because they consider it a step toward electing President and Vice-President directly by the people, which is one of their pet ideas. The Republicans opposed the bill because they hold that the President is President of the States as units, and not of the people in the States, but chiefly because they wanted to prevent, if possible, one of the effects of the impending gerrymander. There is no doubt that the bill will pass the Senate and be signed by the Governor. It is stated that Michigan will be the first State to adopt this plan in sixty years.

## AGAINST NEW TAX BILLS.

At the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce held last Wednesday, Geo ge S. Coe submitted a report adverse to the bills now pending in the State Legi-lature, changing the present system of taxation of both real and personal property. The report says that these bills, if they should become laws, would be detrimental to the best interests of the State.

A secret conference of the members of the Albany Legislature was held in the Assembly parlor last Thursday, at which a committee was named to codify the Tax bills introduced in both Houses. Not a member of the Assembly or the Senate from New York or Kings attended this meeting, although New York and Kings contribute nearly 50 per cent. of the entire taxes of the State.

# SINGLE TAX NEWS.

## SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
42 UNIVERSITY PLACE, New York, April 7, 1891.

Mr. M. L. Gable, writing from Auburn, Cal., says: "You say that one signature a week from each of our 'workers' would bring in some 15,000 a month, or 90,000 by December 1st. I will guarantee to secure *two* each week; how many of our 'workers' will go me one better?" How many will? The returns for the past week (361) give us a signature for about every *ten* of our "workers." Divide up into "blocks of five" this week, and so send in 700.

The National Committee is circulating a petition asking the United States House of Representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a Single Tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions, or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and Single Tax men are urged to obtain petitions and solicit signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

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

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work for week ending April 7 are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thos. Jas. S. Paton, Douglas, Wash. (additional) | $1 20 |
| Sam. A. Main, Danbury Conn | 6 00 |
| Alfred A. Curtis, Danbury, Conn | 6 00 |
| Chas. Voegel, Danbury, Conn | 3 00 |
| L. Boselli, Danbury, Conn | 6 00 |
| Joseph Cornell, Danbury, Conn | 3 00 |
| John E. Jones, Danbury, Conn | 3 00 |
| C. A. Schoemover, Danbury, Conn | 6 00 |
| Sam. Cornell, Danbury, Conn | 3 00 |
| | $37 20 |
| Subscriptions previously acknowledged | 1,581 20 |
| Total | $1,618 40 |

Cash contributions for same period are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas Elliott, Knoxville, Tenn | $1 00 |
| Ernst J. Foord, Chicago, Ills | 3 00 |
| "Winter," Bryn Mawr, Pa | 10 |
| Louis Douval, Dougan Hill, N. Y | 1 00 |
| | $5 10 |
| Contributions previously acknowledged | 1,478 08 |
| Total | $1,483 18 |

The enrollment now stands as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Reported last week | 102,641 |
| Signatures received since last report | 361 |
| Total | 103,002 |

For news budget, see roll of States.

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

### THE LETTER THAT WASN'T PRINTED.

The Louisville Courier-Journal, in a late editorial, lashed the Constitutional Convention because of its action in regard to alien ownership of land in Kentucky. The article spurred R. G. Brown, of Memphis, into writing a letter bearing on the matter to the editor of the Courier-Journal, as follows:

"MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 24, 1891.

"Editor Courier-Journal, Louisville, Ky.

"DEAR SIR: In your issue of 20th instant I am happy to see you hold up to deserved contempt the action of the Constitutional Convention in regard to alien ownership of land in Kentucky. It is about time that law-makers were beginning to see that the trouble lies, not in who owns the land, but in the fact that land is private property. What earthly difference does it make to the toiling mechanic in the Avery Plough Works whether he pays his twenty dollars per month house rent to a subject of Her Majesty, the Queen, to the John Shillits estate or to your esteemed and well known citizen, Mr. Douglas Sherley? In any event he has to give up six days wages every month for the privilege of living in Louisville and creating wealth by his labor in your community. As you very thoroughly demonstrate, the provision will not in the least prevent aliens from getting all the benefits they now reap from their ownership of large tracts of the most valuable sections of the soil of Kentucky; it will simply result in the formation of joint-stock companies, which will own the land, collect rents or royalties, and transfer them to alien stockholders as dividends. Nothing would suit the modern investor of Europe better than such a change. The joint-stock company is the thing to-day, and every Englishman, Frenchman or German who has a few hundred dollars to invest, naturally looks to the United States (where interest is high) for an investment. With their predilection for land as an investment, with what pleasure would they not embrace an opportunity to put their savings into a Land Company which should be managed and controlled by an agent of their own, who could attend to the payment (or dodging) of taxes and the collection of rents much more cheaply than the individuals could for themselves? That they are ready to embrace such opportunities is shown by the fact that nine-tenths of the capital of mortgage companies comes from abroad, and by the further fact that the stock and bonds of "boom towns" are always placed in London and other financial centres abroad.

"No! the trouble is not that aliens own the soil of the United States, but it is that one class—the landowners—are, by our laws, enabled to attract to themselves and appropriate values which other men have created! The 'unearned increment,' the value given to bare land by virtue of location in an energetic, industrious, wealth-producing community goes to the few, who have pre-empted the land, and the many, who create the value, are taxed more and more year by year to support these favorites of fortune in luxury and idleness, while the producers of wealth untold linger in poverty, which becomes more and more hopeless every year.

"These landlords are an incubus to the community; they oppose every effort made for the bettering of social conditions; they demand their 'pound of flesh' whenever any public improvement is proposed, and they persistently seek to transfer the burdens of government from their own backs to those of the producers of all wealth. Like the Pharisees of old, 'they lay heavy burdens and grievous to be borne upon the shoulders of men, while they themselves will not seek to lift them with so much as their little finger.' Their course of action is admirably set forth in your editorial; but you do not suggest any remedy for the evil. Why is this? It is not customary for the Courier-Journal to rest content with crying 'wolf! wolf!' when a danger to the people manifests itself. It is usually prompt to follow warning with counsel, and to this, in great measure, is due the influence it has over so large a section of the country. Can it be that the solution of the 'land question' has not seemed of sufficient importance to merit the attention of the great Democratic organ of Kentucky? Surely no! 'The land for the people' is essentially Democratic doctrine, and the founder of the party, Thomas Jefferson, long ago declared that 'Democratic institutions must fail in the presence of a landed aristocracy.'

"It cannot be that the question is too difficult to be solved. I can name hundreds of men, of much less mental force and ability than those who conduct the Courier-Journal, who have probed this running sore upon the body politic to the bottom, any one of whom can give the remedy in a dozen words. 'Tax the land owners to the full annual value of the bare land.' Then there will be no more adding of field to field and estate to estate; then no one will care to own land, except for use; then every man who desires to use land can get all he wants by undertaking to pay the taxes; then it will not be necessary to tax the products of human labor, and thus the creation of wealth will be stimulated rather than repressed, as it now is. Then foreign capital and skilled labor will flow into Kentucky, as naturally and as inevitably as that water runs down hill; and then the 'Garden spot of the world,' my beautiful native State, Kentucky, will indeed be 'God's own country,' a land flowing with milk and honey, none of whose citizens will be millionaires, and *none paupers*. R. G. BROWN."

After a time Mr. Brown's letter was returned to him with the following note:

"LOUISVILLE, KY., March 28, 1891.

"MR. R. G. BROWN, Room 41, Collier Building, Memphis, Tenn.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your communication has had our attention, but at present it is not available for our purposes. Thanking you for an opportunity to examine your article, which we return herewith, we remain, yours very truly, EDITOR COURIER-JOURNAL."

Which leads Mr. Brown to the conclusion that "the Courier-Journal is not looking for 'straight goods' just now." It looks as though he is correct in his surmise.

### SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Through an error the name of the Illinois committee on Finance was given in place of the committee on Revenue. It is the latter to whom the inquiry into merits of the Single Tax was referred. The Committee on Revenue are: Hon. James Cockrell, Chairman; Hons. Wilkinson, Adams, W. S. Smith, Eddy, Worsworthy, Burns, O'Houghlin, Carson, Donnelly, Jones, W. H. Lyman, Moore, Terpenning, Hamilton, Elsworth, Keller, Duncan, Myer, Beals and Tice. All of above should be addressed Springfield, Ill. To this committee has been referred the resolution to inquire into the expediency of raising all revenues by the Single Tax. The remaining Democrats in the New York Assembly are: Hons. J. F. Quigley, C. W. Sutherland, F. F. Byrnes, M. C. Earl, G. H. P. Gould, P. E. Duffy, T. D. Sullivan, P. Farquhar, P. H. Roche, D. T. Mullaney, S. J. Foley, M. T. McMahon, W. Holcomb, Wm. Sohmer, W. M. Lawrence, M. Dinkelspiel, J. J. H. Southworth, Wm. Sulzer, L. Drypolcher, W. G. Byrne, J. Kerrigan, D. F. Martin, J. Connelly, J. Blumenthal, G. P. Webster, C. C. Clarke, G. L. Judd, L. P. Gillette, C. Haley, J. L. Dempsey, G. B. Taylor, M. N. Kane, O. F. Lane, S. S. Townsend, J. A. McKenna, J. M. Riley, J. W. McKnight, John Croak, F. P. Demarest, A. J. Quackenbush, A. R. Hunting, W. H. Dunham, G. M. Beakes, J. Rice, G. H. Bush, W. M. Cameron, E. B. Morris, C. P. McClelland and Wm. Ryan. All of these should be addressed Albany, N. Y. While our letters to the Illinois committee should be brief arguments for the Single Tax, those to the New York Assemblymen should merely advocate Home Rule and Local Option in taxation and urge the member addressed to actively support the "Stein Bill" for this reason. Do not hesitate to write because you live in other states, your letters will be all the more effective for that reason. I am anxious to have a complete list of the members of the legislature in each State with their home post office, and will be greatly obliged if Single Taxers would send such lists of their own states to

W. J. ATKINSON, 42 University Place, New York.

### NEW YORK CITY.

At the monthly meeting of the Manhattan Single Tax Club held last Wednesday evening, the amendments to the constitution proposed by the Managing Board were adopted unanimously. Under these amendments women in sympathy with the Single Tax are now eligible to membership in the club; and the provision for associate members makes it possible for both men and women, who are not as yet wholly in sympathy with the club's objects, but who are tending in that direction, to become members to the extent of having full use of the rooms, until they become committed fully to the objects represented by the club. Their membership gives them no rights to its property nor a voice in its affairs.

Toward the close of the meeting Congressman Jerry Simpson, escorted by Henry George, Thomas G. Shearman, Wm. T. Croasdale and Henry George, Jr., unexpectedly appeared in the club rooms. They were given a hearty greeting, and upon invitation Mr. Simpson made a few remarks, in the course of

which he declared that he would do his best to have the Single Tax made the law of our land. A recess was declared, and the Congressman was introduced to all the members present, and a general conversation indulged in for half an hour.

On Thursday, April 2, the American flag floated ever the Club House in honor of Jefferson's birthday, and in the evening a public meeting was held at Cooper Union under the auspices of the club, to celebrate the event, at which Congressman Jerry Simpson and Thomas G. Shearman spoke. More particulars will be found in another column.

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Father Huntington's talk last Sunday night was a great treat. He told of his tours in behalf of the Single Tax in Canada and the West and North and Southwest, and he gave the members of the club the benefit of his experience in answering critics who had attempted to disprove the correctness of his position on the Single Tax. He said the movement was much stronger throughout the country than we in this city had any idea of. There will be the usual lecture next Sunday evening.

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## BROOKLYN.

R. C. Utess.—The public meeting of the Advance Labor Club, L. A. 1562, K. of L., was run off last Saturday night and was largely attended. The subject for discussion was, "Is a Protective Tariff necessary for the maintainance of our Industries." Mr. E. A. Hartshorn, of the American Protective Tariff League, spoke in the affirmative, and from the manner in which he handled the subject, it is no surprise that the people of the United States voted against a Protective Tariff last fall. He made a flimsy and weak argument, which was easily punctured by Mr. James McGregor, who captured the meeting from the very start by his clear cut arguments for absolute Free Trade; and, to say the least, not only scalped his opponent, but also skinned him in great style. One of the features of the meeting was the sending to the speakers of written questions from the audience to be answered by them, and this plainly showed that the Protectionist not only did not try to answer the questions put to him in a manner satisfactory to the audience, but exposed the sham of the whole Protection position, while Mr. McGregor was thus enabled to make some very forcible and eloquent retorts with great effect. We also sold one dozen of "Protection or Free Trade?" among the audience. These meetings will be continued and should be imitated by all Assemblies to which Single Tax men are attached.

Alfred J. Wolf.—A movement has been started to organize a Knights of Labor local in Brooklyn for the express object of supplying speakers on economic questions to Knights of Labor Assemblies. The field for work is large and inviting, and presents an opportunity for effective propagandism, which has been neglected. Single Tax men who are willing to join such an organization should send in their names without delay to Alfred J. Wolf, No. 18 Sidney place, Brooklyn, and they will be notified of time and place of the first meeting.

Eva J. Turner.—Mrs. Imogene C. Fales, president of the Sociologic Society of America, will give an address under the auspices of the Brooklyn Woman's Single Tax Club at the Club House, on Thursday evening, April 9th, subject, "The Industrial Condition of the United States."

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## NEW YORK STATE.

E. L. Ryder, Sing Sing.—I have been engaged in electing a Single Tax Free Trader as one of our assessors. He went in with a good majority and received his largest majorities from the farming districts. I was elected a member of the town committee two weeks ago, but as they are all Hill men except myself I have sent in my resignation since reading Hill's letter to Cooper Union meeting, in which he makes a foolish attempt to read Free Traders out of the Democratic party. I look to Jefferson, not Hill, for my democracy, and Jefferson believed in "Free commerce with all nations."

Thomas W. Edkins, Ilion.—The Protectionists here are jubilant over the tin plate business, which they say is to be started here with immense capital, giving employment to five thousand hands. I think THE STANDARD should make a special drive at this humbug. It is a sort of protection razzle dazzle that bobs up serenely every week or so and that Single Taxers and Free Traders have no data or facts of any kind to squelch it with.

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## MASSACHUSETTS.

S. T., Boston.—Edwin M. White spoke on "The Single Tax" at the first public meeting of the South Boston Christian Socialist Chapter, in the Hawes Unitarian Church parlors, last Wednesday evening.

About fifty people assembled in Bickpitt Hall, Harrison square, Dorchester, on Sunday evening, March 29, to listen to a joint debate between Mr. C. H. McDermott, of the Boot and Shoe Reporter, and Mr. E. M. White, of the Single Tax League of Dorchester. Some strong arguments were given pro and con, and the debate was one of the best yet given under the auspices of the Dorchester League.

A fair sized audience were present in Oakland Hall, Mattapan on Monday evening, March 30, and listened to an interesting talk on the land question by Q. A. Lothrop, of the Neponset Single Tax League. The members of the Neponset and Dorchester leagues are working vigorously to start a league in Mattapan.

The committee on manufactures of the Massachusett Legislature has reported against a general bill to allow of the municipal ownership of gas and electricity. Of the eleven members Senator McDonald and Representatives Moriarty, Child and Knowlton dissent. Senator Cody was absent when the vote was taken.

The committee on taxation reported on April 3 against exempting municipal bonds from taxation.

W. L. Crosman, Boston.—Last Sunday's Globe contained an illustrated article which had for a heading, "Boston Radicals—As Mild-mannered Men and Women as ever Scuttled Ship of State." The article stated what the Radicals advocate, and gave short sketches of Benj. R. Tucker, anarchist; Edward Bellamy, nationalist; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Christian socialist; John Ransom Bridge, theosophist, and many other leaders of original ideas and movements in Boston. The last paragraph of the article follows:

Probably the most conspicuous advocate of the Single Tax theory, another radical idea, in Boston, is William Lloyd Garrison, the son of the great anti-slavery agitator. Mr. Garrison is a broker, with an office on Federal street. He is of medium height and good weight, and wears a short, thick gray beard. He invariably wears a glove on his left hand, in Winter and Summer alike. He is rather a modest, retiring man, but he has a good many of his father's physical and mental traits.

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D. Webster Groh, Boston.—Last Sunday a large audience enjoyed a spirited discussion at the Boston Question Club, 616 Washington street, of the question: "Can and should usury be abolished?" As soon as the weather permits we will arrange again for open air Single Tax meetings on the Common every Sunday, the same as last year. This is a part of the work that really seems to give better returns than any other, because of the greater variety and number of auditors attracted, and it is to be earnesty hoped that our friends elsewhere will likewise prepare early in the season to do similar out-door work.

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## RHODE ISLAND.

William Barker, Providence.—There is lots of quiet work being done in the State by the small body of Single Taxers. Here, as everywhere, our need is money for propaganda work. In my opinion, no so good territory exists in the country for concentrated effort with a view to putting the doctrines into practical operation. I sometimes get a little disheartened, but still keep plodding away, doing as much pulling as the harness will stand, and severely straining it at times, I fear.

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## NEW JERSEY.

William B. DuBois, Bayonne.—There is no regular organization here, but Mr. Theodore E. Young and myself have done a great deal in the way of talking and in distributing Free Trade and Single Tax literature, and I think that people are much more interested in the question than they were a few years ago. They treat our ideas with much more respect than they used to, and even men whom I had reason to believe were quite narrow-minded and conservative come right out and say they believe in "socking it" to the vacant land owners.

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## PENNSYLVANIA.

"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr.—Three petitions. Mr. Wingardner's plan of retaining a certain number of signed petitions to show to those from whom he solicits signatures does not suit this bureau. The writer has two little blank books containing the names of his signers and numbered in the order they sign. Every time signed petitions are sent to the Enrollment Committee the list is underscored, and the date and number of petitions sent added. This gives the "worker" a chance to not only show a few names to the would-be signer, but it enables him to show the names of several hundred signers at one lick under the noses of his victims. These lists, with blank petitions, are carried in two different coats, as are also Single Tax tracts. Try this plan and you will never be caught napping. Between here and Conshohocken a number of clodhoppers need shaking up, therefore, Conshohacken Single Taxers will please send their addresses to Box 56, Bryn Mawr.

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## INDIANA.

Charles H. Krause, Indianapolis.—Things are beginning to move here in Indianapolis. The present Assessor, Mr. Geo. Wolf, is a Democrat, and a man who will see that the new tax law is enforced in spirit and letter. He will see that real estate is assessed at "a fair cash value." As a matter of course a howl is going up from our real estate men, those who are so anxious at all times to give away street car franchises, especially those lines leading to the suburbs of our city, and which will naturally increase the value of their idle land. Mr. T. J. Hudson, a Single Taxer, will be one of Mr. Wolf's assistant assessors.

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## MICHIGAN.

Howard M. Holmes, Detroit.—In my recent letter concerning A. Arnold Clark, I said that he was the first to speak boldly in Michigan in favor of the Single Tax. I find that I was mistaken. That honor probably belongs to Henry A. Robinson, who was recently appointed chief of the Michigan bureau of labor statistics.

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## MISSOURI.

Henry S. Chase, St. Louis.—W. J. Atkinson, of New York, gave a very interesting conversation at Comfort Cottage, St. Louis, on Saturday night, March 28. Everyone was impressed with the honesty and earnestness of his nature, and his account of the work of the "Hand-to-Hand Club" was interesting, inspiring and provocative of work in the cause. A letter from W. E. Brokaw, of South Dakota, says: "Pa Chase, I will be with you Saturday morning." He will meet a large number of Single Tax advocates at Comfort Cottage on Saturday night, and will be the welcome guest of "Pa" Chase over Sunday, and while in St. Louis.

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## SOUTH DAKOTA.

W. E. Brokaw, Alcester, S. D.—I stayed over Sunday, March 28, with F. A. Leavitt. He tried to convince me that we could never get anything through the Democratic party, and that the Independents were our natural allies; that the latter were either Single Taxers or favorable to it, whereas the former would never be anything but tariff-for-revenue men.

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## WASHINGTON.

James S. Patton, Douglas.—The farmers are organizing about here and are taking quite an interest in politics. We have never had such an opportunity to work for the Single Tax and Free Trade. The tariff was the first question discussed in our alliance, and to my surprise the only word spoken for protection was spoken by a member of a neighboring alliance who did not see where the revenue was to come from if we were to adopt absolute Free Trade, and who thought Protection was needed to establish new industries. The rest of the speakers advocated Free Trade except one member, formerly a strong Protectionist, who dodged the question and told us

how to get the goods cheap. Tariff Reform was not mentioned. I was the only one to oppose the unlimited coinage of silver at our last meeting, and it seems to be arousing more interest here at present than the tariff.

## THE HAND-TO-HAND CLUB EDITION OF "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis, has agreed to be one of ten men in that city to subscribe one hundred dollars each to send ten thousand copies to the Farmers' Alliance. H. H. Hoffman is confident that he can obtain the other nine. Dr. Moore and James Cockrell, the famous farmers of the Illinois Legislature, have agreed to assist in the work of this edition. But in addition to the excellent work being done in many localities to spread the light locally, we need at least 200,000 books given us to send books to men, mainly farmers, willing to read the book, but unable or unwilling to subscribe. Every real tariff reformer knows individuals, who if approached would subscribe from one dollar to a thousand dollars for this purpose. Won't you, reader, make this your business in your locality? Every Democrat should subscribe something now. Surely no practical politician will hesitate to assist a movement that will gain his party voters for ten cents, that a few months from now, hundreds of dollars could not convert. The leading Tariff Reform papers of the country have strongly endorsed this edition, but to make it the success it should be, we need the active aid of every reformer.

E. D. Single Tax Club of Brooklyn, N. Y.——Fifty dollars for five hundred books.

Oliver T. Erickson, Minneapolis, Minn.—Enclosed draft for twenty dollars for my subscription of one hundred copies "Protection or Free Trade?" balance on account Minneapolis League. We want more books as soon as you can get them to us.

Hon. M. D. Harter, Mansfield, O.—Here is ten dollars. Please send the books.

C. H. Merry, Yazoo City, Miss.—The ten copies arrived this A. M. They sold in less time than it takes to wink the fact. I enclose postal note for one dollar for ten more copies.

J. H. Crossman, Washington, D. C.—Find five dollars, amount of my subscription for fifty copies, enclosed.

John J. Murray, Newport, Ky.—Enclosed two dollars for twenty copies of the special edition, to be sent to Hon. A. S. Berry, Newport, Ky., who has already distributed the first ten copies.

J. Hagerty, Burlington, Iowa.—Please find one dollar for ten copies. Some of the best of our public men are "in it;" city and county officials, etc., are officers of the Tax Reform Club. The future is ours, and a big share of the present, too.

Hon. Thomas Bowman, Council Bluffs, Iowa.—Draft for ten dollars for one hundred books enclosed herewith.

A. S. Frosli, Hatton, N. D.—Check five dollars for fifty copies "Protection or Free Trade?" Please send fifty or one hundred copies of Tract 39.

Paul T. Bowen, Washington, D. C.—Enclosed find five dollars to pay for fifty copies, which please send to address below.

A. G. Watson, O'Neill, Neb.—Draft for five dollars, and list of names in addition to those already sent for you to mail them to.

James R. Cahill, Brooklyn.—Please send ten copies "Protection or Free Trade?" One dollar enclosed.

W. Jones, Jones, N. C.—Enclosed one dollar for ten copies. When distributed will send for more.

A. J. Gray, Seattle, Wash.—Enclosed one dollar in addition to my former subscription for twenty copies.

Dr. P. E. Williamson, Sweeter, Ind.—Seven dollars, for which send me seventy copies at once.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo.—Enclosed find five dollars for which please send to me at once fifty copies "Protection or Free Trade?"

Louis F. Weston, Cambridgeport, Mass.—I enclose five dollars for fifty copies for the names herewith. Could get five hundred easily if I had the time to spare.

R. T. Snediker, Hartford, Kan.—Enclosed find $10.35 for another one hundred copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" and one copy "Progress and Poverty," in German. This makes two hundred and sixty "Protection or Free Trade?" I wish I could make it as many thousand. The first one hundred came Thursday. Saturday the farmers took out forty-three regardless of what their politics had been. Had sold some fifteen in town the first day and the men had in two nights reading and they spread the news Saturday, so the farmers came in the bank and received the gospel.

Geo. H. Phelps, Denver, Colo.—Enclosed find draft for $6.00 for which send books out of the five hundred subscribed for, to following names.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.—Enclosed find check for $20. In printing list of Michigan subscriptions credit John B. Allen, of Adrian, with six hundred subscriptions.

J. A. Hamm, Wymore, Neb.—Enclosed find $5 for fifty books received. I have them all distributed, and hear a great deal of talk in reference to the subject. I am well pleased with the book, and am satisfied that it will result in untold good for the country. Send our Single Tax Club order for one hundred books soon as convenient.

W. Gerschman, Philadelphia.—Enclosed find $10 to pay for one hundred copies.

H. W. Friston, Palo Pinto, Mo.—You may send me fifty copies; have nearly that many subscribers and think I can get more. Cash enclosed.

Wm. A. Garretson, Lincoln, Kan.—I enclose $2.50 to pay my subscription for twenty-five copies. I believe I can get five hundred copies of the book taken in this county between now and Fall. I shall have the active co operation of Hon. A. N. Whitington, member of Legislature and lecturer for the County Farmers' Alliance.

N. Markle, Detroit, Mich.—Three dollars for thirty books, making one hundred and five in all, and entitles me to membership in "Hand-to-Hand Club" but I am not satisfied with being a member, it is my purpose to be an active one. The books I received and distributed are having a good effect. Three or four Protectionists have told me the book is just grand, and they will lend their books to their friends. So the good work goes on.

Dr. Henry S. Chase, St. Louis, Mo.—Send me ten more "Protection or Free Trade?"

John G. Hummel, St. Louis, Mo.—Find P. O. order for $5 for fifty copies.

Please accompany all orders with cash. Unless this is done, in handling tens of thousands of subscriptions there is eminent danger of errors, especially as our clerical force is very small. All cash orders will be shipped on receipt. We prefer checks or money orders, but can use one and two cent stamps for small amounts. Single copies will now be twenty-five cents, but orders for ten or more copies will be filled at ten cents each. This is to protect the men who are making their living by selling the books at twenty-five cents each, while effectively preaching effectively the gospel of Free Trade. As ten books will be sent, if desired, to ten different addresses for one dollar, you have only to get nine neighbors to join you, if you want the book for ten cents. Tract Extra No. 39, with price of single copies stated at twenty-five cents, subscription blanks, sample pages and press notices will be delivered free to any address, in any quantity. Don't forget that the twenty-five copies first printed will go as prizes to those sending in the largest lists of subscriptions to the 500,000.

42 University Place, New York. W. J. ATKINSON, Secretary.

## PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

THE STANDARD in its present form has now been before the public for nearly three months. It is as good a paper as its editor can make it with its present revenues. If its circulation can be sufficiently increased the paper can attract writers who will carry it and our views to many who have thus far never considered the Single Tax question. If the Single Tax men of the United States choose to go to work they can increase the circulation of THE STANDARD by five thousand between the present time and July 1. A good many workers have been asked to do this, and, in order to assist them in the work, the publisher has sent them, free of cost, recruit subscription books such as have been used in the past for promoting propaganda work. These are only given away to be used in obtaining subscriptions to THE STANDARD by familiarizing with the paper those who may perhaps be induced to take it. It is particularly to be desired that these efforts shall not be confined to Single Tax men, or even to men who have so much as considered the Single Tax. The Free Traders, as such, are becoming a factor in politics, and they cannot be ignored by politicians, even if the latter are mere party men looking only to party success. Such men must keep posted as to the progress of the Free Trade movement, and THE STANDARD is the only absolute Free Trade paper of any weight and standing circulating generally throughout the United States. There are, doubtless, very excellent local Free Trade papers, but they do not cover the ground generally, nor attempt to give the news comprehensively.

These recruit subscription books have, as a rule, only been sent to those who have recently manifested a desire to do something. We shall be glad to send them to all people who are disposed to make an effort in behalf of increasing the circulation of THE STANDARD. It is proposed in this department to keep the readers of the paper posted as to the progress of this work and to encourage those who enlist in it to persist in their efforts. There is no service whatever that can be rendered to the Single Tax cause that will surpass in importance that of making THE STANDARD a strong and successful paper, able to fulfill its mission as a weekly review of public affairs and an advocate of rational political economy.

It is impossible, of course, to make extracts from every letter received from those to whom the recruit books have been sent, but the extracts below will give their general tenor. Here and there from some portions of the West come refusals to do anything for THE STANDARD so long as it resists the attempt to substitute the Silver question for the Tariff question in national politics. These letters are not published, simply because their authors, if really Single Tax men, will be ashamed of them after awhile, and ready to go to work with renewed vigor to atone for their temporary desertion. Of course, sometimes a man willing to work says that the paper's attitude on the silver question is an obstacle. That is, no doubt, true, but it demonstrates in each case a readiness to sacrifice Single Tax as well as the Tariff question to the Silver issue.

James R. Carret, Boston.—With regard to pushing the circulation of THE STANDARD I shall be glad to do what I can and will make use of the recruit subscription book which you sent me. I regret that I have not heretofore written to you to express my thorough appreciation of the character of THE STANDARD as you have made it since the 1st of January. I have liked especially the vigorous characterization in several articles of the lawless and revolutionary proceedings of Republican representatives and officials in five different States in their efforts to set aside the will of the people as expressed in elections. I am also glad that THE STANDARD has touched upon another abuse for the reform of which there is crying need, the holding over of a discredited Congress after the party in power has been condemned by the people in an election to which it appealed for a vote of confidence. I will do what I can to extend the circulation of THE STANDARD, that there may be at least one paper in these United States which has the courage to insist upon reform in the interests of the people, and which specially advocates the one reform which, by removing from legislative bodies every opportunity to give privileges to favored persons, will leave legislators no excuse and no opportunity to do otherwise than legislate in the interests of the people as a whole.

C. P. Bolin, Whitman, Mass.—I understand that the books are to get subscribers expressely, and I will do the best I can by sending the paper to such people as I think may subscribe.

K. P. Alexander, Newburg, N. Y.—I hope out of the number sent you will get one or two subscribers.

John W. Jakeway, of Jersey City, brought in a six months' subscription, and promises to use the blanks freely to promote subscription.

Annie M. Harrower, Wakefield, R. I.—My father values the influence of THE STANDARD so much that he thinks Single Tax men cannot more profitably aid the cause than by working for the extension of its circulation. To all of the Single Taxers on the list lately supplied him by the National

Committee he wrote urging them individually to exert themselves in obtaining new subscribers for THE STANDARD.

Jose Gros, Morristown, N. J.—I enclose the addresses of five prominent Democrats, to whom I shall write as follows: "At my request THE STANDARD will send you four weekly numbers, at the end of which time you may decide to continue the subscription. You may find that the paper embodies the only economic principles with which we can meet the problem of the day without social disturbance, and by steps each one of which would bring tangible improvement to all honest men while the ultimatum of the reform can, if we see fit, be left to future generations."

Eugene Withers, Danville, Va.—I enclose a number of names of persons to whom you can send THE STANDARD for four weeks and hope you will get at least one subscriber out of the number.

C. H. Merry, Yazoo City, Miss.—These are reading and thinking gentlemen. I hope they will all become permanent subscribers to THE STANDARD.

J. Irwin, Lexington, Ky.—I will do all I can to aid in extending the circulation of THE STANDARD.

John McKechnie, Rahway, N. J.—Enclosed are the names of five good men who may become subscribers. I will see them as you suggest, and can use more of the books.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo.—I will order THE STANDARD sent only to intelligent thinking men who are willing to investigate our doctrines. I will make it a point either to see the parties personally, or write a strong letter to each, urging him to subscribe for THE STANDARD. I am going out in the State to speak on the tariff and the Single Tax, and will do what I can to get subscribers.

William Perkins, East Saginaw, Mich.—I have this day sent to the publisher of THE STANDARD recruit subscriptions, which I think will have the desired effect.

John H. Blakeney, Binghamton, N. Y.—I think that one or more of these people will subscribe, and I will be glad to use more recruit subscriptions, as I think they will do good in increasing circulation.

W. H. Beecher, Cincinnati, O.—I think this is a good move, and will gladly do what little I can towards making it of practical benefit to THE STANDARD.

E. C. Cooley, Dunkirk, N. Y.—Thank you for putting at my disposal this means of calling attention to THE STANDARD. Mr. Cooley sends in the names and a description of each person, and asks for another book.

Morris K. Prizer, Kenilworth, Pa.—I fully appreciate the work that THE STANDARD is doing, and am glad to try and increase its subscription list.

W. P. Boreland, Saginaw, Mich.—It will afford me much pleasure to do all I can to widen the influence of THE STANDARD. I have selected these names with great care, and have reason to believe that I can get some of them to subscribe.

D. Van Vleck, Herndon, Va.—All except four of those whose names I enclose are victims of my Single Tax talk. I wish I could send you fifty subscribers.

P. J. Snay, Galion, Ohio.—Sends description of politics and business of each person whose name he sends in.

J. B. Wallace, Sanger, Tex.—I send five recruit subscriptions, and also sent you yearly subscription of the principal merchant in this place. I think it would be a good plan for you to map out the circulation of THE STANDARD, showing in what sections and counties it does not circulate, and then notify the Single Taxers nearest that county to make it known. After it has reached every County then take up the towns.

Henry L. Hinton, New York.—THE STANDARD and the cause it represents are indeed very dear to me and I must exert myself yet more than I have been doing to increase the circulation of the former and advance the latter.

Thos. W. Edkins, Ilion, N. Y.—I fully realize the importance and necessity of increasing the circulation of THE STANDARD. If we do not continue the advance we are lost.

D. McC. Williams, Rockford, Del.—I am highly pleased with THE STANDARD in its new form. I will do my best to get each of these whose names I send to subscribe.

L. W. Hoch, Adrian, Mich.—I will gladly do what I can to boom THE STANDARD. I think I can get you some subscribers here. I enclose the blanks filled out.

H. M. Scott, Miamisburg, O.—Many thanks for the favor. I trust I can can make it work to your interest. I appreciate THE STANDARD and I am sorry I cannot do more for the cause myself. When it comes each week I lay aside all other reading until every word of it is devoured. The form suits me exactly and the varied subjects of review make it more valuable as a journal of current events without detracting from its main purpose.

J. S. Backus, Garland, Pa.—Have given the addresses of those most likely to subscribe, and will try and see them in regard to the matter.

G. W. Lowry, Burlington, Vt.—Would like very much to help increase the circulation of THE STANDARD as I think it is the best possible way of convincing the people of the truth of the Single Tax. I will use the blanks and if I meet with any success send for more.

William O. Foley, Greenburg, Ind.—I do not think any of the enclosed are subscribers to THE STANDARD, and all of them are persons who would, I think, like to examine it. One of them is a member of the Legislature. Two years ago I gave him a copy of "Protection or Free Trade?" and he said the argument was unanswerable. He was afraid to read "Progress and Poverty" for fear he would become a Single Tax man.

George W. Hatch, Coffeeville, Kans.—I can get all you send me filled with good men's names, but I will not promise you that any of them will subscribe unless you drop opposition to free coinage, and also drop advocating Cleveland or any other man in the East under the shadow of the money power.

Eugene Withers, Danville, Va.—I am trying to send you the names of gentlemen who I hope may subscribe for the paper.

Dr. W. S. Brown, Stoneham, Mass.—I am doing all I can to promote the sale of THE STANDARD here. I entirely agree with you as to the necessity of sustaining the one good organ instead of fritting away our strength on a score of weaklings.

Martin Gay, Staten Island, N. Y.—I shall be very glad to make use of the recruit subscription book.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile, Ala.—I have seen some of these whose names I send, and written to those I could not see.

A. P. Forsythe, Martell, Wis.—I shall try and make good use of the book and procure as many subscribers as possible. Of the names sent in, number one is Probate Judge of this county, a Democrat, liberal and highly influential. Number two is chairman of our town, a Tariff reformer, but knows nothing of the Single Tax. Number three is an influential farmer, a Democrat and inclined to our doctrine.

Thos. Elliott, Knoxville, Tenn.—Promises to use the book to good advantage and sends in four dollars for four months' subscription.

B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh, Wis.—I am very busy at present and not rich by any means, but I am willing to sacrifice almost anything for the cause you so justly and ably represent in THE STANDARD. Enclosed find five recruit subscriptions and the names of two good workers who I think would make use of books.

Wm. Matthews, Black Butte, Wyoming.—I will do all I can to have some of these persons become regular subscribers. Many of them are already considering the Single Tax. I am highly pleased with THE STANDARD in every respect under the new management. I fully coincide with your stand on the Silver question. Free Trade should be our only battle-cry at present.

L. L. Babcock, Erie, Pa.—I will do all that I can to advance the cause of the Single Tax and increase the circulation of your valuable paper, knowing that on the prosperity of the latter depends the advancement of the former. It is our duty as Single Taxers to use every effort looking to that end.

H. C. Niles, Denver, Col.—I have used two of the blanks, the one on the chairman of the Democratic State Committee and the other on the chairman of the Democratic County Committee. I hope they will subscribe. They have read "Protection or Free Trade?" recently and express themselves strongly in favor of distributing it throughout the State. I send two other names of people who would probably use books.

Charles Stevenson, Omaha, Neb.—I will endeavor to use the book with a view to increasing the number of subscribers for THE STANDARD. I never miss an opportunity of trying to get a subscriber.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud, Ill.—I have filled the blanks with the names of the best men I can think of and hope they will become subscribers. I have furnished several of them with copies of THE STANDARD from time to time, but I find that few people are willing to pay for their own education.

A. Skliba, Boone, Ia.—I inclose the blanks filled out. I will go and see all these persons myself and secure their subscriptions if possible. Two of them are Tariff Reformers, two Protectionists, and one a Single Tax man.

## SONG—TO THE MEN OF ENGLAND.

SHELLY.

Men of England, wherefore plough
For the lords who lay you low;
Wherefore weave with toil and care
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed, and clothe and save,
From the cradle to the grave,
Those ungrateful drones who would
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood?

Wherefore, bees of England, forge
Many a weapon, chain, and scourge,
That these stingless drones may spoil
The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm?
Or what is it ye buy so dear
With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow another reaps;
The wealth ye find another keeps;
The robes ye weave another wears;
The arms ye forge another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth—let no impostor heap;
Weave robes—let not the idle wear;
Forge arms in your defence to bear.

Shrink to your cellars, holes and cells;
In halls ye deck another dwells;
Why shake the trains ye wrought? Ye see
The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

With plough, and spade, and hoe and loom,
Trace your grave and build your tomb,
And weave your winding-sheet till fair
England be your sepulchre?

## THE ALLIANCE'S VIEW OF TEMPERANCE.

From Interview with Jerry Simpson.

The Alliance thinks that it isn't a question whether a man goes home drunk or not, but rather whether he has any home to go to. The Alliance wants to first look after a man's physical welfare, before it undertakes his moral regeneration.

## A BRIGHT BOY'S ANSWER.

Exchange.

Teacher: "Freddy, how is the earth divided?"

Boy: "Between them that's got it and them that wants it."

# SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE ADOPTED THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MADE BY NATIONAL CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 3, 1890.

Secretaries of clubs are requested to send corrections, notices of the formation of new clubs or of requests for the enrollment of existing clubs to Geo. St. John Leavens, Secretary of the National Committee, at No. 42 University place, New York.

### ARKANSAS.

LITTLE ROCK.—Single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol. F. Clark; sec., Theo. Hartman.

### CALIFORNIA.

LOS ANGELES.—Single tax club. Pres., Clarence A. Miller; sec., S. Byron Welcome, 523 Macy st.

OAKLAND.—Oakland single tax club No. 1. Meets every Friday evening at St. Andrew's Hall, at 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J Gregg; sec., E. Hodkins.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society, room 9, 341 Market street. Pres., L. M. Manzer; cor. sec., Thomas Watson, 341 Market street.

### COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 1612 Champa st. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec. H. C. Ellen, 303 16th st.

### CONNECTICUT.

SHARON.—Sharon single tax committee. Chairman, J. J. Ryan.

### DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON.—Single tax association. Meets first and third Mondays of each month at 8 p.m. Pres., Geo. W. Kruer; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WASHINGTON.—Chas. F. Adams' Scientific Council (No. 2) of the People's Commonwealth. First Tuesday evening of each month at 180 A st. n. w. Trustee, Chas. Newbough, 64 Defrees st.; sec., Dr. Wm. Geddes, 1719 G st., N. W.

### GEORGIA.

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

### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific Hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 386 Hudson av; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black, box 512, S. Chicago.

BRACEVILLE.—Braceville single tax committee. Pres., John Mainwaring; sec., Chas. E. Matthews.

PEORIA.—Peoria single tax club. Meetings Monday evenings. Pres., Jas. W. Hill, 304 Madison avenue; sec., Jas. W. Avery.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Meets every Thursday evening at 7:30, room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. 8th and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

### INDIANA.

INDIANAPOLIS.—Single tax league. Pres., Thos J Hudson; sec., Chas. H. Krause. Every Sunday, 2:30 p. m., Masonic Hall, cor. Washington and Alabama sts, room 12

RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 205 South 24 st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

### IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 905 North 5th st. Pres., Wilbur, Rozena, 930 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

### KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Progress single tax club. Open every evening, 504 West Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolf; sec., W. W. Daniel, 803 Franklin st.

### LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday night at 8 p. m. at 131 Poydras st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. W. Roberts, 316 Thalia st.

### MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Public meetings every Saturday evening, 3 River Road. Pres., A. C. Dunning; sec., W. G. Andrews, P. O. Box 703.

### MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Monday at 8 p. m., in hall 506 East Baltimore st.; Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 North Carey st.; rec. sec., J. W. Hanel, 28 S. Broadway; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1426 E. Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial Hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 522 Columbia st.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Massachusetts single tax league. Pres., William Lloyd Garrison; sec., E. H. Underhill, 45 Kilby st., Boston; treas., George Cox, Jr., 72 High st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Single tax league. Public meetings second and fourth Sundays of each month, at 2:30 p. m., at G. A. R. Hall, 616 Washington st. Pres., Edwin M. White; sec. Emily T. Turner, 5 Cambridge st.

BROCKTON.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm A. McKendrick; sec., A. S. Barnard, 54 Belmont st.

DORCHESTER.—Single tax club. Meetings first Tuesday of each month at Field's building, Field's corner. Pres., Edward Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building, Field's corner.

HAVERHILL.—Haverhill single tax league. Meets every Thursday evening, at 73 Merrimac st. Pres., Geo. W. Pettengill; cor. sec., Edward E. Collins, 4 Green st

MALDEN.—Single tax club. Pres., Geo. W. Cox; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 109 Tremont st.

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

NEWBURYPORT.—Merrimac single tax assembly. Pres., Andrew R. Curtis; sec., Wm. R. Whitmore, 236 Merrimac street.

ROXBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 960 Tremont st.

WORCESTER.—Worcester single tax club. Meetings first Thursday of month, at Reform club hall, 98 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., E. K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

### MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Monday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., Oliver, T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

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

### MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman; sec., Percy Pepoon, 3507 Easton av, St. L.

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

KANSAS CITY.—Single tax club. First Sunday of the month, at 8 p. m., at Bacon Lodge Hall, 1204 and 1206 Walnut st. Pres., Herman Hermalink; sec., R. F. Young, Signal Service office.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307½ Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Puplic meetings first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's Hall, 11th and Locust sts. Pres., H. H. Hoffman: sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble st.

Benton School of Social Science. Meets every Saturday evening at 6839 Waldemar avenue. Pres., Henry S. Chase; sec., W. C. Little.

### NEBRASKA.

WYMORE.—Wymore single tax and tariff reform club. Meetings every Wednesday evening at Union hall. Pres., Julius Hamm; sec. and treas., H. C. Jaynes; P. O. Box 137.

### NEW JERSEY.

CAMDEN.—Single tax club. Meets every Saturday evening at Felton hall, n. e. cor. Second and Federal sts. Pres. Aaron Hand; sec., Wm. M. Callingham, 520 Line st.

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

JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Meets first and third Thursday of each month at Assembly Rooms, 642 Newark av. Pres., Jas. McGregor; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 223 Grand st.

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

NEWARK.—Single tax and free trade club. Pres., C. B. Rathburn; sec., M. T. Gaffney, 211 Plane st.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg av. Meetings every Thursday evening at 169 Market st.

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

WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., A. W. Davis, Oxford: sec., John Morison, box 272, Washington.

### NEW YORK.

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

Metropolitan single tax association. First and third Saturday evenings of each month, 490 8th av. Pres., John H. O'Connell; sec., Fred. C. Keller.

BROOKLYN.—Brooklyn single tax club. Business meetings Wednesday evenings; club house, 198 Livingston st.; open at all hours. Pres., Robert Baker; cor. sec. G. W. Thompson, 9 St. Marks av.

Women's single tax club. Meetings the first and third Tuesdays. 198 Livingston st. at 3 o'clock. Pres., Miss Eva J. Turner; sec., Mrs. Robert Baker, 884 Greene av.

East Brooklyn single tax club. Meetings every Monday evening, 408 Evergreen av. Pres., James Hamilton; sec., Jas. B. Connell, 448 Central av.

Eastern District single tax club. Meetings first and third Mondays, 284 Broadway. Pres., Joseph McGuinness, 133 S. 9th st., Brooklyn, E. D.; sec., Emily A. Deverall

Eighteenth ward single tax club. Every Thursday at 8 p. m. at 253 Evergreen av. Pres., J. J. Faulkner; sec., Adolph Pettenkofer, 253 Evergreen av.

ALBANY.—Albany single tax club. Meetings Sunday, 7.30 p. m., Beaver-Block, cor. Pearl and Norton sts. Pres., F. W. Croake; cor. sec., Geo. Noyes.

BUFFALO.—Tax Reform Club. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., T. M. Crowe, 777 Elk st.

OSWEGO.—Pioneer single tax club. Pres., James Ryan; sec., James C. Murray.

OWEGO.—Single tax club. Pres., Michael J. Murray; sec., Wm. Minehaw, 50 West Main st.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—Freedom association meets evening of every fourth Friday of the month at Schwalenberg's hall, corner Vernon and Borden avs. Sec., T. G. Drake, 215 Kouwenhoven st.

TROY.—Single tax club. Meetings every Thursday evening at 576 River st; Pres., Henry Sterling; sec., B. B. Martin, 576 River st.

WEST NEW BRIGHTON.—Richmond County single tax club. Sec., A. B. Stoddard.

### NORTH DAKOTA.

HATTON.—Hatton single tax reform club. Pres., A. S. Forslid; sec., T. E. Nelson; treas., M. F. Hegge.

### OHIO.

CINCINNATI.—Cincinnati single tax club. Every Monday night, 7:30 o'clock, Robertson's Hall, Lincoln's Inn Court, 227 Main st. (near P. O). Pres., Jos. L. Schraer sec., Dr. David De Beck, 139 W. 9th st.

CLEVELAND.—Central single tax club. First and third Wednesday evenings, 8 p. m.; rooms, 301 and 302 Arcade, Euclid av. Pres., Tom L. Johnson; sec., L. E. Siemon, 7 Greenwood st.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway; sec. W. W. Kile, 108 East 5th st.

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

HEMLOCK.—Single tax club. Pres., D. P. Sweeny; sec. James G. Hayden.

MIAMISBURG.—Miamisburg single tax club. Pres., H. M. Scott; sec., J. T. Beals.

YOUNGSTOWN.—Every Thursday evening, Ivorites hall. Pres., Billy Radcliffe; sec., A. C. Hughes, 13 Public sq.

ZANESVILLE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. H. Longheed sec., Wm. Quigley.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club. Hevenor's hall, 41 Main st. Meetings for discussion every Sunday at 3.30 p. m.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Sec. E. D. Burleigh, 18 Willow av.

JOHNSTOWN.—Henry George club. Meets every Monday evening for public discussion. Pres., A. J. Moxham; sec., S. E. Clarkson.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society of Philadelphia, every Thursday, 8 p. m., 1341 Arch st.; cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. Meets every first and third Sunday evening at 7.30, 64 4th av. Pres., Edm. Yardley; sec. Mark F. Roberts, 140 South 24th st.

POTTSTOWN.—Single tax club. Meetings first and third Friday evenings each month in Weitzenkorn's hall. Pres., D. L. Haws; sec., Geo. Auchy, Pottstown, Pa.

READING.—Reading single tax society. Monday evenings, 723 Penn st. Pres., Chas. S. Prizer; sec., Wm. H. McKinney, Mineral Spring road and Clymer st.

### RHODE ISLAND.

PAWTUCKET.—Pawtucket single tax association. Pres., John McCaffrery; sec., Matthew Curran, 64 Main st.

### SOUTH DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee, of Rapid City; sec., John B. Hanten, Watertown.

BALTIC.—Baltic single tax club. Pres. T. T. Vrenne sec., T. J. Questad.

WATERTOWN.—Single tax club. Pres. Jno. B. Hanten; sec., L. E. Brickell. Meetings every Wednesday night in basement Granite block.

### TENNESSEE.

MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association. Pres., J. S Masken; sec., R. G. Brown, Appeal building.

### TEXAS.

EL PASO.—Single tax club. Meetings every Saturday evening, 200½ El Paso st. Pres., G. E. Hubbard; sec. and treas., M. W. Stanton; cor. sec., G. H. Higgins.

HOUSTON.—Houston single tax club. Meetings every Tuesday evening, 7.30, Franklin st. Pres., E. P. Alsbury; sec., E. W. Brown.

### WEST VIRGINIA.

PARKERSBURG.—Parkersburg single tax league Meetings every Saturday evening, at 500 Market st.; Pres., W. H. Curry; sec., W. F. Thayer.

### WISCONSIN.

MILWAUKEE.—Milwaukee single tax league. Pres., L. B. Benton; sec. treas., Martin Johnson.

# THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one

source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

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

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

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

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

The single tax, therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

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

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


# HANDY BINDERS.

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