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EDITORIAL.

Governor Hill has demonstrated his enmity to any real ballot reform. He has defied public sentiment in the interests of the bosses and the machines, and he looks to the latter for his reward. There is no question as to what that reward is to be. It is the control of the vote of the New York delegation in the next democratic national convention. As the people can have no opportunity to formally condemn the governor between this time and the expiration of his present term of office, while the machine can, if it chooses, give him what he desires, he concluded to risk the popular anger and openly to defy the organized workingmen who demanded that he should permit the Saxton bill to become a law. However it may be with the people generally, there is happily no doubt that the workingmen intend to administer a merited rebuke to the governor and just punishment to the members of the legislature who voted against ballot reform. So far as the organized workmen in this city are concerned, there is no question as to their purpose, and the only thing that remains to be settled is as to how they can use their power most effectively to punish Tammany for its stupid opposition, and to defeat the Tammany and county democracy members of the legislature who voted against the Saxton bill, should they become candidates for re-election.

The New York ballot reform league is thus far the body that can most easily focus the various forces that can be depended on to punish Tammany for following the stupid advice of such blind and blatant leaders as Bourke Cochran in opposing the popular will, on the disgraceful ground that Tammany must be the chief sufferer by any system of voting that requires of the voters sufficient intelligence to count three. What the Ballot reform league will do remains to be seen, but before any action is taken it is important that the local political situation shall be carefully considered.

In 1884, when Cleveland was elected president, he received in this city 133,157 votes to 90,093 cast for Blaine. At the same election Grace for mayor received 96,288 votes to 44,386 cast for Gibbs, republican, and 85,361 cast for Grant, Tammany. It is perfectly clear that a great many of those who voted for the republican candidate for president supported Grace for mayor.

In 1886 Hewitt, democrat, for mayor received 90,552 votes; George, united labor, 68,110, and Roosevelt, republican, 60,435. It is manifest that at this election Hewitt received a very large republican vote, which more than made up for the heavy draft on the democratic vote by the united labor candidate.

In 1888 the vote for mayor was as follows: Grant, Tammany, 114,111; Hewitt, county democracy, 71,979; Erhardt, republican, 73,037, and Coogan, united labor, 9,809. At the same election Cleveland, democrat, received for president 162,735, and Harrison, republican, 106,922. The vote for governor was: Hill, democrat, 168,454, and Miller, republican, 99,352. This would indicate that over 6,500 democratic votes were cast for Harrison in return for a like number of republican votes cast for Hill.

The swap was, however, very much larger, as many thousands of democrats refused to vote for Hill and voted for Miller, or did not vote for governor at all, the total vote for governor falling 2,851 votes short of the total vote for president. Yet the returns give no indication of this revolt against Hill, so extended was the trading between the Hill and Harrison men. If the votes represented by such evidence of the deal as appears on the face of the returns are deducted, they leave the republican vote at a little more than 100,000. This is probably an over estimate, taking into consideration the extent of the deal, and there is nothing in the returns going to show that the actual republican vote of this city has largely increased since 1884, when it was about 90,000. It is certain that of the 99,352 votes for Miller, several thousand were cast by those who voted for Cleveland for president. Yet even these 90,000 republicans did not stand by Erhardt, their candidate for mayor, who received but 73,037, to 186,090 cast for the two democratic candidates. Nearly 20,000 republicans probably voted for Hewitt.

At the election of last year the total vote fell from 270,657 for president in 1888, to 198,919 for secretary of state in 1889. That is, but a little more than 74 per cent of the votes were cast. Taking the nominal vote of the two parties, in round numbers, at 177,000 and 93,000, seventy-four per cent of the vote of each would give the democrats 130,980 and the republicans 68,820. The actual vote for secretary of state last year was: Rice, democrat, 130,696, and Gilbert, republican, 67,120, which demonstrates that the estimate of the respective strength of the two parties on a full vote is about that given above—177,000 democrats to 93,000 republicans.

There was a coalition last year between the county democrats and the republicans on certain city offices. The total vote for the several candidates varied, that for president of the board of aldermen falling but 1,310 short of the total vote for secretary of state. Assuming that this falling off was proportionate, the republicans probably cast over 66,000 of the 93,250 votes cast for Canda, the coalition candidate, and the county democrats about 27,000. Arnold, the Tammany candidate, received 104,359 votes. One thing must be remembered, however, and that is that a very large number of democrats and independents, who are permanently disgusted with the county democracy, and who regard its continued existence as an obstacle to any true reform, voted for the Tammany candidates. The staying strength of Tammany in this city is very much less than the vote cast for its candidates in 1889. In 1886, when the united labor movement drew so heavily upon its usual voting strength, it is doubtful if Tammany controlled over 40,000 votes.

Some deductions from these figures stand out so plainly that the most casual observer cannot fail to see them. One is that the county democracy can entertain no reasonable hope of controlling enough funds to elect anybody. Disgust with that faction's men and methods led to an enormous increase in Tammany's vote last year, and it will practically be impossible to bring such votes back to the support of candidates nominated by the county democracy machine and pledged to put its henchmen into power in place

of the Tammany healers, whose performances have recently been exposed by the Fassett investigating committee. What the county democracy will do or leave undone it is now impossible to say, but it can take no part in this business except for mischief.

The republican party is unquestionably in a position, from its official record, to claim that it is entitled to benefit by any movement in favor of genuine ballot reform. Its representatives in both houses of the general assembly have all voted for the Saxton bill, and they have united in passing the "corrupt practices bill" without regard to the failure of ballot reform. The probabilities are that they will also pass the new registry bill, and thus have an absolutely clean record in behalf of radical reform in the methods of conducting elections, while the great majority of the democrats in both houses have foolishly allowed Governor Hill to lead them into the ditch into which he, himself, has fallen. If city politics could be disassociated from national politics there would be much reason in a claim by the republican party that it is entitled at the coming contest to the earnest support of all friends of ballot reform.

Unhappily municipal affairs and national politics are inextricably mixed up. Under existing conditions it would be absolutely impossible to induce the democrats to give to the republican party in the nation the prestige of victory in New York this fall and the great practical advantage of a republican delegation in the legislature. We may lament this as much as we will, but if the fight in this city is to be between the republican and democratic parties it is not likely that the party representing not more than one-third of the voters would be able, under any circumstances, to elect its candidates, while the evidence given by the figures that the republicans, themselves, never stand by their own party candidate in such a contest, renders it still more unlikely that the republicans could win. There would be danger in a contest between the republican party, led by its machine, and the democratic party, represented by Tammany, that the latter would retain power.

The men who are determined to secure ballot reform by teaching a lesson to its recognized opponents cannot afford to have the contest take this shape. What we ought to have is a ballot reform movement that will improvise a temporary political party to accomplish the specific purpose in view, with the understanding that it shall dissolve as soon as that purpose is accomplished. Such a party must keep itself clear of national politics. It will not do for it to attempt to use its machinery to affect congressional elections, nor to change the present representation of the two principal parties in the legislature of this state. So far as congressmen are concerned it must leave them alone, entirely. It cannot follow this course, however, as to legislators, and its only prudent course will be to recognize the status quo, and run a republican ballot reformer in every district now represented by a republican, and a democratic ballot reformer in every assembly district now represented by a democrat.

Such a course will put ordinary partisanship out of the contest. It will enable the friends of good government and decent elections to rally, as one body, to

overthrow and stamp out of existence the political corporation which has too long ruled this town for the profit of its own stockholders, and whose present leaders have made the disgraceful record brought to light by recent investigations. The immediate effect of such demonstration of the strength of the ballot reform movement would be to force a ballot reform bill through the next legislature with sufficient votes to pass it over the governor's veto. This is what the majority of the people of New York want. Have they the political cleverness and aptitude that will enable them to thus accomplish their desires?

At present the ballot reform league seems to be the one organization to which this question can be put with the reasonable hope of a right answer. In it are represented various clubs antagonistic one to another on national politics, and others composed of men of both political parties. In it also are represented some of the most powerful workingmen's organizations, and still other organizations that have hitherto been the opponents of the political demands of the workingmen, as such. In fact, the forces that were arrayed against each other in violent hostility during the famous campaign of 1886 meet in this league on common ground, working in friendly co-operation for a single object. If the league can but extend its influence, so as to secure a larger representation from such forces, it will be an organization capable of raising a standard around which all friends of ballot reform and good government, without regard to party opinion or supposed class interests, can rally. Such a movement can rescue the government of this city from the hands of corruptionists and give us an electoral system that will enable the people of New York to take back into their hands the power of which they have so long been robbed by political machines and bosses.

The winter and spring campaign that the Reform club is making in the rural counties of this state gives promise of accomplishing its purpose, which is to arouse the interest of men in the tariff question at a time when their judgments are not clouded by political excitement.

The Canadian Voice, published at Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a prohibition paper which honestly believes in the necessity of the legal prohibition of the liquor traffic; but while believing that "this is the first question in politics, as it is in morals and economics," it declares that it is not the only question, and it promises to devote a part of its space to discussion of the problems affecting the organization and management of parties, municipal reform, public or private lines of railway and telegraph, co-operation, labor and law reform. Such a paper cannot fail to broaden the vision of its readers and assist toward bringing about mutual respect among the advocates of reforms, even where agreement as to purposes and methods is not practicable.

Mr. Powderly's argument in behalf of an eight hour law, is the best that can be made, and his reference to the ten hour law shows that legislation and public sentiment combined can do something effective toward curtailing the number of hours in the nominal working day. That they are too long at present is not questioned by any who have really considered the question as to the actual amount of labor required to supply human wants under conditions that assure a just distribution of labor's products. Mr. Powderly, while favoring the "eight hour day," effectively disposes of some of the arguments advanced in its favor, and points to the necessity of a more radical

reform that will assure to the workman the full product of his toil. When this is brought about, each workman can be safely left to settle the number of hours he will work, so long as his stopping does not interfere with the work of others.

The local elections in Ohio show general democratic gains. There would, under ordinary circumstances, be no significance in this, since town officers alone were chosen. The republicans, however, chose to make national politics the issue, and openly proclaimed their intention to demonstrate through these elections that the present democratic majority in the Ohio legislature does not represent the will of the people of that state. If the people of Ohio accepted the issue thus presented to them, the reasonable inference is that, on the whole, they do approve of the democratic control of the state and propose to maintain it. Some things done by the legislature must have made it difficult for thoughtful men to give that body a vote of confidence, and the fact that the people stood by it rather than encourage the party in power at Washington, shows how deep seated is the disgust inspired by the desperate tactics of the purchased protectionist majority in congress.

A circuit court in Virginia has declared the law of that state providing for a heavy tax on beef killed outside of the state to be unconstitutional. An appeal will be taken to the supreme court of the United States, but it is not likely that the decision of the circuit court will be reversed. The truth is that the measure is not a revenue measure at all, but an attempt to set up a state protective tariff in the interests of local butchers, compelling the people to pay higher prices for poorer meat in order that local butchers may make higher profits. The fact that Armour & Co. and other packers of dressed beef are monopolists has nothing to do with the question. If the professed opponents of monopoly expect to overthrow it by increasing the prices of food to consumers, they will in the end make monopoly popular.

If any fair man believes the New York Sun's assertions that the Australian system disfranchised thousands of democrats in Rhode Island, he needs only to read the Providence Telegram, a democratic paper, to rid himself of that false belief. The great preponderance of testimony presented in the New York papers indicated that the system worked admirably in Rhode Island, and the Telegram confirms this impression by declaring that the Sun, in its attempt to show that the system restricted the exercise of the elective franchise, is making itself ridiculous. The Telegram adds:

The Sun's news report of the election in this state was a curiosity in newspaper literature. It scintillated with statements which had no foundation in fact, and it fairly sizzled with innuendos and hints and covert allusions to some terrible griffin that was lying in wait to devour voters by the thousand before they could fight their way to the polls through the gauntlet of obstacles set all along their path to the quagmire of political trickery and corruption lying inside the guardrails at the ward rooms. * * * We do not hesitate to place our dictum against it, and we declare, with the utmost confidence that our position is impregnable, that the ballot reform act has proved itself a success.

The Central labor union declares that the police department has reduced the art of blackmailing to a science and established a system of terrorism over certain classes in the community. There is not the shadow of doubt that the numerous ordinances regulating business in this city constantly subject the small shopkeepers, as well as the liquor dealers, to prosecution, while various illegal businesses notoriously afford opportunities for the imposition of blackmail by the

police. The Central labor union, on behalf of the workingmen of New York, has simply put in formal shape a declaration that men are constantly making in conversation, and asked for an investigation; yet Senator Fassett, when the matter is brought to the attention of his committee, merely replies that if the Central labor union has any any specific complaint to make or any evidence to offer, the committee will take the matter into consideration. Why does the committee treat in this fashion a reasonable request emanating from the workingmen? The Central labor union cannot be expected to make the investigation necessary in this case, and the Fassett committee has been appointed for that very purpose. Its members and counsel can easily obtain the facts if they so desire. We suggest that they begin on the Steckler association, in the Tenth assembly district, and find out how that organization obtained the signatures of small shopkeepers and others to the paper commending Senator Roesch's attitude of hostility to ballot reform.

In the "Social Problem" department of this issue of THE STANDARD will be found an article on protection by General Francis A. Walker. It is chiefly interesting as a survival of a kind of discussion common but a few years ago, and as such it will repay the interest of the curious. It, however, has nothing to do with the great question that the American people are now battling over, and Professor Walker simply takes his place in the ranks of the superannuated when he attempts to bring back the discussion to the lines indicated. The issue in these United States is protection against free trade, and all of the professors of political economy put together cannot divert attention to any minor phase of the main question.

The democratic majority in the New Jersey legislature has demonstrated that it is opposed to true ballot reform, and the party must take the consequences of its own folly. The one reason why any thoughtful man should favor the democratic rather than the republican party is the fact that the democratic party has got on the right side of the tariff question. The men who are favoring it on that account, however, propose to overthrow protection through the unbought votes of free men cast at fair elections. If such democratic organizations as the Hill-Tammany machine in New York, and the democratic machine in New Jersey, choose to defend dishonest elections and fraudulent practices, honest men who favor tariff reform will have to look to other and cleaner agencies for the accomplishment of their purposes. The best thing to do with democrats who take such positions is to beat them. The result will be to bring leaders to the front whom decent men can follow.

GOVERNOR HILL ANSWERED.

It is to be regretted that the daily papers of New York could not find space for printing the admirable answer to Governor Hill's veto message made by Wheeler H. Peckham, Julian T. Davies and Louis F. Post, a committee of the New York ballot reform league. The answer of the committee merely deals with the governor's invitation to the legislature to join him in presenting the question as to the constitutionality of the bill to the two divisions of the court of appeals. It is a clean cut legal argument against the proposal, and it very effectively disposes of Governor Hill's attempt to show that there was a precedent that warranted his proposal. We print the paper in full elsewhere.

We also reprint from the New York Times a letter by Mr. Thomas G. Shear-

man, which it seems to us effectually answers the only portion of the governor's message that has been regarded by lawyers as having any force. This is the portion in which he objected to the provision in the Saxton bill for minority representation in the choice of ballot clerks. These two papers cut from under Governor Hill everything in the shape of reasonable excuse or justification for any part of his veto message, and compel him to stand out clearly as an enemy of ballot reform who has resorted to dishonest trickery in order to justify his attitude.

THE SINGLE TAX IN CONGRESS.

Our Washington letter contains a report of a very remarkable debate that took place in the house of representatives on the bill authorizing the establishment of a public park on Rock creek, in the city of Washington. Man after man in the course of the debate gave evidence of a perception of the evils for which the single tax is the only remedy. There was no denial of the fact that the proposed park will greatly enhance the value of lands in its neighborhood, held by speculators; and the various propositions put forth to compel those who are to receive this unearned increment to pay in whole or in part for the improvement itself, are highly significant, coming as they do from men who have probably paid little or no attention to the single tax idea.

Mr. Stockdale, of Mississippi, declared that if the government had power to condemn 2,000 acres it had equal power to condemn 2,600 acres, and he suggested that a larger amount of land be acquired and divided into lots, one-half of which shall be sold to meet the first cost of the improvement and the remainder rented out forever to meet the cost of maintenance. This certainly is a hopeful suggestion to come from one who has probably given no attention to the single tax idea. If men who see thus far would but consent to give the subject thorough and serious attention, there is no doubt that they would soon accept the whole truth. Under the single tax system every improvement that enhanced the price of land would necessarily bring to the treasury the funds to meet the cost of such improvement, and such questions as those arising out of this park scheme would cease to vex legislators, either in national or state politics.

THE MCKINLEY BILL DOOMED.

The McKinley tariff bill has little, if any, chance to become a law. There is every probability that republican representatives from New England and other states will fight the bill on the floor of the house, because of the blow it strikes at the shoe manufacturing industry by imposing a duty on hides. The utterly inexcusable attempt to increase the duty on tin plates, in the interests of American manufacturers of sheet iron, and to the injury of the fruit purchasers and consumers, will perhaps cause some other republican representatives to vote against the measure. The bill as a whole is a mere fraudulent device to fool the farmer into the belief that he can be protected by tariff duties on all sorts of agricultural products. The farmer has been fooled a long time, but he has enough sense to know that a tariff on barley, for instance, if it excited any hope of an increase in price, would merely result in the sowing of more barley, and thus prevent the accomplishment of the object sought.

The truth is that the real object of the bill is the payment of campaign debts to large contributors to the corruption fund, by which the republicans purchased the presidency and the control of the present congress. For instance, the smelting business of the southwest is to be sacrificed to the demands of the silver men,

who were raising money for the corruption fund, while the smelters were foolishly attending to their own business. That stanch republican paper, the Philadelphia Telegraph, declares that "the fat fried out of the specially protected firms, corporations, combines and trusts was to be returned," and it is now to be obtained by congress frying it out of the people. The Telegraph says: "The entire scheme rests upon no other or better principle than that of returning their fat to the manufacturers, or of helping the party by the basest partisan methods." When republican papers are denouncing the McKinley bill in such language as this, it will be easy for those republican congressmen who see that their own seats will be jeopardized by its passage, to vote against the measure.

But even if it could get through the house, the latest advices indicate that the bill has no chance in the senate. The ways and means committee of that body do not propose even to wait for the reception of the bill, but have concluded to open hearings of their own, with a view to assisting the senate in the preparation of a separate bill. There is no hope, however, for any relief from existing burdens. The most that can be expected is the failure of the attempt to make the present tariff laws worse.

A WORSE THAN USELESS ALLY.

The Evening Post has made a careful analysis of the composition of the Tammany organization now in control of this city, which is a rather startling revelation. According to the biographical sketches of the Tammany leaders furnished by the Post, the "rulers of New York" are classified as follows:

Professional politicians	28
Convicted murderer	1
Tried for murder and acquitted	1
Indicted for felonious assault	1
Indicted for bribery	1
Professional gamblers	4
Former gambling house or "dive" keepers	6
Liquor dealers	4
Former liquor dealers	5
Sons of liquor dealers	2
Former pugilists	3
Former "toughs"	4
Members of the Tweed gang	6
Office holders	17
Former office holders	8
Former car conductors	3
Former plasterer	1
Former navy yard caulker	1
Former carpenter	1
Lawyer	1
Nominal lawyers	2
Favored city contractors	2

The Post has done a service to the community in making this exposure, but in its editorial comments upon it it shows the defects of temper which render the paper incapable of any real service to the public. In discussing the subject editorially it falsely declares that Henry George's candidacy introduced a socialistic element into the canvass of 1886. It was papers like the Post, which distrust the people, and foolish citizens who followed their lead, that on that occasion prevented the extirpation of Tammany by a real uprising of honest men of all classes. The subsequent conduct of the people who worked for Mr. George's election at that time has demonstrated to all well-informed men that the accusations made against them at the time were slanderous and unjust. Yet the Post repeats the most aggravated of these slanders in its intimation that the men who supported Mr. George were composed largely of the "dangerous classes." As the workingmen of New York are at this moment the chief hope of any movement to secure genuine ballot reform and the overthrow of Tammany on account of its opposition to the Saxton bill, it is particularly exasperating to find such utterances in a paper making the pretensions of the Post.

It is generally understood that the responsible owners of the Evening Post are men of intelligence, accustomed to min-

gle with their fellow citizens, and likely thereby to acquire an intelligent conception of the forces that can be brought together to work for practical reform, and it is astonishing that they should continue to permit their paper to be edited by a man who has no confidence in the ability of the people for self-government, and who evolves from his inner consciousness the premises from which he draws conclusions that accord with nothing on earth but his own bitter and narrow prejudices.

THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS BILL.

The bill recently introduced in congress providing for the federal control of congressional elections, considered simply as a measure for asserting a right conferred on congress by the constitution, but hitherto not exercised, on its face is worthy of commendation, since it aims to prevent the customary process of gerrymandering districts by state legislatures.

The bill, however, cannot be regarded simply as a measure of reform. There is no doubt that its principal design is to prevent the proposed redistricting of the state of Ohio in the interest of the democratic party. We do not doubt that the pending Ohio bill is a thoroughly partisan measure, from such descriptions of the new lines as have been printed in the newspapers. On the other hand, there is not the shadow of doubt that the existing congressional districts in Ohio are the result of an equally partisan gerrymander by a republican legislature. The purpose of the congressional bill is not to secure a fair rearrangement of district lines, but to preserve and make effective the unfair republican legislation. Under such circumstances, the pending act is not entitled to the credit its authors seek for it on the ground of fairness.

While there is no question that the federal constitution confers on congress the right to regulate congressional elections, it is a fact that from the foundation of the government to the present time, even during the war period, when the rights of states were contemptuously regarded, congress has always chosen to leave the control of these elections in the hands of the states, though of late exercising some supervisory power over them. The present action, therefore, while not a violation of our written constitution, is as clear a violation of that established custom (which in England is regarded as the constitution) as would be an attempt to elect a man president for three consecutive terms. It is a step toward the centralization of power, made at the time when the drift of public opinion is against such centralization. It has no justification other than a desire for partisan advantage, and it will probably prove in the end to be one of the many steps that the accidental and desperate majority in the present house of representatives has taken that will increase the growing reaction against a party which is attempting to rule this country with the sole view to conferring pecuniary benefits to the protected monopolists whose money purchased the election of Mr. Harrison to the presidency. Such actions in the long run cost political parties far more than the immediate advantage sought is ever worth.

OVER FOURTEEN MILLIONS AN ACRE.

Those farmers who imagine that making land values the sole basis of taxation will work a special hardship to the farming community ought to read and carefully consider the article by Dr. Walter Mendelson, printed elsewhere, entitled "Farmers on Whom a Land Tax Would Fall." Dr. Mendelson's figures show that an ordinary down-town Broadway lot has recently sold at the rate of over \$8,000,000 an acre; that the land on which the

Equitable building stands is worth nearly \$9,000,000 an acre, while the property at the corner of Broad and Wall streets sold some years ago at the rate of over \$14,000,000 an acre. These, of course, are high prices for very valuable property, but Dr. Mendelson, who resides well up town, some blocks west of Central park, shows that in his neighborhood land sells at the rate of \$283,140 an acre. It is not easy to make any correct estimate as to the average acre value of land in New York, but taking it as a whole it must be far more than \$100,000 an acre.

Of course land values are not so great in any other city, but in all cities of the state, and even in the villages, they are vastly greater than in the farming districts. The recent report of the state assessors not only shows that this is true, but it demonstrates that city, town and village lands are steadily increasing in value in all of the counties embraced within their report, while there has been a steady decrease in the value of farming lands. How enormous this depreciation has been we have no official figures to show, but it has gone so far that in some of the counties farming lands have apparently no selling value, since the farms are bought in at foreclosure sales for less than the cost of the improvements. This, however, is owing to exceptional circumstances, and it is probable that there is very little land which, if denuded of buildings and entirely free from mortgage, would not bring some price, though that price would be very small indeed compared with the selling value of village and city property.

We do not need the official figures, however, to demonstrate to any farmer, who will open his mind to the fair consideration of the subject, that, under a system which levied all taxes on land values exclusive of improvements, the burden imposed on the farmer by local taxation would be greatly diminished. If, at the same time, we could sweep away the whole system of tariff taxation, which imposes an even heavier burden than the local taxes, the farmer would be enormously benefited. If our friends in the agricultural districts, who have bitter cause for complaint, would put aside the delusive notion that personal property can be fairly and honestly taxed, and devote their attention to the consideration of the necessary effects of the single tax on land values, they would soon begin to see a road out of the difficulties that are now reducing them to despair.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE STRIKE AND BOYCOTT.

We have seen that the power of the workers as consumers is almost as great as their political power. How do they use that? They use their political power through political organizations and give it expression by means of the simple and peaceful but powerful ballot. How can the workers use this consuming power through their industrial organizations, and by what similar powerful but simple and peaceful device may it find expression? By what means may this power, which the boycott used negatively and feebly, be used as positively, as strongly, and as effectively as the ballot enables us to use our political power?

How may we vote in the markets for increased wages and such reduction in hours as shall gradually take up all unemployed laborers and convert them, from charity burdens upon those at work, into self-sustaining consumers? By what means may this market voting be done, and how may we invoke that self interest of the workers strongly enough to induce them to take the trouble to employ it?

I answer, by inaugurating a definite business arrangement providing for a reciprocity of patronage between the organized consumers in the several organized industries. A reciprocity inaugurated and secured by an exchange of preference

pledges, wherein the individual members of each organized craft shall voluntarily pledge themselves to give a systematic preference to the fair products of such industries as shall fairly reciprocate the service, supplemented by an agreement between the organizations providing for the appointment of local committees whose duty shall be to present this preference in the markets and there arrange to have kept on sale a sufficiency of such products to meet the new demand.

The device which I offer as a means for securing and registering this reciprocity corresponds with the ballot in simplicity. It consists simply of a uniform label for all fair products, the symbol to be of the same design for all industries, whether used in the shape of a medallion, a tablet, an impression or a label, the only difference being the name of the industry represented, which should appear upon the symbol above the word "FAIR." But to indicate that the craft represented by the name on the symbol is organized nationally (as it certainly should be), and for the further purpose of awakening a patriotic interest in this new American movement, I suggest that the device in all cases appear upon and include the national shield under the outspread wings of the national emblem.

To further facilitate the reciprocity aimed at I suggest that trades or callings whose combined labor is offered in one form of product shall associate under one name, and on such products use one label. The building trades, for instance, from cellar excavators and hodcarriers to masons, carpenters, plumbers, roofers and finishers, should agree upon a name, such as "the associated building trades," and adopt one symbol for all buildings erected throughout by organized labor, and for all buildings formerly erected, but now kept in repair by fair labor. The symbol for new buildings to be in the shape of a permanent tablet, such as was once used by the ancient craft of free masons, and in other cases in the shape of an attachable medallion.

The same arrangement should be carried into effect on steam and horse railroads, and on steam and sailing vessels, so that an intending passenger or patron may tell at a glance whether a road or line is "fair" or not, and the system should be thoroughly extended until a fair medallion glitters over the entrance to every fair field of labor, from a shipping dock to a coal mine.

In brief, the plan proposes that in addition to the present organization of the workers as producers, they shall now be thoroughly organized as consumers. Because, the workers when organized as consumers can, as I have shown, exert a much greater power than when simply organized as producers or workers, as they now are.

I want to lay particular stress, however, upon the importance of taking care that the movement be not handicapped by any negative or boycott feature directed toward unfair employers or unfair products. It should simply constitute a reciprocal agreement between the organized industries wherein organized labor, in its capacity as consumer, shall be pledged to give employment to fair labor by buying, renting or using its products in preference to any other. Nor is it intended that this reciprocity shall be sustained by any cast iron agreement pledging consumers to buy only fair goods, or to pay more for them than for other products of like quality, for three reasons: First, because such an unreasonable pledge would not be kept; second, because no such slavish agreement is necessary; and, third, because a pledge of preference would be more generally and voluntarily taken, inside the organizations as well as out.

But should the plan be so favorably received as to induce a larger organization of labor than heretofore, the new organization will doubtless include the most skilled and the brainiest workers in each craft. Skill and intelligence in the producers mean not only good workmanship but quick work, and, as time is a chief element in the cost of almost every an-

ished product, concerns employing such labor can pay considerably higher wages and even run less hours, and yet, with equal material, put well made goods on the market at a lower price than unfair concerns which employ only partially skilled labor. They can even sell these well made goods at a less price than the unfair concerns can afford to take for their inferior product. But if these fair concerns can but barely compete at even prices, they will by this arrangement be induced to make the attempt because it guarantees them a market more valuable than even an immense expenditure for advertising would be likely to yield.

To illustrate the working of this reciprocity and the way in which the arrangement would appeal to the self-interest of the workers, let us suppose that the members of the associated building trades have exchanged preference pledges with the cigarmakers and printers, the pledge having been voluntarily signed by each individual member of all three organizations.

Now every cigarmaker and printer in every city, town and village in every state in this Union, at once acquires a vital self-interest in sustaining the builders organization. For so long as that organization lasts there will be an immense demand for union labeled cigars, and a corresponding demand for newspapers and other publications issued from fair offices and bearing the well-known union symbol.

What will the employing cigar manufacturers and employing publishers think of this new market for their products? After the demand has been fairly started will you have to ask them to use your label, or will they come to you? If every organized builder in America, when asking for a New York daily paper, expresses a preference for one bearing the label, will the New York dailies want it or not? As to the Cigarmakers international union, could it devise or pay for any advertisement that would make such a market for its labeled cigars? Would it be necessary for the organization to spend any more money in advertising its label?

To illustrate further: Suppose a local reciprocity arranged in your city of New York between the organized street car men, the organized clerks and the organized builders, wherein the pledge provided that the organized street car men and the organized clerks should, when renting dwellings, give preference to buildings bearing the union symbol of the associated builders, wherein also the builders and street railroad men were similarly pledged to give preference, when trading at stores, to firms displaying the fair symbol of the associated clerks, and wherein the associated clerks and the associated builders were pledged to give a preference of patronage to such street car lines as displayed the fair medallion of the associated street railroad employees. What would be the result? Would not self-interest make a lively reciprocity of that?

Now, by means of existing machinery like your Central labor union, let the system be extended until it embraces every organized industry in the city, and until a fair medallion glitters on every delivery wagon, and all you fair workers eat labeled bread, wear labeled clothing and live in labeled houses.

Would not enthusiasm as well as self-interest be thereby aroused to such an extent as to enlist even outside influences? Would not Father Huntington, who touches the borders of this plan in a recent letter to the Christian Union, take an interest in this movement? Would not the plan exactly fill the purpose of the newly organized "consumers' league" of New York, which I understand includes other prominent clergymen as well as many noble-hearted ladies of your city? To them I say, would not this label, attached to or stamped upon any article or package of apparel or adornment offered at your dry goods stores be a certificate that no blood or tears wrung from unrequited toil stained or sullied the garment or its wearer?

But the benefits of this measure should not be limited to the cities or villages. The plan should include the farmers' or-

ganizations, now being revived, until farm produce of any kind shipped in cars or packages sealed with the fair symbol of the associated farmers shall be preferred in our cities on account of a reciprocity of that service on the part of the farmers.

Is the reader and is the critic convinced that this plan would awaken enough self-interest among the workers to secure its adoption and keep it going? Are they convinced that the majority of fair employers would, from the same motive, welcome this improvement on the strike and boycott? Are they satisfied that the movement would not only compel the indorsement by the press but be welcomed by it as something practicable to offer in the place of the strike and boycott which it so generally and frequently condemns?

If so, and if fully convinced that the movement would also become immensely popular and thus enlist the tremendous assistance of public opinion, against which old methods have also to contend, still another question will yet remain to be asked, and that is: How shall the organizations use this plan to secure advances in wages and reductions in the hours of labor?

I answer: *By limiting the time during which use of the label may be granted.* All fair concerns should be allowed its use for as short a time as they please, but no contracts should be made longer than one year. Arrangements should also be made to have all contracts, as far as possible, expire on the same date.

I say its use should be granted to all fair concerns. I mean by that, to any employing concern which shall subscribe to the reasonable rules and rates of the labor organization in its particular industry, thereby agreeing to observe such rules and rates for the time named; and upon its further agreement to submit all arising differences to unbiased arbitration. It may occur to the reader right here, as it does to me, that the only cases in which labor arbitration has proved or is likely to prove satisfactory to both parties is where that mode of settling differences has been agreed upon in advance, before any difference has occurred, as provided for in this plan. It will also be noticed here that the plan provides for a positive and final settlement regarding rates of wages, hours of work and usual shop rules, for the full term agreed upon; thereby giving all "fair" employers the additional advantage of being able to figure on a certainty when bidding for contracts, instead of having to allow or provide for possible strikes, boycotts or lockouts.

In view of the several advantages named, will not the end of each term be liable to find all fair employers fairly satisfied with their new experience and their increased markets?

At the time of expiration, then, on the same day and at the same hour, the annual renewals should be arranged for all over the country in every industry represented. The time when each employer's competitors are being dealt with for the same purpose will be the most favorable time to present demands for reasonable advances in wages and reduction of hours, and that is the time provided for in this plan. Renewals being granted to all concerns conceding the new terms.

This concludes my presentation of the proposed new method. I submit it to all political reformers, and to single tax men especially, and earnestly invite their attention and their criticisms. To concentrate attention on the main features of the plan I summarize them as follows: First, *It would organize the workers as consumers.* Second, *It would then make positive instead of negative use of the new power thereby attained, by arranging a reciprocity of patronage between the organized consumers in the several industries, and it would secure that reciprocity by an exchange of preference pledges signed by all the individual members of each organization, supplemented by an agreement between industries providing for the appointment of local market committees wherever the organizations reach.* Third, *It would have the*

workers in each industry organize nationally and adopt a uniform label for all fair products, of a design calculated to indicate that the industry using it is national and its products fair.

A closing word as to certain effects expected to follow: It will be observed that the plan goes far toward making a reality of the popular but misty assertion that "the interests of capital and labor are identical." Employing capitalists and wage workers are certainly alike interested in a cessation of strikes and boycotts. They have proved annoying and expensive to both. They are also interested alike in anything which aims, as this does, at strengthening and increasing the market for their products.

Then it promises relief to the merchant, who has been kept in uneasiness and uncertainty by the boycott practice. Instead of being subjected to calls from labor committees demanding that he stop buying or handling this thing or that, he is made glad by business-like calls for additional goods, accompanied by a fair statement of the demand likely to be made for them, and the assurance that he will not be expected to handle more than the actual demand may warrant.

Then the labor committees are immensely relieved. They will no longer have to call on shoe dealers and ask them to keep "ONLY" square toed shoes (because their society wants a few). They will no longer be expected to dictate to a merchant regarding his own business, or forbid him buying anything that any of his customers may want.

I would like, also, to anticipate and answer several objections were I warranted in asking further space, but will defer that until some one presents the objections through THE STANDARD.

JAMES BARTLEY.

Amsterdam, N. Y., Jan. 31, 1890.

FARMERS ON WHOM A LAND TAX WOULD FALL.

The very intelligent wife of a farmer told me the other day that her husband was strongly opposed to the single tax system on the ground that it would fall with crushing effect on the farmer. Lack of time prevented me from entering then into a refutation of this primitive error. The very next day, however, the two clippings quoted within fell in my way. These so conclusively told the whole tale that I was about to send them to her without further comment, when it occurred to me that although the great majority of THE STANDARD's readers have seen this objection answered again and again, yet it is hardly possible to give too many concrete illustrations of abstract principles, and that the lesson they convey might perhaps carry conviction to more farmers' wives than one—not to mention the farmers themselves.

I should perhaps explain that the first extract is taken from a pamphlet distributed to show the blessings of western mortgages, or how one may warm the Kansas farmer with a "protection plaster" while he burns his corn crop instead of coal and yet draw a snug income from him at the same time. It is not probable that in such a pamphlet land values would be underestimated.

The second extract is from the Tribune. Placing these two clippings in juxtaposition I have done a little figuring which reveals some interesting results. Here are the clippings:

Eastern farms are valued at from \$50 to \$100 an acre, and the amount loaned is generally two-thirds of their value, while the farms in western states are generally not mortgaged for more than two-fifths of their value, and the value of the property is not over \$20 to \$40 an acre, and is increasing in value.

To the Editor of The Tribune—Sir: Permit me to call attention to an error in the article on "High Priced Real Estate," in your issue of this date, which states that the price just paid for the property on the northwest corner of Broadway and Liberty street, "over \$182 per square foot, is the highest ever paid for land on Manhattan island, with the exception of the land on which stands the Equitable building, for which over \$200 per square FOOT was paid."

It is well known that the property on the southwest corner of Wall and Broad streets was conveyed to Mathew Wilkes in June, 1882, at a price exceeding \$330 per square foot, a figure far in advance of that paid for the Equitable site. WILLIAM D. MURPHY. New York, March 18, 1890.

There are 43,560 square feet in an acre, and assuming for the moment that the valuation of eastern lands at \$50 to \$100 per acre is correct, we find that their value would be one and one-tenth mills (\$.0011) to two and three-tenths mills (\$.0023) per square foot as against \$182 to \$330, the value of some exceptionally high priced lots in New York city. Or, reversing the standard and taking the acre as the unit of measure, we find that the land—the bare land—in the neighborhood of Broadway and Liberty street is worth \$7,927,920 an acre, that the location for the Equitable building is worth some \$8,712,000 an acre, while the opportunities for labor at the corner of Broad and Wall streets are estimated to be worth the enormous sum of \$14,374,000 an acre.

But it may be said that these values are exceptional. So they are; but take an ordinary city lot and let us calculate its value per acre. The lot I live on measures twenty-one and one-half by one hundred feet, and contains, therefore, 2,150 square feet. It is valued at about \$14,000, or \$6.50 a square foot, or at the rate of \$283,140 an acre.

In consulting the Compendium of the tenth census I find that in New York state the average size of farms, counting "improved land" only, is 71 acres, and that the value, "including land, fences and buildings," is about \$60 an acre. This would give, on the basis of calculation, which for large areas is roughly correct, that improvements usually equal in value the value of the land they stand upon, a value of the bare land per acre of \$30, or of a little less than seven-tenths of one mill (\$.00069) per square foot.

Now, supposing all taxes have been abolished, and that, instead, the community is "confiscating" its rental value of land by taking it in the form of the "single tax." Estimating the rental value as 5 per cent of the selling value (this would be in reality less than the present selling value, since part of our land values are speculatively high in anticipation of future increase), let us see how the tax list of the bona fide farmer—one who raises fruit in Orange county, let us say—would compare with those of his poor brothers who, in the intervals of being tossed by bulls and squeezed by bears, scratch the arid soil for a living at the corner of Wall and Broad streets. Let us assume that the farm of our farmer friend is larger, and per acre more valuable than the average; that he has 100 acres at \$40 an acre, which would make the rental value to be returned to the community (5 per cent on \$4,000) \$200 per year. This would represent the sum total of all his taxes. He could improve the land, build better fences and finer barns and increase the stock of his machinery, all without adding one penny to his taxes. Only as the demands for land of a growing community increased the site value of his farm would he be asked to return to the community the annual value of this increased demand.

Now, how would it stand meanwhile with the city farmer? The corner of Broad and Wall streets is worth \$330 a square foot. The price of one city lot, 25x100, 2,500 square feet at \$330, would be \$825,000. The rental value at 5 per cent would equal \$41,250, to be paid as a tax per year. Or taking an average lot, in a good neighborhood, at \$14,000, the tax would be \$700. The matter would stand then thus:

Tax on a farm of 100 acres at \$40 an acre, on a 5 per cent basis, \$200.
Tax on one city lot of 2,500 feet at \$182 a square foot, on a 5 per cent basis, \$8,775.
Tax on one city lot of 2,500 feet at \$200 a square foot, on a 5 per cent basis, \$10,000.
Tax on one city lot of 2,500 feet at \$330 a square foot, on a 5 per cent basis, \$41,250.
Tax on one city lot of 2,150 feet at \$6.50 a square foot, on a 5 per cent basis, \$700.

Surely if the farmer studies this he will not be able to say that a land value tax would fall with unfair weight upon the class he represents. Let him remember, too, that the larger a man's business is, the more money he makes, the more valuable will be the land he will be obliged to occupy, and the greater will be the return he must make to the public.

The largest banking firm in the United States, Drexel, Morgan & Co., occupies one corner of Broad and Wall streets valued at \$330 a square foot, and it is fair to assume that it could not do as profitable a business anywhere else. The great railroad kings have amassed their fortunes primarily through grants, from legislatures composed in large part of farmers or their representatives, of right of way through the occupied lands over which the road passes. If the farmers would, instead, unite to tax the road bed up to its full rental value, granger legislation to regulate fares and freights, and to prevent unjust discrimination, would no longer be necessary.

The farmer may object that he does not pay now as much as \$200 a year on his farm of 100 acres. But let him not forget the tariff taxes, averaging an increase of price of some 40 per cent on all that he purchases. These taxes, added to the price of all he buys, he pays not to the tax collector, but over the counter to the storekeeper, with profits to the storekeeper and all the middlemen included. He pays, too, with money earned by selling farm products at the free trade prices of the Liverpool market. For wheat and corn being the great staples of agriculture and their price being fixed by the immutable laws of supply and demand, independently of all governments, the prices of all other farm products are regulated by them. It is these indirect taxes which rob him of his substance, while holding out to him the illusive shadow of the "home market."

Let the farmer but ponder a little over the figures given in the table above, and then if they do not convince him—his wife will. **WALTER MENDELSON.**

A REPLY TO MR. OGDEN.

Mr. William J. Ogden in THE STANDARD of March 26 lays down some propositions in regard to taxation from which many of its readers are no doubt glad to see THE STANDARD dissent in its editorial in the same issue. Mr. Ogden says that he rests his entire argument on the definition of taxation in Chamber's Encyclopedia: "Any tax, the produce of which is not returned to the payer in services of government, is an unjust tax."

It seems to me that this definition contains a subtle fallacy which lies at the root of many of the misconceptions prevailing as to the doctrines of "Progress and Poverty." Under it the man who maintained his own fire department should not be taxed to support that of the state, or the man who cannot conscientiously enter the army, like some Quakers, or who cannot conscientiously send his children to the public schools, like some Roman Catholics, should be relieved of taxation to that extent. The writer does not distinguish between the individual services of the government, such as carrying a letter for the postage paid, and its social services, such as fire departments, armies and navies and public schools. The former are for the sole benefit of the individual. The latter are for the very safety of the state.

The theory of Mr. George, as upheld by most single taxers, and without which it seems to me they would yield up a vital principle, is that the rent of land belongs to the community because it is created by the community, and that it should be expended in the best interests of the community. This is entirely irrespective of the question whether the produce is "returned to the payer in services of government," as Chambers's Encyclopedia erroneously puts it. No one would pay any less taxes if he should not choose to avail himself of such services, nor would he pay any more. His taxes under the proposed system would be based upon the value of natural opportunities which he chose to monopolize to the exclusion of others.

If such exemptions as are referred to should be allowed it would speedily tend to the creation of privilege on the part of individuals and paternalism on the part of the state. The taking of the rental value of land by the community and the abolition of all other taxes is the only

just system, but the argument of "services rendered" will hardly convince its opponents. **THOMAS B. PRESTON.**

SWEDENBORGIANISM AND THE SINGLE TAX.

James E. Mills of California recently set forth through an address in this city the relation of the single tax to Swedenborgian faith. The address was published in a recent issue of the New Earth. It is essentially as follows:

According to the Swedenborgian belief the chief object and aim of the organized industry of the world is not to satisfy bodily wants, but to develop spiritual character, and can it attain this, its highest aim, unless it be conformed throughout its structure to the law of love? In the laws of the industrial system is involved the right to the use of the earth; for industries depend upon the use of the earth for their existence; and can the right to the use of God's earth be a matter apart from the law of love to God?

The first of the two great commandments enjoins love to the Lord, and in its full meaning it tells equally of the Lord's love of man. The mutual love of God and the individual man is the true foundation of individuality. The real dignity, freedom of self-respect of Christian character, consist essentially in relations to God. What ground have I for right minded self-respect except that God has placed me in His universe, given me work to do there, delights to enjoy, and a manhood to attain, and that He holds me from birth to eternity in His heart of love? Freedom is direct responsibility to God. The history of the growth of freedom is the history of removals of obstacles and intermediaries between men and their Father. Kings, priests, lords and overlords had stood between the people and their Lord, and taken to themselves homage and obedience and responsibilities due from man to God only. Now men in authority are officers of the law, and we look through law to its source in God. The whole logic of history points to a civil and social condition where men will stand face to face with God, and feel their responsibility to Him. The second coming of the Lord, of which the New Church is born, consists largely in this very freedom and directness and nearness of relation of the individual to Him.

Now the earth is God's outward gift to His children; the giving and receiving its blessing are an essential part of the relation of every man to Him. They are a part of the daily bread for which He taught His children to pray to their Father. The very ground of love to God in early life is and must of necessity be that he has bestowed the earth and its bounties. The right of access to the earth is an essential part of the new freedom, the new dignity and the new manhood which form the basis of the New Church. The equal right to share the earth with all other men is a part of the law of love. A sense that it is God's gift is a part of the love itself. The restriction of the right of access to the earth is one of the long series of obstacles which the selfishness of men has placed in the way of approach to the Creator. The claim of control of the earth to the exclusion of other men is the denial of the law of love.

Love to the Lord and the neighbor, when carried into conduct, is use to fellow men. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," said Jesus. There is no possible way to make love to either Lord or neighbor a part of life except in use. The law of love is, then, when applied to outward life, the law of use; and as the law of love comprehends all the law and the prophets, or all wisdom of spiritual life, so the law of use comprehends all wisdom in economics.

On earth, as in heaven, the law of use organizes men into bodies, and arranges the industrial system into organs and groups of organs, namely, the various trades, professions and callings. In the New Church we have learned that a Christian life consists largely in faithful performance of the duties of one's calling. So much of the law of use we are familiar with, but this is only a part of the grand law; it is equally a part of that law that whoever does his share of the world's work well shall receive from the products of the world's work the means of a healthy life for himself and those dependent upon him. We have as a people quite generally omitted this part of the law; and with our view thus limited by traditional ideas we have shorn the law of much of its beauty and beneficence, and made it a hard law. Many New Churchmen have followed the law of use or service in the spirit of the asceticism of medieval religion with the grim steadiness of a soldier at his guns ready to be mutilated and killed. But in the nature of the law itself there is no reason for an enemy in the case. The law of use is a law of harmonies, not of conflict; it assigns to each individual a share of the world's work to do, but it also provides that the world's work shall yield to every worker the outward means of a healthy life of body and mind and heart for self and family. It means all for each as well as each for all. It is the law of the highest and most complete development of human character; it leads the individual onward step by step from the love of self to the love of the neighbor, and opens his heart upward and inward to the inflow of love and life from God.

This idea of necessary connection of want and misery with Christian service is of human tradition; it forms no part of the law of use; its spirit is not the spirit of Christianity. The law of use or service when carried to its legitimate conclusion requires that service, and service only, shall entitle the individual to a share of the products of the labor of the community; and it provides that faithful service shall secure from these products all necessary outward means of health and healthful enjoyment, and complete development of body, mind, and character.

The law of use therefore rests at the very foundation on the law of ownership; and if

the law of use or service be indeed a part of the harmony of the universe, divine in its origin, beneficent in its character, and universal in application, the laws of ownership must accord with it in spirit and in form. So long and so far as man lives in the struggle for existence with survival of the strongest, ownership is founded on might. Wherever, and to such extent, as the law of love is the law of the order of society, ownership conforms to that law.

It has been already shown that the law of love to the Lord requires that ownership of land, and of all that God has created without human effort, is the rightful inheritance alike of all men; while the law of love to the neighbor requires that ownership of the products of human labor is due for service and service only.

Mr. George, coming up from actual experience and consideration of external conditions, bases ownership of the products of a man's own labor and of whatever can be obtained by exchanging such products, on his right to himself and his own God-given powers. Coming down from revelation to the same subject, we refer all right of ownership to service rendered. Apart from society an individual man cannot produce enough for more than a very low physical existence. In any condition above barbarism what each enjoys is the product not of the exercise of his own powers alone, but a part of the product of the great industrial system.

The old political economy does not aim to establish the law of use, but frankly accepts and confirms the law of the struggle for existence and survival of the strongest. We must therefore look elsewhere for the methods of applying the law of service to the structure of society.

Mr. Mills then sets forth the land doctrine with simplicity and clearness, and closed thus:

The results of poverty are so destructive of health, so limiting and distorting to character, that natural affection for wife and family can in present economic conditions hardly exist among the world's workers without unnatural anxiety. Among the more fortunate the effort to divert to self the channels of wealth tends to an exaggerated development of shrewdness, sagacity, and alertness, while the heart is left to shrink and grow cold. Under an industrial system in which men could labor for use, and leave the returns to the natural course of things, men could easily learn to "seek first the kingdom of God," and leave all these things to be added; character would tend to become single minded and deep hearted, and home would be the center of a world of influences tending to call out love of fellow men.

We know well that regeneration can only come through individual effort to shun evil and do good to fellow men; but the forces of the environment of life may be exerted in favor of regeneration, and of all things of environment the industrial system in civilized communities exerts the most constant and effective influence, and can be made the most powerful external agency for impressing upon human lives the law of love.

Friends, we think that in the New Church doctrine, especially the doctrine of use, the law of love is made clearer, and its application to actual life more plain. Throughout this country and other countries thousands of earnest men are striving in the spirit of Christianity, whether they know it or not, to give effect to the law of love by establishing the laws of a true political economy. If we have indeed any clearer light, let us co-operate with them the more heartily in this inspiring effort to bring the law of love into daily contact with the lives of men.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE LAND SYSTEM OF THE CHEROKEE INDIANS—A TALK WITH PRINCIPAL CHIEF MAYES—THE LAND BELONGS TO THE WHOLE NATION IN COMMON—A FLOURISHING CONDITION OF AFFAIRS—NO TAXES AND A PENSION FOR EVERYBODY—A REMARKABLE SPEECH AT A COUNCIL OF THE CHICKASAWS—CONGRESSMEN GETTING AT THE SINGLE TAX IDEA—SIGNIFICANT DEBATES IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 7.—Everything has been quiet since the president ordered boomers and settlers out of the Cherokee outlet, into which they had rushed on the passage through the house of representatives of the Oklahoma territory bill, in anticipation that the president would by proclamation throw the land open for settlement. But even when the differences over the bill between the senate and house have been adjusted and it has been passed and signed by the president, the right of settling the Cherokee outlet will first have to be obtained from the Cherokee Indians, to whom it was long ago given by the United States government. It is fully expected, however, that the government will sooner or later buy the outlet. Indeed, a commission negotiated for the purchase a few months ago, but offered an inadequate price. This business, by the way, was conducted by the representatives of the government with that ruthless disregard of Indian rights which has, with rare exceptions, characterized the white men's dealings with the red men. I have examined the correspondence and find the imperious, domineering and oft-times insulting manner of the United States commissioners in striking contrast to the quiet, dignified and courteous tone of the committee of the Cherokee council.

Some of the prominent men of the Cherokee nation were in Washington a short time ago.

When I called at the National hotel, where they stopped, I was received with quiet, easy courtesy by three middle-aged, plainly attired men, whom I found were Joel B. Mayes, principal chief; D. W. Bushyhead, ex-chief, and John L. Adair, delegate. The straight hair, a something about the eye and the dark-reddish hue of the complexion, were perhaps the only indications that Indian blood ran in their veins. They had the manners of experienced men of the world, and their fluency and choice of language gave proof of education. Chief Mayes referred at once to "Progress and Poverty," which he said he had read with a great deal of interest and substantially indorsed. Ex-Chief Bushyhead said he had been among the first to subscribe for THE STANDARD.

It may be necessary to state in explanation that the Cherokees, numbering 25,000 persons, constitute the largest nation in Indian territory. It was to them and the other four civilized tribes, the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks and Seminoles, that the United States government originally assigned that territory in exchange for their former lands. Afterward came the Shawnees, Delawares, Pawnees, Poncas, Osages, Otoes, Senecas and other Indians, until thirty-six tribes had settled in the territory, numbering about 85,000 souls. Besides having a constitutional government the Cherokees have fine schools and a newspaper, printed partly in English and partly in their own language. The government is republican in its form, and, like the United States and state governments, it is divided into three branches—legislative, executive and judicial. The legislature is composed of two chambers, the senate and the council, to which members are elected just as they are to our legislatures, there being universal suffrage. The executive office, corresponding with our governorship, is filled by the principal chief, Mr. Mayes being the incumbent. The judiciary branch of the government is constituted and conducted just as our state courts. There are also subordinate governments for the conducting of local affairs. In the schools English is taught. "Our intercourse with the government and citizens of the United States is so great," said Chief Mayes, "that it is necessary that we should speak the English language. It must be our language in the future as much as yours." The schools ambitiously aim at a finished education, teaching Latin and Greek in the higher branches.

"Our five civilized tribes," said Chief Mayes to me, "are governed by civil law, just as are the people in your states. The great difference between you and us is in the treatment of land. We hold our land in common; not only the five civilized tribes, but all the tribes in the territory. This, to the Indian, is the just and natural way, and we are unalterably opposed to any other. Whenever Indian lands have been divided in severity the tribes have submitted because they were too weak to resist. The Shawnees and Delawares, for instance, living in Kansas and Missouri, had their lands allotted to them. But they were not accustomed, nor could they get accustomed, to that usage. Of course the land slipped away from them, and it was not long before they had to come into our country. The Creeks adopted the plan and failed. The Senecas had the division of their lands forced upon them and lost them all. We Cherokees have a provision in our constitution that the lands of the nation shall remain common property. All improvements are, therefore, made on the public domain. Our people follow agriculture and cattle raising pursuits, and there is plenty of land for all. Every citizen may have all he can use. On it he can make improvements, which are his indefeasible property, and he is not to be disturbed unless the nation needs the land for a public purpose. He may sell his improvements, but along with them goes only a possessory title to the land, the nation holding the title in fee simple. But no citizen can sell his improvements to a foreigner; that is, to any person who is not a citizen of the Cherokee nation. In this way we keep the land wholly in the possession of our own people.

"We have no taxes," continued the chief. "The United States government owes us money, upon which it pays five per cent interest. This, with a little of the money we get from other sources, supports our government and schools. The rest of our income comes chiefly from grazing privileges, from which we draw a good deal more than enough to fill our treasury, though we are never long embarrassed with a surplus. We divide it among the citizens, giving to each his equal share. We have had at times as much as half a million dollars to divide, and now have three hundred thousand dollars in bank in St. Louis. But this source of our income is now in danger of being cut off by the Oklahoma territory bill before congress.

Now, this Cherokee strip or outlet, embracing over 6,022,000 acres, belongs to the Cherokee nation. It was given to us when the other land which we possess was given to us—in exchange for lands which we then held. We have letters patent to it, signed by the president of the United States, Martin Van Buren—a patent which has ever since been respected by the United States government. If boomers and other interlopers are permitted by the United States authorities to go upon the tract, we will not only lose \$200,000 yearly rental, but we will be in great danger of having \$250,000 worth of fencing and corrals, which are on the tract, destroyed. If the government wants to buy the outlet of us, we can sell it, as our constitution is modified with respect to this land by a treaty stipulation that the United States shall have the right to purchase land in the outlet. In pursuance of that stipulation lands have at various times been purchased of us in the outlet, and the Pawnees, Poncas, Nez Perces, Ojibwas and Missourias have been settled there. We are now willing to sell the remainder of the outlet to the government if we can get for it what it is really worth. As to our use of the outlet: We at first permitted cattle to be grazed on it as so much a head, but subsequently a more satisfactory arrangement was made with the Cherokee outlet cattle association, to whom we let the grazing privileges for \$200,000 annually. In the outlet is a very rich and very large saline deposit. It is estimated to cover fifteen square miles and to be one hundred feet deep. It was expressly named in the patent and was given to us on the one condition that all other Indian tribes in Indian territory should be permitted to get all the salt they might need for their own use. Of course this provision is easily complied with. But we have never been able to sell any salt. A bill was some years ago passed by congress granting us permission, but the interior department, whose approval had to be had, has been singularly and significantly inactive in the matter. If we could get but a half a cent a bushel we would get more for this salt deposit alone than the United States commissioners recently offered us for the whole outlet. The sale of the salt would of itself make us comparatively rich, and would leave us the vast grazing privileges in addition. There are also coal and lead in our lands, but we have not as yet made any use of them.

"We are the happiest people living," said Chief Mayes in answer to further questions. "There is nobody to bother us but the United States government. We have to come here every year to beg the government not to rob us. If you see an Indian in Washington you may know he is here to beseech the government not to take away his lands. We have no trouble with wild Indians coming into Indian territory. Pretty much all the trouble the United States government has with them springs from rebellion against outrage. An Indian once started don't know where his revenge stops. As we Cherokees live, it is hardly possible for any man to be without a home. There is plenty of land and he has to pay nothing for it. A man cannot be deprived of his home, though if he leaves it, any citizen can go upon his land and take possession of it. Every man can get an easy living. There is plenty of good free land, there are no taxes, and every citizen gets his equal share of the surplus accumulating in our general treasury from leased grazing lands and other privileges owned by the nation in common. All we ask is to be left alone."

From the foregoing it will be seen that here are a people enjoying that happy condition of things described by William Saunders of London in his motto: "No taxes and a pension for everybody." They observe the great principle of the common right to land. Their plan, though differing radically from the single tax system, adapts itself well enough to the simple agricultural state of society in which they live. No man is permitted to hold more land than he can use, so that there is no speculation and land is cheap. The native population grows but slowly and is not augmented by immigration. Crude as their system is, their people are happy and contented under it. Chief Mayes admitted that when all the land should be gone there would have to be a reapportionment or a limitation of the size of holdings, or that they would have to adopt the single tax plan and equalize the benefits by taxing each holder according to the value of the natural advantages he had the exclusive enjoyment of. I recently had a talk with Dr. T. A. Bland, of this city, who is corresponding secretary of the National Indian defense association, and who, for his intercession in behalf of the Sioux at the recent sale of some of their lands, was by them made a council chief. He said: "The Indians regard the land as

belonging to the Great Spirit, which He gives for the common use of all His children, and they regard it as a sacrilege to divide the land up. I was invited to attend a council of the Chickasaws in September, 1884, at their capital, Tishoming, which I did. After I had addressed them, Colonel George W. Harkins, a member of the tribe and a half-breed, arose and said, addressing himself to me: 'There is not to-day a single man, woman or child in the Chickasaw nation who has not a home. It may be only a cabin, but it is a home. There is not a man here who can be driven from his home by a landlord. I implore you to say to your law givers that we ask them not to force upon us a system which has ruined forty millions of their sixty millions of people.'"

Precisely how far the single tax movement has directly affected members of congress it is difficult to say. Almost without exception the congressmen I have met have, in referring to the subject, professed to know what the single tax means, though it is more than doubtful if many of them really know what it involves. But that the fundamental principles underlying the single tax are in some way finding favor was shown in a remarkable manner during a debate in the house over a bill to establish a large public park in the District of Columbia. The utterances were the more significant coming as they did from republicans and democrats alike.

The bill, which had passed the senate, authorizes the purchase of 2,000 acres of land along what is known as Rock creek, northwest of Washington city, providing the cost for the purchase of the land and the laying out of roads does not exceed \$1,200,000, and that half the expense be borne by the United States and half by the District of Columbia. Hardly had the debate begun when Representative Spicola of the city of New York drew out the fact that the proposed park lay in the immediate vicinity of a large tract of land recently purchased for speculative purposes by a few millionaires, known collectively as "the California syndicate." "When Central park was laid out in New York city," said he, "you could buy lots about it for from \$500 to \$1,000, but since then some lots have been sold at from \$50,000 to \$100,000 apiece." So would it be with Washington lots lying adjacent to the proposed park. Then "is there any reason why these lands, if they are all they claim them to be, should not stand part of the burden of the taxation to pay for this purchase?" Why should the public be called upon to benefit "speculators who own the land adjoining the park?"

When Representative Payson of Illinois got the floor, he said he proposed at the proper time in the consideration of the bill, to "offer as an amendment a proposition which finds itself in the statute laws of the state of Illinois," and which, he was advised, "is to be found in the statutes of nearly every state in the union—a provision that where public improvements of this kind are projected and consummated, a special assessment shall be laid first upon the property which is to be specially and directly benefited by reason of the improvement, and *pro tanto*, that that shall be paid first, and if, after that, the cost of the improvement shall exceed the direct benefit conferred upon the adjacent property, then it may be paid for, one-half by the District of Columbia, and the other half by the general treasury." "That proposition," continued the member from Illinois, "not only commends itself to the good sense and the good judgment of the people everywhere, as I think, but it is the result of the experience of legislators in all localities in this Union over."

The great South park that we have in Chicago was paid for substantially in that way; the extension of Lincoln park, on the north side, was made substantially in that way; the great string of parks on the west side was made substantially in the same way; and I am told by gentlemen from the city of New York that one-half the cost of Central park was paid in the same way.

Mr. Kerr of Iowa supported Mr. Payson's proposed amendment, and attributed to appropriations by congress the fact that Mr. Cleveland was able to sell a piece of land in Washington for \$100,000 more than it had cost him two or three years before.

Mr. Hemphill of South Carolina said that what Mr. Payson aimed at was partially met by the bill. "It is expressly provided," said he, "that when a portion of a tract of land is taken for the purpose of this park, the benefits which are to arise from the laying out of the park by the enhancement of values shall be assessed against the remainder of such property. So if a man has a hundred acres of land adjacent to the park, and it is decided by the commissioners that they will take one half of the land, and the remaining half is enhanced in value so as to become equal to the value of the whole before the establishment of the park, we do not pay the holder a cent."

Mr. Stockdale of Mississippi opposed the bill on the ground that it was "wrong in principle" and a "usurpation of power." But if the government had power to "condemn people's property for a pleasure park," it could as rightfully condemn 2,600 acres as the 2,000 acres, called for in the bill. "If the government is to adopt this high-handed measure," said he, "I cannot see why it may not avail itself of the same power and create a fund that will perpetually support and keep up the park without expense to the government. If it had power to 'condemn people's property for a pleasure park,' it could as rightfully condemn 2,600 acres as the 2,000 acres, called for in the bill, and he, therefore, presented as a proviso to the bill, that a tract of 600 acres contiguous to the park should be obtained, that 300 acres thereof should be divided into squares and lots and sold to reimburse the United States and the District of Columbia for the outlay in the purchase of the park, and that the other 300 acres should be divided into squares and lots and held by the United States, and buildings erected thereon and leased for a perpetual income to defray the expenses of keeping up the park. With such a plan as this, Mr. Stockdale explained, "the greater the city becomes and the greater the expense of the park, the greater will become the income." The house was not ready for his plan, however, and rejected his amendment, after which the further consideration of the matter was laid over for a month.

Meanwhile the discussion in the house had attracted attention in the senate, so that when senate bill 2,284, for the organization, improvement and maintenance of the National zoological park, came up for consideration, Mr. Plumb of Kansas said that the proposition to place a portion of the burden of enlarging the zoological park on the adjoining land proprietors was founded in justice and conformed with practice under the constitutions of various states. Senator Hawley of Connecticut concurred with the senator from Kansas "in holding that it may possibly be quite equitable that some moderate practical expense of this park should be laid upon the adjoining proprietor, who will be greatly benefited by it." Senator Gibson of Louisiana thought that the zoological park would be a disadvantage rather than a benefit to the land about it, and was opposed to charging any of the improvements of this park either to adjacent land holders or to the people of the District of Columbia. Senator Stewart of Nevada also thought the United States should bear all the expense, but he did not think the policy of charging the government with half of the expense of the streets in the district was working well. It occasioned at every congress a fierce conflict as to where the money should be used. There had been the same kind of trouble in most of the western cities. Finally California passed a law requiring the property abutting on the street to pay for the improvement, and providing that a street should be improved whenever a majority of the land owners asked for it. This, he believed, was the sound policy.

Senator Blackburn of Kentucky protested against the District of Columbia being called upon to pay one cent toward the expense of the zoological garden, and declared that the district was overburdened already. To this Senator Dawes of Massachusetts answered that the government had assumed payment of \$33,000,000 expended on the district streets. "The expenditure of these \$33,000,000 has enhanced the value of every square foot of taxable property in this city four hundred fold." The real estate owners who reaped this rich reward ought, therefore, to be the last men to complain of the taxes that the citizens of the district pay. They ought rather to "thank God that the lines have fallen to them in such pleasant places."

What will come of all this discussion it is impossible to say, as the bill is in the hands of a conference committee of both houses; but at least it must have fallen on some ears that were open to hear.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

PROGRESS OF THE SINGLE TAX MOVEMENT—IT IS HEARD OF IN MANY PLACES, ESPECIALLY IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

HYDE, NEAR MANCHESTER, March 20.—There is no community of any magnitude in Great Britain or in Ireland which does not include a group, more or less large, of earnest single taxers, who, by reason of the simple fact that they have an intelligent perception of social ills and a definite policy in regard to them, are powerful apostles of the truth, and never let slip an opportunity to proclaim the faith that is in them. Thus, the other evening, in Reading, in the neighborhood of which interesting town our friend

Mr. Reeve resides, a lecture on "Land Nationalization" was delivered by Mr. Joseph Hyder, the secretary of the Land nationalization society. The Rev. D. Amos, Unitarian minister, presided. Addressing himself to the cause of poverty, the lecturer showed that it was due to fundamental injustice, and the real cause he declared was monopoly in one form or other, the greatest being land monopoly. Mr. Hyder ridiculed the idea of free trade in land, but favored the notion of compensation. So that the lecture was not entirely on our lines. But its general effect would be to convince those who heard it of the wrong involved in land monopoly.

In other towns we have disciples of "Progress and Poverty" taking advantage of workingmen's clubs and radical associations to disseminate our principles, and that we are thus making a deep impression upon the public mind is shown by the fact that apart from the idea of justice to Ireland, there is no declaration made at meetings of workingmen which demands more general assent or excites more enthusiasm than that land monopoly is at the root of social ills and that the land belongs to the people.

Again, when I say that we have no great organization devoted to the propagation of our principles, I must not be understood to reflect upon the English and Scottish land restoration leagues. The former in London and the latter in Glasgow are doing immense service, and it is certain that in a great number of constituencies in England and in Scotland candidates at the next election will find themselves constrained to declare themselves in favor certainly of taxation of ground rents, and in many cases of the same policy as to land values. Then there is the organization known as the committee on the taxation of ground rents of which Lord Hobhouse is chairman, and of which Mr. Fletcher Moulton, Q. C., is a leading spirit. Mr. George once observed that the taxation of land values would become a practical question in English politics through the taxation of ground rents. I believe that is a sure word of prophecy. A short time ago, what is known as the political economy circle of the National liberal club, met in that institution in London under the presidency of Professor Stuart. There were many influential men present, and Mr. Moulton delivered an address on the sources of municipal revenue. An abstract of this address was published in the Times, and I append part of it:

What were the legitimate sources of income of a town—taking that as the municipal unit—which were derived from that which was within itself and local in character and which could be raised and handled by that self-governing unit alone? First of all came the main source of local income—rates. They were, and he trusted they would be in future, the main source of local income. One most important part of the rates was reserved to the towns, which he regretted that we had lost for the kingdom—viz., the opportunity of getting contributions out of property. The rate of a house was levied on the sum of the value of the land on which a house was built, and the value added to that of the expenditure of capital by the builder who erected the house. He thought the first step toward municipal reform was that there should be a separate assessment on land and houses, so that they might be able to tax each as each deserved. What they ought to tax the land for was for its fair proportion of those expenses necessary to the existence of a town there. If ever they established that idea firmly in the minds of the English people they would get to look upon property in town land as not being a right to the gross returns of that land; but only what it ought to be, the right to the net returns, after they had taken off those gross returns a fair proportion of the expenses which rendered it possible for a town to be there. After discussing the subject of "betterment," and calling attention to other possible sources of municipal revenue, the speaker said that if they only taxed ground separately and made it pay its fair share of town expenditure, taxed the occupiers on building values, obtained a fair amount on values they received from the town, and obtained from the central government all those revenues it derived from the landed property which existed in the locality, he thought they would be able to make both ends meet, and he certainly hoped they would.

So important do we consider the matter that the report of the committee on the taxation of ground rents, drawn up by Mr. Moulton, and a proof copy of which I forwarded to you some little time ago, is about to be distributed to every householder in London.

Further I have to inform you that the town council of Birmingham the other day passed a resolution in favor of the taxation of ground rents—thus following in the wake of Manchester. The resolution was proposed by Mr. Councillor Fulford, a leading liberal, and a man who is expected to appear in the next parliament, in a speech "cramped with striking illustrative facts." Mr. Fulford said, among other things:

In the fifteen years ending in 1885 the increase in the value of the land in Birmingham was no less than £127,000. Capitalized at twenty-five years' purchase this increased

annual value represented the enormous sum of nearly three millions and a half as the amount by which, in the short space of fifteen years, the land owners of Birmingham had been enriched by the industry and enterprise of the rest of the population. The enormous value of the land had not accrued from the labor or capital of those who owned it. They toiled not, although every morning they got up richer than they went to bed. It was the effect of the growth of the population and of the great commerce and industry which the enterprise of that population had created. In a word, it was "unearned increment." The town meanwhile has been spending an immense sum on sewerage, drainage, and street improvements, amounting in all since 1851 to a million sterling. In addition £250,000 has already been contributed out of the rates towards the great improvement scheme, involving a reconstruction of the center of the city, and the capital expenditure upon it has been £1,600,000. Toward this the land owners have given nothing. The land owners made their streets narrow and inconvenient, with awkward levels and dangerous corners, and then compelled the town to pay to make those streets adequate for that increasing population and growing commerce which is filling their pockets with increasing rents. There are in Birmingham about sixty thousand houses at a rental of seven shillings a week and under. The rates at 4s. 6d. in the pound bring in to the corporation exchequer about £90,000 a year, and as the total annual expenditure of the council is £360,000, the working classes pay one-fourth. The ground value of each house is about tenpence a week, making a total of £130,000 per annum. The rates at 4s. 6d. on this ground value amount to £30,000 per annum. The working classes pay in their rents this £30,000. In effect, each family pays a house tax of ten shillings a year, in order to free the owner of the soil from the payment of rates.

Another interesting fact in this relation is that the house of commons has reappointed the committee on town holdings to inquire "into the question of imposing a direct assessment on the owners of ground rents and on the owners of increased values imparted to land by building operations or other improvements." And Mr. Ritchie, a member of the government, has actually observed that there should be a division of rates between owner and occupier, but he has remarked that there would not be time to discuss so large a proposal this year. Parliament certainly will not have time, but the country is finding time, and this week, at an important meeting of the Association of municipal corporations, the resolution passed by the city councils of Manchester and Birmingham was proposed by a councillor of the borough of Heywood and seconded by the mayor of Rochdale. The conservative element was too strong, however, and the question was shelved.

But all this shows that public opinion is rapidly ripening upon the subject. Indeed, in no large town now does any question of a great public improvement arise, but some one proposes that inasmuch as the said improvement will enormously augment the value of the property of the land owners they should be called upon to meet at least a portion of the cost. The London county council, for example, has at this moment under consideration the question of the construction of a double tunnel under the Thames, and the suggestion has been made that the cost should be met, at all events in part, by a tax upon the value of the land in the immediate neighborhood of the entrances to the tunnels. HAROLD RYLETT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

New York.—Acknowledging that with free trade we, the American people, could undersell other nations in certain goods, what would there be to prevent these other nations from imposing a high import tariff on our goods for the protection of their home manufactures? Would not their doing so destroy our trade with them while their trade with us remained undiminished?

A. SMITH, 221 West Forty-fifth st.

If other nations imposed a high import duty on manufactured goods sent to them from the United States they would only tax themselves and not injure us. Their import duties would of course apply to all nations alike, and if we could manufacture goods cheaper than other people we would get the trade and the foolish people who imposed the duty would pay it. Why should our correspondent suppose that the various countries with which England trades now would suddenly adopt a protective policy in case the United States offered them goods more cheaply than they can obtain them from England? The latter part of our correspondent's suggestion is unthinkable. If people of other countries were to desire our trade with them, their trade with us could not remain undiminished unless they consented to give us goods for nothing. In that event we think we could stand it as long as the other countries could.

H. C. W. of Philadelphia offers the following conundrum and answer:

What is the difference between a working-man out of work and a millionaire who de-

clares that all men could find work if they desired it? Answer—The one is willing to work but can't. The other is willing to cant but not work.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—Will you let me know whether I would be safe in making the assertion that if a universal reduction of twenty-five per cent in wages were to take place in the United States under the establishment of free trade with all other countries the cost of living would be reduced twenty-five per cent and the standard of living would consequently remain the same. I do not claim that a reduction would follow, but simply would like to know whether it would benefit the consumer in the same proportion if the reduction did take place. CHAS. STOLTZER.

We cannot understand why our correspondent found it necessary to ask such a question. Any opinion as to the exact reduction in the cost of living that will be brought about by free trade must be largely speculative. It might be twenty-five per cent and it might not be much more than fifteen per cent. People who have tried their hands at the puzzle arrive at different conclusions; but the question is entirely irrelevant. We have free trade in labor now, and are simply paying the world's rate of wages for the amount of work accomplished. In some instances we are paying less than the world's rate measured by product. The result of free trade would be to increase the amount of goods in the country, and, as we could obtain goods only by trading other goods for them, the tendency would be to increase the demand for labor and thus better the wages workmen would receive. To what extent this would go is speculative, but there is no room for doubt that the tendency would be toward steadier work and fewer lockouts and strikes, and it is an absolute certainty that the tariff does not and cannot increase or maintain wages. Such being the case, why should any one propound problematical questions that cannot be answered definitely on an assumption that ignores a fact patent to every man who has studied the question or even given it serious thought.

Dr. Walter Mendelsohn's speech at a recent meeting of the New York committee for the prevention of the state regulation of vice traced prostitution to poverty and boldly recommended the single tax as the only remedy.

E. W. Nellis writes to the *Lance* of Paterson, N. J.: "What we want is that the cheap land shall be used and put to its best use, and if those who are making believe using it won't use it in earnest, the single tax will make them do so. I am opposed to compulsion on principle, but when I see so plainly that work is slack, wages low and living dear, because the cheapest and therefore the best land is unused, or only partly used, I am willing to 'put the screws on,' but I draw the line at man starvers who hold land out of use. They should be compelled to let go, but no more or other compulsion is needed."

A Denver correspondent of the *De-roit News* gives a list of thirty-one residents of Denver whose aggregate wealth is estimated at \$46,500,000. One of them is H. B. Chamberlin, formerly secretary of the Brooklyn Y. M. C. A., who went to Colorado ten years ago almost on the verge of the grave, and has since accumulated \$1,000,000 "through real estate speculations."

The labor symposium inaugurated at the last session of the International typographical union makes each issue of the *Typographical Journal* interesting. The last issue has two letters on the labor problem—one from J. F. White of Indianapolis, Ind., and the other from Robert Smith of Syracuse, N. Y. They favor the single tax as a solution of the problem. All the letters appearing in the *Journal* since the beginning of the discussion have been from single tax men.

The first number of a handsome sixteen page weekly paper name the *True Commonwealth* lies before us. It is published by the *True Commonwealth* company of Washington, D. C., and is edited by Dr. T. A. Bland, also of that city, who, as corresponding secretary of the National Indian defense association, has rendered great services to the red men in protecting them from the over-reaching and tyranny of the whites, and who became conspicuous a few years ago in his mediation between the Sioux Indians and the federal government. The *True Commonwealth* is against all forms of monopoly and, therefore, against the greatest of them all—the land monopoly. It also deals with political questions above the plane of the partisan. It contains several signed articles—"A Sanitary Signal Service," by M. Cora Bland, M. D.; "The People's Command of Wealth" (first page), by Charles Frederick Adams; "Genesis and Evolution of Millionaires," by Dr. Bland; "Is Our System of

Business Christian?" by Rev. Alex. Kent; "Variety in Unity," by M. A. Clancy. There are also other interesting articles entitled: "The Washington Gas Monopoly," "Robbing Indians Through Congress," "The Record of a Day in Congress," some short editorials and a spice of selected printed matter. The *True Commonwealth* is nicely printed on heavy paper, in large type and with wide columns. Its price is \$1 a year.

The Prescott, Ont., *Journal*, in its issue of March 20, prints the single tax platform, from *THE STANDARD*, in full.

A Massachusetts state senator named Palmer is chairman of the senatorial committee on federal relations, which was last week sitting in Boston hearing arguments for or against a petition presented to the legislature asking them to adopt a resolution in favor of free wool, which, when passed, would be forwarded to the United States senators and representatives in congress. Although he is a republican, Senator Palmer does not seem to know much about the early history of his party or of the men who existed at its birth, as will be seen from the following incident, which, according to the *Boston Post*, occurred during one of the sessions of his committee:

William Lloyd Garrison was the next speaker. "What is your name," inquired Chairman Palmer. "Garrison," answered the son of the great abolitionist. "Where from?" continued the senator, sharply. "Boston," sententiously replied Mr. Garrison. It is very doubtful if the senator knew then who was addressing the committee.

Landlords rarely take any interest in public affairs. As a general thing, if their rent is paid regularly, landlords are willing to let other people go to the bother of thinking out schemes for the public good, for they know that the more good that can be conferred upon the people the larger rents will come into the landlords' pockets. But the Harlem landlords are just now in a state of mind. The people who live up there have found that they can get cheaper rents in Brooklyn, and that it does not take more than half the time to get from their homes to business in the morning and back again in the evening. Consequently an exodus from Harlem is threatened in the latter part of April, and the Harlem landlords are alarmed. They see a way out of it, however; rapid transit will solve the question and secure them their rents. So they are forming a society with the object of petitioning for more railroad facilities to Harlem. If the Harlem landlords don't get these facilities they fear that the shifting of population from there to Brooklyn will seriously affect "real estate" values in the first-named places.

Samuel Sinnett of Muscatine, Iowa, writes to say that he has just received a copy of *THE STANDARD*, and is greatly pleased with much that it contains. He had not studied the single tax as it deserved to be studied, but he is impressed with the injustice of other taxes and with the fact that in the case of a tax on land values a man knows just what he is paying. He believes that communities have no right to fasten obligations on posterity or to sell a poor man's homestead in order to collect a tax levied to build up a private company. He would like to see the homestead exempt from taxation. Mr. Sinnett should understand that under the single tax all the homestead's improvements would be exempt from taxation, and a great many homesteaders would pay little or nothing in the way of land tax.

C. J. Buell of Minneapolis has written, and the *Popular Science Monthly* has declined to publish, the following communication:

For many years I have been a reader and admirer of the *Popular Science Monthly*. It is with pleasure that I recall its fearless utterances in the early '70s, when the doctrine of evolution was not so popular as it has since become.

It has greatly pained me, however, to see appearing in your columns lately such gross misrepresentations of the position occupied by our single tax friends, as was Mr. White's article on "Agriculture and the Single Tax." And it was even more painful to me when I was shown your reply to Mr. H. J. Chase of Salem, Mass., wherein you say: "We have never knowingly published anything directly favoring the doctrine of the single tax." Can it be possible that the magazine that was once so liberal has become so narrow that, while it admits articles misrepresenting a doctrine, it refuses space to briefer explanations.

But it is hardly true to say that you have never published anything favoring the single tax. In volume 16, page 721, I find a review of "Progress and Poverty," which is one of the fairest and clearest statements of the views of Mr. George that I have ever seen in print.

It was the reading of this review at the time of its publication that first aroused my interest in the question.

I bought and read "Progress and Poverty" and found that your review was correct. Since that time I have made an exhaustive study of the question; and, though the single

taxers are looked upon to-day very much as we evolutionists were less than two decades ago, I believe they have discovered a truth of nature that is destined to do infinitely more for the betterment of the human race than the truth of mere physical evolution could do, for it fills out and completes the doctrine of evolution, which without it would be poor indeed.

L. A. Springer has been sent out by the World to study the condition of workingmen employed by the Pennsylvania steel company at Sparrow Point, Md. Springer hired out as a workman. It is the old story of low wages, pluck-mo stores and tyrannical bosses. One man who had worked every day he could and had given cause for no complaint, earned \$12.43 in February, and out of this the store took \$11.53 for his grocery bill. Of other pay envelopes, one contained \$5.82, another \$3.75, another \$1.45 and another 25 cents. The workmen live in wretched shanties, and when a man quits the works he must give seven days' notice of his intention if he wishes to be able to collect his wages on leaving. Otherwise he must await the monthly pay day. Eventually Springer was ordered from the place because it was learned that he was not a workman.

According to a daily paper the duchess of Marlborough's visit to New York is made with the hope that she may be able to squeeze a larger income out of her life interest in the Hammersley estate. If J. Hooker Hammersley should have a son the estate at the death of the duchess will go to that son, otherwise it will go to charities. The duchess now draws an income from about \$3,000,000 worth of stocks and bonds and improved real estate in this city. She has a life interest in \$2,000,000 more, represented by unimproved real estate held for the sake of the unearned increment. Out of the \$125,000 a year received from the productive property she pays considerable in taxes on the unproductive land. When she married the duke of Marlborough she had about half a million dollars in accrued income. This, it is asserted, has now disappeared and the income less taxes on the unimproved property is not enough to support her in ducal state. Her desire is to sell the \$2,000,000 worth of unproductive real estate and invest the proceeds so that she may get out of it about \$75,000 a year. Mr. J. Hooker Hammersley, however, is not willing that this should be done, for obviously it is to his interest to keep the \$2,000,000 invested in unimproved but increasingly valuable real estate, so long as he can draw no income from the property even though it were productively invested. Part of this property is near the Fifty-ninth street entrance to Central park. An application of the single tax would effectually destroy the interests of the duchess and Mr. Hammersley in this unproductive real estate and would give somebody else a chance to improve it.

It appears from an address delivered before a Methodist conference lately assembled in Brooklyn that there is a very unequal distribution of churches in New York city. The Second ward, with a population of 1,608 persons, has two churches, one for every 800 inhabitants; the Fourth ward has one for 5,000; the Seventh ward one for 10,000; the Thirteenth ward one for 5,400; the Eleventh ward one for 5,500. This applies to the lower part of the city, the Second ward particularly being in the business district, which is practically deserted on Sunday. The truth is that downtown New York is getting to be more and more like the business center of London, where there are many parishes with great incomes arising from property that has increased in value because of concentration of business and a small population deriving the benefits from such parochial property. It is only another interesting illustration of the curious anomalies arising from the possession of natural opportunities by individuals and corporations instead of the community.

The building trade section of the Central labor union has appointed George K. Lloyd, James P. Archibald and Henry Emrich a committee to urge upon the Fassett investigating committee the thorough probing of the police department in this city. This section of the Central labor union boldly declares that the police department has reduced the art of blackmail to a science, maintaining a system of terrorism over certain classes of the community, exerting itself in the interests of certain candidates, and establishing a system of espionage over respectable citizens for no other purpose than to prosecute them should they offend the powers that be. Workingmen certainly have cause to suspect the police of anything but a friendly attitude toward popular rights.

A committee in which Simon Sterne and Isidor Strauss are represented is urging before the assembly committee on electricity

the necessity of some state interference to regulate the charges for telephonic service. According to Mr. Sterne, telephone charges, originally \$5 a month, are now \$12 and \$15. The companies pretend that it costs more per capita to render service to a large number of subscribers than to a small number, but their own annual reports disprove this fact. Mr. Sterne urges that \$80 a year for a telephone would give a fair profit. When it is remembered that the telephone service of New York is the most exasperatingly unsatisfactory public convenience that we have, it is easy to understand that subscribers think themselves overcharged. It is explained by the telephone companies that the present ground connections are responsible for the induction that makes every telephone transmitter a babel of voices. They say all-metallic circuits will obviate this and give as good a service between local points as is furnished by the long distance telephone; but this change to all-metallic circuits is made the excuse for nearly doubling the annual rent.

M. T. Wolverton, secretary of the Campbell county, South Dakota, relief association, sends a circular to THE STANDARD saying that money is needed to buy seed corn for poverty stricken farmers in that region. This sounds a little curious, for it is known that farmers in Kansas are selling corn at twelve cents a bushel and burning it by the ton as the cheapest fuel. It fits in curiously, too, with recent assertions by certain professed students of political economy, that we are raising too much corn, too much cotton, too many beeves, and, in fact, too much of all the good things we all need. Surely if these political economists are right no man can do greater harm to the country than by sending seed corn to these poverty stricken Dakotans. On the other hand these contradictory phenomena might suggest that what we are suffering from is not a plethora of production, but an inequality of distribution.

"Constant Reader" writes to THE STANDARD praising the Manhattan single tax club cartoon printed in THE STANDARD of April 3, and suggesting that this cartoon, together with a petition calling for the exemption of farm improvements from taxation, should be circulated among farmers. The cartoon is an admirable one, and the idea of exempting improvements from taxation ought to pave the way among farmers for the direct single tax propaganda.

It is asserted by the Herald that Judge Nebraska left a small estate after serving nine years as city court judge at \$10,000 a year, because he was assessed during that time \$35,000 for campaign purposes. Perhaps a good many of us may think that the judge might have struggled along on the remaining \$7,000 a year, but the amount of his political assessment is highly significant of political methods in this city.

Frank Clusey writes to THE STANDARD from Red Bank, N. J., to say that in the dairyman's account, published in the body of the article on "Who Robs the Farmer?" in the last issue of THE STANDARD—taxes, interest, labor, etc.—are the cost of pasture and hay, so that the account should show \$318 in his favor, instead of \$88 loss. THE STANDARD in this instance took the figures as it found them in the paper to which they are credited; but it does look as if part of each of these items, labor, interest and taxes, may have appeared twice in the estimate of expenses.

The Mail and Express (which ought to know) asserts in an editorial that Astor has 300,000 tenants in New York city. Besides this, he owns an immense amount of vacant land largely beyond the Harlem. The rent probably averages about one-third of the tenants' gross earnings. Is this all right?

PERSONAL.

John R. Roche of Boston has a signed editorial in the Sunday Globe on "Unused Land in Massachusetts." He advocates taxing vacant land up to its full value.

John H. Blakeney has a letter in the Birmingham Herald arraigning Congressman De Lano for misstatements made by him during a protection speech a short time since; and then Mr. Blakeney goes on to show what a benefit free trade would be to our industries.

Mr. John R. Shearer of Tolonia, Mo., writes that his brother, R. A. Shearer, late of Kansas City, Mo., is dead. Mr. Shearer was an old subscriber to THE STANDARD and an ardent single tax man, doing much good work in his locality.

Mr. A. A. Curtis of Danbury, Conn., paid THE STANDARD a visit last week. He reports a gratifying state of the movement in his neighborhood. He says that nowadays single tax men are asked to explain their principles of tax reform—they have not now to seek for some one to talk it to.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

COLLECTING THE SINGLE TAX.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In your issue of the 26th ult., Mr. Shearman treats on the "Collection of the single tax," and says that "under the single tax nothing except the bare land would be sold for taxes."

When the single tax comes to be adopted, it will be in recognition of the principle that land is the common heritage of the people. Whosoever uses land enters into an agreement with his fellow men, in their capacity as corporate society, to pay them, out of his earnings, a certain sum, commensurate with its use value, for the exclusive privilege of using the same.

The user can make this payment only in labor values. If he defaults in his payments, society has clearly the right, and its only remedy, to sell so much of his personal property as will satisfy the debt, and this proceeding could in no manner affect or violate the principle of the single tax.

On the other hand, the land itself has no selling value—only a use value.

The object of tax sales is the collection of delinquent taxes; but how could the purchaser under the single tax pay more than the use value for the time he proposes to use it; and how could the sale of the naked land result in the collection of delinquent taxes?

At present, it is true, the state simply sells the land with improvements without troubling itself about collections, because land has a definite selling value, and for this reason it can safely leave the collection of those taxes to the buyer. Under the operation of the single tax this would be impossible, and the rent or tax would have to be payable in advance, or become a first lien on all personal property. This would not exclude the remedy Mr. Shearman proposes of giving the user the right to insist on a sale as a means of determining the justice of the assessment.

I fancy that nine-tenths of the single taxers throughout the country will be as much amazed as I am at Mr. Shearman's statement that the single tax would soon pass out of existence if anything but the bare land could be sold for taxes.

Galloway, Ill. GEO. G. GUENTHER.

THE TRUTH FROM PROTECTIONISTS.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In the Mail and Express of the 10th ult. there is a good article on free trade. It states that free trade is indeed a beautiful theory—a Christian and humanitarian theory. It also admits that protection is established upon the principle to be found in the rivalry of nations, the jealousy of commonwealths and the general selfishness of humanity. And that conditions of business that warp the comity of nations and the friendly dealings of individuals, also cause Christian free traders to become protectionists. It might have appropriately added that these evil principles are equally the universal cause of suppression and loss of Christian principles, and the substitution of universal crime as well as the robbery and injustice embodied in protection. Moral: All Christians should therefore fight and lie to uphold protection.

We might also add the additional evidence from the speech of the Hon. John Sherman of Ohio in 1868, from the Congressional Record. Here it is:

Every obstruction to a free interchange of commodities is born in the same narrow and despotic spirit which planted castles upon the Rhine to plunder peaceful commerce. Every obstruction to commerce is a tax on consumption. Every facility to a free exchange cheapens commodities, increases trade and production and promotes civilization.

GEO. R. BOWEN, M. D.
San Antonio, Texas, March 18, 1890.

THE TAX QUESTION FIRST.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Mr. Ogden's article on land reform and tax reform was clever and ingenious, but although one may agree with him that the single tax argument can, with practical people, be most satisfactorily begun on the tax reform basis, one must disagree with him in thinking that it can be continued and ended in the same strain with the best possible results. In order to obtain the greatest measure, both of clearness and force, all treatment of the subject from a taxation standpoint must ultimately lead to, and of necessity be supported by, a recognition of the injustice of private property in land; but although this principle is the beginning and end of the single tax theory, still I think that new clubs starting up in towns where the single tax is entirely uncomprehended, would do well to follow, in part, Mr. Ogden's idea and arouse public interest rather by explanations and arguments in the line of tax reform than land reform, and the fact that the single tax is equivalent to the abolition of private property in land should be studiously kept in the background till the popular mind has been taught the ad-

vantages of the single tax as a system of taxation; when, indeed, it will then become unavoidable to show up the injustice of private property in land in order to most clearly and forcibly defend the justice of the single tax as a tax system. For instance, after a man has been made acquainted with all the defects of our present system (inequality, uncertainty, injustice, etc.), and has been shown that the single tax would have none of these defects, besides having positive advantages not possessed by the present system (stimulation of production, destruction of land speculation, giving opportunities to labor, government economy, etc.), he will so far approve; but there will then arise in his mind the apparently fatal objection that the single tax would after all be an unjust system of taxation, since it would all fall upon one class only—the land owners. Then, in order to defend the justice of putting taxation upon land owners, we point out that they possess a privilege—the privilege of a share, without labor, in the production of labor and capital—which is not possessed by other classes, which is simply allowed by the community, and which does not exist as a matter of right, since men can have no natural individual right to the exclusive ownership of the land. Here then is where the taxation argument naturally ends, and the main argument begins with the advantage, however, of having now an interested and already respectful audience. Starting out with mere tax reform, our man, if he is a thoughtful man and worth the trouble that has been taken with him, has been gradually led into an earnest and intelligent consideration of social reform, while by an immediate and direct presentation of the latter phase, the mistaken impression usually acquired in the start might have prevented all further examination. It would, therefore, seem that introductions of the single tax to the public in new localities, through communications to the local papers and public speeches, will be most effective if made on the lines indicated by the title "single tax" itself, which will lead unsympathetic and unsentimental business men to a respectful consideration of the main question.

GEO. AUCHY.
Pottstown, Pa.

WHAT THE FARMERS DEMAND.

According to a dispatch from Pittsburg to the New York Times John J. Holland of Jacksonville, Fla., member of the Knights of Labor general executive board and of the legislative committee stationed at Washington, asserts that the joint movement of the knights and Farmers' alliance is making an impression in the south. The organizations, Mr. Holland says, are working harmoniously in a great industrial movement to secure legislation that the old parties have refused them. Committees at Washington are keeping an accurate record of the work of congressmen and transmitting reports to the assemblies and lodges every week. The congressmen from the south and southwest, he declares, are panic stricken in the fear of results.

Of each one who seeks re-election pledges will be required to a series of propositions. If these are refused, a candidate, either democrat or republican, who will assent to them, will be put in the field and elected. The Farmers' alliance will see that the votes, white or black, are counted. These joint interests expect to come into the Fifty-second congress with forty-five members committed to their cause. Mr. Holland says it was Senator Ingalls' refusal to reply to the questions submitted to him that led to the determination of the Kansas farmers to "part the blanket." In the main, the two orders expect to work with southern republicans, and they calculate that the aid of republicans, both white and black, will make the movement effective.

The demands of the joint organizations are well set forth in the pledge asked by the Farmers' alliance of Georgia of all candidates for congress in that state. They demand that the candidates pledge themselves to vote, if elected, for the substitution of legal tender for national bank notes; for taxes, state and national, to be levied only for revenue; for such a revision of the protective tariff that the burdens now resting on the agricultural and laboring classes shall be lessened to the greatest possible extent; for anti-trust laws, and for the "sub-treasury bill" now before congress, by which the federal government is directed to store farm products and loan money to the owners of them to eighty per cent of their market price.

A FILE FOR DANA TO GNAW ON.

KANSAS CITY STAR.
When Dana hears that a New York school teacher celebrated Mr. Cleveland's birthday by reading to her scholars short extracts from his life, speeches, letters and messages, his emotion will be profound.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

GENERAL WALKER ON PROTECTION.

"Protection and Protectionists" is the title of an article by General Francis A. Walker in the Quarterly Journal of Economics, bearing date of April, 1890. General Walker's essay is designed to be a general review of the subject rather than a controversial article. He insists that the advocates of protection are entitled to no benefit whatever from the favorable significance of the term they use. He notes that the policy of protection has been applied to agriculture in other countries quite as distinctly as to manufactures with us. Probably the most extravagant protectionist whom this country has ever known was not Horace Greeley, but Thomas Jefferson. General Walker insists that in spite of Jefferson's individualism he had so much of the true spirit of protectionism that he was willing to see his ideas on his subject enforced even against the wishes of the people. That man is as clearly a protectionist who would check the growth of economic interests which he deems prejudicial to his country as he who would take measures to promote those he deems beneficial. The single test of protectionism is the disposition to replace, in any considerable degree, aims proposed by the legislature or the government for those which would be spontaneously sought by the individual citizen. General Walker, however, insists that an effort to encourage industries, because they are deemed necessary as a preparation for the defense of the country in the presence of an armed enemy, is not properly protective. When the preparation aimed at is not technical but general, the purpose being to create an habitual independence, commercewise, of other nations, we have a case of protectionism.

The protectionist, then, is one who would, to a considerable degree, in matters of industry, substitute governmental for individual aims, but a man might favor such a policy in minor matters for special and transient reasons without becoming a protectionist. General Walker is persuaded that various classes of protectionists differ one from another more widely than protectionists in general differ from non-protectionists. Some advocate protective duties to start industries in a new country and protect their growth; others would maintain them to protect their progress. Our fathers and grandfathers, if protectionists, were of the former class. The great argument from 1789 to 1842 was the infant industries argument. Since that time, however, there has come a change as radical as the change in the attitude of our forefathers from the time when they respectfully begged redress of grievances from the British throne to the time when they adopted the Declaration of Independence. The campaign of 1888 was fought largely on the home market issue. There may come a time when those declaring themselves satisfied to command the markets of sixty millions of Americans will be glad to get back to the despised infant industries argument. Even John Stuart Mill admitted the possible wisdom of protection to infant industries. In General Walker's opinion, however, Mill both overstates and understates the case for this kind of protection. The general briefly outlines the familiar argument against the infant industries idea and then goes on to make further distinctions as to classes of protectionists.

There are those who would select for permanent encouragement certain industries chosen with reference to their importance to the population concerned and their adaptation to the resources of the country, while there are others who would bestow indiscriminate protection. To the former belong the great founders of the American system, and the policy for indiscriminate protection finds little support in ante-bellum political writings. After the extreme necessity of the public revenue had clearly passed there came a movement for extending the free list. This was checked by Mr. Blaine in 1884, and since then the advocates of universal protection have been growing more active and defiant. So much of a world in itself is the United States that in spite of all that protection can do we must remain the largest example of free trade among mankind. Another distinction is between protectionists who favor low duties and those who favor high duties, the latter sometimes prohibitory. This General Walker believes to be a difference in kind and not simply in degree, for the moderate protectionists contemplate foreign competition as desirable while the others do not. There has been more pure Chinese-wall talk in this country within the last two years than during our whole previous history as a nation. General Walker believes that most republicans will return as

soon as they can to the more moderate tone of their fathers on this subject.

General Walker then proceeds to speak of the free trade side, though he protests that it is not his design to make a conclusive argument. He thinks free traders wrong as regards their two leading arguments; that based on the laissez faire principle and the other which attacks protectionism because of its negative or inhibitory character. He quotes Sir Thomas Farrer and Mr. Isaac Butts, whose argument is that protection can add nothing to the world's material wealth. General Walker admits that he once made such argument, but he regards it as utterly inconclusive. It does not prove that protection, whatever it may do for the world as a whole, may not materially aid the country protected. General Walker is no better pleased with the objection that protectionism is immoral. It must first be shown to be socially inexpedient. He believes that if it can be shown that the restrictions of trade are beneficial to the community, few Americans are so transcendental in their political philosophy as to question the right or the propriety of establishing the system. On the protectionist side the exportation of the soil argument has been virtually abandoned partly because it was based on false assumptions and partly because remedies have been found for loss of fertility. He quotes an eminent American agricultural chemist as saying that any region fertile for fifty years under a given system of management may remain fertile under that system forever, unless the soil is removed or buried by flood, or the climate becomes unpropitious. The protectionist argument that political entities should be constituted distinct industrial entities, General Walker regards as lacking demonstration.

Having set aside the various current arguments, General Walker inquires what is left as furnishing the real matter at issue. He thinks the strongest arguments in favor of protection is one neglected by protectionists, and that is the argument that should show that a general economic advantage would flow from hindering the increasing tendency to the extension of the division of labor and the resulting intensification and localization of manufactures. He recognizes the advantage of this tendency up to a certain point, but thinks a pretty argument could be constructed in favor of the proposition that later some artificial retardation might be beneficial. He believes that such localization of industries may produce periods of almost furious activity followed by comparative inactivity or stagnation.

He then turns to the pauper labor argument. This he meets at first with the familiar principle that high wages mean low cost of production, and vice versa. He doubts whether the habitual answer of the free trader to the protectionist on this point is quite as conclusive as free traders think. If the free trade proposition on this point is not universally true, then the case may arise that the protectionist has in mind of industries unresponsive to the improved conditions resulting from high wages. In this case high wages would not mean low cost of production, and the American producers would be under a real disadvantage. It would then be for the statesmen to consider whether the labor and capital invested in such unprofitable industry could be successfully encouraged by law. General Walker is so much a free trader that he could hardly conceive of a situation in which he would vote to initiate a system of protection, but he is so much a protectionist that he would deal very carefully with masses of labor and capital once fully engaged in any branch of industry. Of course the greater the difficulty in retracing one's steps, the greater the caution needed in initiating a policy. Even if it be admitted that a judicious system of protection may be beneficial, we can never be sure of establishing such a judicious system in the presence of sectional jealousies and an unscrupulous lobby.

MR. POWDERLY ON SHORTER HOURS.

General Master Workman Terence V. Powderly makes "an appeal for eight hours" in the April issue of the North American Review. His answer to the assertion that employers are also workmen is that the employer is a voluntary workman and may quit when he will, while the employed must work as long as the employer demands. Competition obliges the humane employer to adopt the same methods as the skinflint or go out of business, so the lowest rate of compensation for which men will work is all that he will pay. Before 1835 men worked from sun-up to sun-down, saw little of their homes, were merely breadwinners, and got a scanty share of bread at that. In 1835 agitation for the ten hour system began, and after strikes, disputes and sometimes bloodshed it was put

into operation. With this system workmen became ambitious of being more than mere breadwinners. Shorter hours for toil gave time for reading, and newspapers increased. It also became profitable to advertise in newspapers, because they had many readers. Since then the condition of the workman has improved wonderfully, but the credit belongs only to himself. Had the workman of 1835 been employed in the stifling air of the factory he would soon have died of lung trouble in his draughty hut. Open air work saved his life.

Mr. Powderly ridicules the argument in favor of shorter hours, based upon the idea that this will afford employment to the idle, and declares that at this rate we must shortly reduce the hours per day to a very low minimum if we are to keep employed the gathering hosts of the idle from Europe and Asia. The final solution of the workday problem will come when the workman becomes the sharer in what he creates. Today he is regarded by his employer as no more a factor in the field of production than the spade which he handles. Workmen and employer find their interests identical in one particular: to get the most out of each other. The employer who pays a dollar a day to each of one hundred men for doing labor worth \$2 a day retires in twenty years a rich man. His riches represent unpaid labor. The workman remains poor and retires to the poor house or the cemetery. To labor belong the vast sums that rich men leave after them to erect charitable institutions. Had the miners of the region in which Scranton stands received the just reward of their labor there would have been no necessity for the expenditure of \$300,000 for the Moses Taylor hospital. Every hour of toil would have been an hour of profit.

Until such a day as that comes we must agitate for shorter hours of toil, so that men may have time to prepare for the system of the future. The bank clerk does not work ten or even eight hours a day, because his mind could not stand the strain, nor could his body. The work of the future will call for more exercise of the brain than of the hand. No man or woman can work as long at an occupation that requires skill as at one that calls for no exercise of the mental powers. Brain work will soon be required in all callings, and if in no other than the sanitary reasons the hours of labor should be reduced to the eight-hour standard. Men who work for short hours are better educated than those who do not. A thinking man will learn that over-exertion shortens life. Thousands go to early graves every year from overwork, and this condition will continue until the hours of labor are shortened. The apparent over production and the consequent depression would not occur if we had an eight-hour day and a working class educated in the science of government.

The manufacturer complains that he must keep his factory running long hours to pay taxes. He should study the question of taxing land "for full value for use," and know that his improvements should not be taxed out of his hands. The manufacturer complains that he cannot pay the interest on borrowed capital with short hours. He should study finance and learn that his government and not his enemies should control the volume of currency. He complains of excessive freight charges as an excuse for long hours. Let him unite with the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' alliance in demanding governmental control of transportation and distribution. Mr. Powderly says that the eight-hour system need not be brought about necessarily by strikes. Workmen in a given employment should agree to establish the eight-hour day. A strike in one part of the country would but place the short hour employer at the mercy of his long hour competitors. To demand the same rate of compensation for short hours that is now paid would be unjust; to rush the system through would unsettle affairs. Employers as well as workmen will soon realize that the short workday will be the most beneficial, and in any event its introduction will soon be announced.

RIGHTS OF PUBLIC PROPERTY.

Rev. Dr. William Barry writes in the Forum for April of what he calls the rights of public property. By this he means the right of the community to economic rent and to some other things. Atomism is Dr. Barry's name for individualism of the old style, and he regards it with considerable horror. He says if we believe that society has rights for us and no rights in us, the consummation will be the decline rather than the progress of the species and finally its relapse into the lowest state of barbarism. The struggle for wealth is turning out barbarians by the million. Competition governed by no higher principle than the higgling of the market creates poverty, drunkenness, vice, physical degrada-

tion and bestial indifference to every human good. The labor market has taken the place of the slave market, but the purchaser does not feel bound to keep the industrial slaves alive and in working condition. He has to make his pile and they to make their living, two utterly different things which stand in inverse ratio the one to the other. The workman's fee simple in social progress is but a contingent remainder in the workhouse, where no useful work is done lest it increase the competition outside and so multiply paupers. If *laissez faire*, free competition and absolute private ownership of land and the means of production be normal methods of dealing with wealth their results ought not to be ruinous to society from top to bottom, as we see they are. Political economy is full of hope when built on a sound basis, but individualism is an unsound basis, and the edifice which has been raised upon it is now tottering to its fall. The social question is not to be wrapped away in an economical or sentimental winding sheet. That foolish old custom of sitting in Dharna, of starving at the gate of your creditor till he pay you what he owes, may be looked on as typical of our present condition. The outcast multitude can protest in no other way, but they can starve on the doorstep of society, and they are starving.

Dr. Barry thinks that individualism has done less harm in England than in the American Union, because in England its work has been mitigated by acts limiting the omnipotence of private ownership, whether as regards land, labor or capital. It is an axiom of English law that no man holds land exempt from public service. Dr. Barry believes that since man can never be master of the bounties of nature, so he cannot claim as an individual the products of collective industry or the value of the unearned increment, let it take what shape it may. The rights of private property must be exercised with a due regard for the rights of that public property, upon which every commonwealth that has a real existence is established. The outward and visible sign of this public right is taxation. The vast burden of poverty under which we are struggling is mainly due to the appropriation of public services, of social rights by individuals who neither can nor do render an equivalent. This is the meaning of monopoly. It is not a question of small shopkeepers versus wholesale dealers, or of petty farmers versus the bonanza system, but of society versus those who have usurped public property and the proceeds of collective labor. They have a lien on the whole protective labor of the social organism. Indirect taxation scarcely affects them; income tax presses harder on the professional and literary man than on these favored persons. This is true, thinks Dr. Barry, as well of the capitalist as of the land owner. Whether it be a duke of Westminster or a Mr. Vanderbilt the Second, all candid men will acknowledge that these persons have in their hands the power of milking the social cow far in excess of anything produced by their own labor or by that of their ancestors. Dr. Barry quotes an article which declares that the Scotts, Vanderbilts, Garretts and the Goulds will henceforth find that their interests all lie in the direction of honesty. He takes this to mean that they have become so rich that they can afford not to steal a penny more. These men and the favored monopolists of England will flourish under any system of government until men learn that public property belongs to the nation. Neither capital nor labor employ the other; society employs both, hence capitalists are society's paymasters. Sites, soils and machinery are forms of social trusts. Dr. Barry, in seeking a remedy, is not alarmed by the whisper, "vested interests." As a member of society, ought not the quondam capitalist to be satisfied with his proportion of the public income like the rest of the citizens? Monopoly, whether created yesterday or the heirloom of ages, is a tax on all present and future productions of the land in which it flourishes. Dr. Barry quotes with approval Adam Smith's observation that the annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes. Abolish the monopoly of resources now enjoyed by a few, and the nation will not be the poorer by the smallest fraction of any commodity at any moment after, but where would a universal strike of all except the monopolists leave society? There would be a famine in a year, in two years nakedness, and in ten years the land would be desolate. It is not by any man's wages that the people are impoverished, but by this running sore of taxes handed over to private persons to be used without regard to the social organism. Has the lord of the New York Central earned by pro-

ductive labor of hand or head the scores of millions with which he is armor-plated against poverty? Those having the power have decreed iniquity by law. Dr. Barry quotes a facetious friend's proposition to cut off the heads of the shop keepers when they have been reduced to half a dozen Whiteleys, and appoint managers with wages of superintendence, who shall be responsible to the British republic. Dr. Barry thinks that when the world's debts are held by a single great capitalist the revolution which may be required to pay him in full need not be an earthquake. The world's work has been concentrated with the result of wonderful economy, but in the center of every web of concentration is the monopolist catching human flies and spinning gold. The revolution called for would not deprive individuals of the fruits of their labor, but the bees that make the honey should eat the honey. All that belongs to society should be held by society. Public property should be employed for social uses, and the monopoly now allowed to individuals utterly swept away. Plato would have destroyed the idle fatted beast; Dr. Barry's better way is a resumption of economic rights by society.

MR. POWDERLY'S SOUND DOCTRINE.

HE INJECTS THE SINGLE TAX INTO HIS ARTICLE IN "THE WORLD."

General Master Workman T. V. Powderly never loses an opportunity to inject the single tax into his writings or speeches. In a recent letter from Scranton to the New York World he says of natural gas:

In Toledo and in other cities and towns in Ohio the management of this "bounty of nature" has been turned over to the care of the Standard oil company, and the natural outcome is that a great deal of superfluous gas is worked off into blasphemy and profanity because the heating of homes and factories has been turned over to a monopoly. In days gone by the people stood some chance of changing coal dealers, but the Standard oil company, having gained control of the natural gas, has shut out the coal, and now dictates how and when a man may warm himself.

Again in the same article he says:

We witness a constant struggle going on between the operators and employees in the soft coal regions, and at nearly every turn the men are worsted in the fight; but there will be a struggle. It will spread and take in more than coal miners before it ends, and it will not end until the natural inheritance of man is taken from the grasp of a soulless set of creatures who would coin the heart's blood of the workmen into gold in that crucible called greed.

Mr. Powderly then tells how mine boss and docking boss are said to combine to rob miner and mine owner. The docking boss makes one return to the mine owner and a different one to the miner. It happens at times that this difference amounts in a large mine to 100 or 150 tons a day, and this amount of coal is sold from the breaker for local consumption. The money goes, not to the company, but to the two bosses. After telling this story Mr. Powderly closes in these words:

The corporations squeeze the community in the first place and then starve their workmen into submission. The bosses rob the corporations, and in all of this the men are expected to be model citizens. They are expected to be honest and not break even the faintest of the commandments for fear of calling down wrath on their heads. I often wonder what the harvest will be when the people get their eyes open and see this system in its true light.

RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTION BOOKS FOR "THE STANDARD."

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

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

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

Five subscriptions \$1 00
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THE STANDARD,
No. 12 Union square, New York city.

BALLOT REFORM.

THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

WHAT NEW YORK IS DOING.

THE BALLOT REFORM LEAGUE ADDRESSES A MEMORIAL TO THE LEGISLATURE—MR. SHEARMAN ON JUDGE DANFORTH'S OBJECTION—MR. ACKER'S BILL.

After the governor had transmitted his message urging the legislature to submit the Saxton bill to two divisions of the court of appeals for an opinion on its constitutionality the ballot reform league presented to the legislature the following memorial in opposition to the governor's recommendation:

To the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York—The New York ballot reform league, through the undersigned, a committee for that purpose specially appointed, begs leave to most respectfully represent to the senate and assembly of the state of New York the league's emphatic disapproval of the proposition of the governor of the state that the legislature by joint resolution request the first and second divisions of the court of appeals to informally express their opinion as to the constitutionality of the provisions of the Saxton ballot reform bill.

The league assigns the following reasons:

I. The proceeding is anomalous and without the sanction of law.

The courts are organized for the adjudication of concrete cases.

Their decisions become authoritative and command acquiescence and respect because made after the most thorough and exhaustive argument by counsel, who know that the interests of their clients are involved in the result.

In the proceeding invited by the governor there would be no argument by adversary interests. The whole burden of inquiry and investigation would be thrown upon the members of an already overburdened court. There could be no decision or adjudication of the court. There could be nothing but the expression by individual judges of an opinion upon an abstract question, which might in the future properly come before the court in an actual case, in the consideration of which they would be embarrassed by the opinion they had expressed, and to which pride of opinion might influence them to adhere.

II. If the opinion of any judges was to be asked it surely should not be that of the two divisions.

There can be no object in asking these opinions unless it be to morally bind these judges to adjudge in accord therewith should the concrete case be presented.

The two divisions of the court of appeals cannot act jointly. No judge of one division is competent to sit on the bench of the other or to take any part in a judgment pronounced by the other division.

There is no provision of law by virtue of which the two divisions, or any judges of the two divisions, can unite in joint action of any kind whatever.

The second division of the court of appeals is composed of judges thereto appointed by the governor from the justices of the supreme court, and they may at his pleasure be sent back to the supreme court and other justices appointed by the governor in their places.

Such judges are appointed and the second division is organized only in order that the arrears of cases on the court of appeals calendar may be disposed of, and the second division is then to be dissolved. While the second division exists it can only hear such cases as are assigned to it by the permanent court.

It may thus well happen that the tribunal proposed by the governor might by a majority composed, say of the seven judges of the second division and of one judge of the first division, announce a decision or opinion, which, when the question arose in a concrete case, would be certain to be reversed by the permanent court.

Yet, the announcement of such decision or opinion would give a kind of excuse for a veto by the governor, the responsibility of which he is evidently unwilling alone to assume.

Therefore, if any request for opinion is made it should be to the first division, which alone would have jurisdiction to hear and determine an actual case, unless it should send the case to the second division; a course which the permanent court, composed of judges elected by the people, would be little likely to pursue in so momentous a case.

III. Any request for the opinions of the judges of the second division of the court seems peculiarly inappropriate.

Every man of that division holds his posi-

tion at the arbitrary pleasure of the governor. The indecency of the suggestion is apparent.

The opposition of the governor to the essential feature of the Saxton bill is well known.

This is not the place to indulge in any criticism of his motives, and we make none. Whatever they may be, we submit that he alone should assume the responsibility for his action, aided by the advice of such legal officers as the constitution and the laws have provided.

Why should the judges of the second division be subjected to the suspicion of the influence of the executive or to the chances of the possible consequences of his displeasure?

No greater cause of judicial scandal in England ever existed than the tenure of judicial offices at the pleasure of the crown, and no reform was ever productive of more benefit than that of changing the tenure to that of good behavior.

Nothing is dearer to the people of this state than the present spotless reputation of their highest courts, and nothing should be done by the legislature which in the remotest degree might tend to cause a breath of suspicion to rest upon them.

IV. An examination of the *quasi* precedents cited by the governor shows that they have no tendency to sustain his position.

(a) The council of revision provided by the constitution of 1777 was simply a board to whom was entrusted the veto power.

The governor under that constitution had alone no veto. If the council of revision did not veto, the acts became laws; if the council did veto, the senate assumably had the same power as now, by a two-third vote, to pass the bills over the veto.

This system was dropped from the constitution of 1822, and the veto power given to the governor alone.

This intelligent and conscious refusal by the people to perpetuate this system is conclusive against its voluntary and unauthorized adoption at the present time by the authorities of the state.

(b) The message of the governor states, that "in 1872, upon request, the court of appeals expressed its opinion upon certain legislation then pending and awaiting approval."

Governor Hoffman, on February 12, 1872, sent to the court of appeals a bill then pending before him for consideration, in a letter, in which he said: "I do not ask the members of the court to say what their construction of the bill would be if it came before them as an enacted law." The governor then said, in view of considerations stated, connected with the importance of the bill and a possible construction of its language: "I feel I am justified (and trust that you will agree with me) in asking of you the favor to read the bill, with a view, simply, to your telling me whether there is not room for doubt on the points I have suggested, grave enough to make it wise that, before it is enacted into a law, the language of the bill should be amended so as to guard against such questions." To this extent, I can see no impropriety in your giving me your opinion, in view of the gravity of the questions involved; and I will be obliged by your doing so, if you see none."

To this the chief judge of the court replied that the judges were agreed that serious questions might arise upon the bill in its then form. The chief judge said, after referring to the possible construction of the bill suggested by the governor:

"It is not intended to express an opinion that such is the legal effect of the act, but such effect may be claimed, and a bill more carefully prepared may obviate these objections."

It is seen, therefore, upon this examination, that the question submitted to the judges of the court of appeals in 1872 was whether there was not danger that a construction that was objectionable and that could be cured by amendment might not be claimed from the language of the bill in question. Governor Hoffman carefully avoided asking, and the court carefully avoided expressing, any opinion as to what was the true construction and legal effect of the bill. The present suggestion of Governor Hill is that the constitutionality of the ballot reform bill shall be the subject of the opinions of the court of appeals, which would necessarily discuss its construction and legal effect.

It will be observed that in that case, as in this, the legislature had passed the bill. Their function, in respect to it, was finished.

Governor Hoffman had not acted, and he alone made the request.

Apparently it did not occur to him to request the legislature to join in asking the court of appeals to tell him what to do.

(c) The circumstance that constitutions of various states have for many years last past provided that the highest court in those states should render informal opinions at the request of the legislature or the governor, taken in connection with the fact that the present constitution of this state requires no such service from our court of appeals, so far from being an argument in favor of adopting the governor's suggestion, proves conclusively that the people of this state have deliberately rejected such a method of determining questions that may be the subject of litigation, without the aids afforded by their full discussion at the bar by counsel.

(d) The probabilities are the court of ap-

peals would not answer any such request as has been suggested, by giving an informal opinion. As an indication of the manner in which such matters are dealt with by judges who are required to accede to similar requests by constitutional provisions, we would call attention to the matter reported in 123 Mass., 600.

The house asked an opinion from the judges of the supreme court upon the question, whether a special justice of a municipal district or police court was such a judge as the eighth article of amendment of the constitution declares shall not have a seat in the house? The judges declined to give an opinion upon the ground that the question submitted to them seemed "to be not a legislative but a judicial question which cannot be definitely or justly decided without trial and argument." * * * The court may be called upon at any time to determine the questions in a judicial proceeding, in which any opinion now expressed would not bind the court or the parties." For this reason the justices "pray to be excused from consideration of the subject until it shall have been presented and argued by counsel in the ordinary course of the administration of justice."

(e) As the legislature can still act, if the bill be vetoed, and the governor can approve or reject the law in question, even if our court of appeals should informally express an opinion upon its constitutionality, and as such an opinion would not bind, as authority, courts of this state of inferior jurisdiction, it is clear that under our system of government, appellate tribunals exist from any informal adjudications of our court of last resort. The constitution of this state intends that the expression of views by the court of appeals shall be final and beyond any appeal, and be delivered only after trial and argument of counsel in the ordinary course of judicial proceedings.

(f) Finally, we urge that any request for an informal expression of opinion by the court of appeals would be a proceeding unconstitutional in its character, violative of the legally established relations between the legislative, executive and judicial departments of the government, tending to make the court of appeals take part in legislation and to subordinate its functions to the legislative and executive departments, and, in all probability, would be disregarded by this court, in the preservation of its own dignity and true sphere of action, and would not be accorded the effect and the high consideration ordinarily due to your honorable bodies and their official acts.

V. The Saxton bill embodies no novel legislation. It does embody a reform the need for which is universally admitted, and which the governor himself has expressed in the strongest possible language.

Three successive legislatures have passed this bill. The great majority of the people would seem to be strongly in its favor. New York has sent to you a petition for its enactment such as was never before known. Many other states have adopted the principles of the bill, and with most satisfactory results.

If the governor is willing to lay aside his own opinion for that of judges informally expressed, it would seem more appropriate that he should defer his opinion to that of three successive legislatures and should sign the bill, leaving the question of constitutionality to be decided by the courts in the improbable contingency that it will ever arise.

WHEELER H. PECKHAM,
JULIEN T. DAVIES,
LOUIS F. POST,

Committee of New York Ballot Reform League.

MR. SHEARMAN ON JUDGE DANFORTH.

HE TAKES ISSUE WITH THE JUDGE'S OPINION AS TO THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE SAXTON BILL.

Thomas G. Shearman in a letter to the New York Times of Sunday last courteously takes issue with Judge Danforth's opinion that any statute is constitutional which gives to the minority a right of representation upon any board whatever. Upon the faith of this opinion the governor holds that the Saxton bill would be unconstitutional because it gives to each citizen the right to vote for one, and only one, ballot clerk, while two are to be elected. The ground of Judge Danforth's opinion and of Governor Hill's veto is found solely in that clause of the constitution of this state, adopted in 1846, which gives to every male citizen having certain qualifications the right to vote for all officers to be chosen by the people. It is argued that this right is denied where two officers being elected, each elector is allowed to vote for only one. Mr. Shearman says:

"The validity of this argument has apparently been recognized without question by some lawyers who are friendly to the ballot reform bill. Nevertheless, I must respectfully dissent for reasons which seem to me conclusive.

"When the constitution of 1846 was adopted the legislature of this state, acting under the constitution of 1831 and its amendments, the provisions of which were in this respect practically unchanged by the constitution of 1846, had given a construction to the language of the constitution by the election law of 1842, which provided for the choice of three inspectors of election to each

poll, and forbade any ballot from containing the names of more than two inspectors. I believe that this provision of the statute was not new even in 1842, but it is not necessary to look further back. The constitutional convention of 1846 consisted of men actively engaged in politics, every one of whom knew perfectly well of the existence of this law, and was perfectly well aware of the fact that no elector in any part of the state was ever allowed to vote for more than two of the three inspectors who superintended an election. That convention, moreover, was composed mainly of very able lawyers, including the most distinguished then in politics, such as Charles O'Connor, Samuel J. Tilden, George W. Patterson, etc. When they framed the section of the constitution which regulates the right of suffrage they none of them dreamed that they were annulling a practice so universal and so beneficial. The constitution itself would have been voted down overwhelmingly if half the electors had imagined that its adoption would deprive them of this security for an impartial management of elections. For the constitution itself was framed by a convention strongly democratic in its composition, while the democratic candidate for governor was defeated at the very same election at which this constitution was adopted.

"The practice of the legislature and of all the state authorities, under the constitution of 1846, remains precisely the same as before. There is not now and there never has been a single election district in the state in which any elector has been allowed to vote for all the inspectors of election. It is true that in New York and Brooklyn election inspectors are not voted for at all, but that is only because after the democratic party acquired an enormous preponderance in these cities it was felt by honest men of all parties that further security was necessary for the division of election inspectors between the opposing parties. Not one of the thousands of lawyers who have lived in this state since the adoption of the constitution of 1846 and have taken an active part in politics has ever raised a question as to the validity of the statute of 1842, or of any similar statutes which have been passed in the same line. This new interpretation of the constitution is entirely an afterthought, and one which never occurred to its framers or to the men who administered its provisions during the lifetime of the generation which adopted it.

"Under well known and numerous decisions of the supreme court of the United States and of the highest courts of the several states three rules of interpretation are well settled with respect to state constitutions:

"I. They are not deemed to nullify existing statutes unless the intention to do so is quite clear.

"II. They are deemed to recognize existing usages and the practical operation of existing statutes, universally acquiesced in, as putting a construction upon the pre-existing constitutions, so that the language of a new constitution is to be interpreted as meaning what similar language in the old constitution was, with universal acquiescence, understood to mean.

"III. A practical construction put upon the language of a new constitution by universal consent, within the few years immediately succeeding the adoption of the instrument, is deemed the best evidence of its proper meaning.

"It will be seen at once that, under any one of these rules, which commend themselves alike to law and to common sense, there is nothing in the constitution of this state which interferes with the power of the legislature to provide for the election of two or more officers to serve at the polls, while restricting each elector to a vote for one only."

ACKER TRIES HIS HAND.

ANOTHER BALLOT REFORM BILL—OFFICIAL ENVELOPES AND A HENCOOP.

Mr. Acker of Steuben has presented in the assembly a so-called ballot reform bill designed to meet Governor Hill's objections to the Saxton bill which provides that in every polling district there shall be only one polling place, and that "all ballots cast by any elector at such election in the election district shall first be inclosed in a sealed official envelope." The ballots, as at present, shall be of similar size. No election district is to contain over 300 voters. The official envelopes are to be provided by the several county clerks. The state is also to furnish ballots for such political parties as desire them. In the case of a general election the chairman of the county committees of each political party, within sixty days before election, and not less than ten, must apply for the ballots and give each county clerk a list of the candidates. The bill also says that "any fifty electors" may have ballots printed for them. At each polling place there are to be booths, furnished with pens, ink, pencils and mullage, to enable voters to prepare their ballots. These booths are to be so prepared as to screen the voters from observation. There is to be "a guard rail, with exit and entrance gates so constructed that only persons within such rail can approach within ten feet of the ballot box or of such booths or compartments."

"Each booth or compartment shall have four sides inclosed, one side in front to open and shut, as a door swinging each way. Each side of the compartment shall be at

least seven feet high and the door shall extend to within a foot of the floor. No person other than electors engaged in receiving, preparing or depositing their ballots, or a person present for the purpose of challenging the vote of any elector about to cast his ballot, and the inspectors of elections and watchers provided by law, shall be permitted to be within said rail at any one time. Not more than twelve persons, exclusive of election officers and watchers provided by law, shall be allowed to be at one time within such guard rail between the opening and closing of the polls of any election. No conversation shall be had within such guard rail except such as shall be necessary for the performance of the official duties of the election officers and of the duties of the watchers as provided by law."

Section 9 provides that inspectors and poll clerks shall give to each voter an official envelope and one of each of the official ballots. The voter on entering the guard rail shall go to the inspectors and receive such envelope and ballots, and without going outside the guard rail shall go to one of the unoccupied booths, stay at least three and not more than five minutes, prepare his ballot, seal it in the official envelope and going to the ballot box, deliver it to the proper officer. He shall then go outside the guard rail by the exit.

Section 12 forbids electioneering on election day by election officers or by any one within 100 feet of the guard rail. No persons within the rail shall reveal the contents of his ballot, nor shall any elector receive the aid of any one within the polling place in preparing his ballot.

Mr. Acker has amended the bill by abandoning the feature which provides for the printing of ballots by the state. The bill, as amended, was substituted for the original bill, and as Mr. Fish objected to the bill being ordered to a second reading, it was referred to the judiciary committee.

MR. SAXTON TRIES AGAIN.

Senator Saxton yesterday reintroduced his ballot reform bill with modifications. The new bill permits an illiterate voter to take a friend into the booth and to obtain his assistance in marking the ballot. The illiterate voter must make oath to illiteracy. It also meets the governor's objection as to minority representation on the list of poll clerks.

Senator Fassett says that Senator Linson's registration bill will be pushed.

Governor Hill has signed Mr. Saxton's corrupt practices act, and has accompanied the signature with a message of approval.

KNIGHTS TO GOVERNOR HILL.

The recently presented paper from a committee of Knights of Labor urging Governor Hill to sign the Saxton bill expresses the belief that it is not a partisan measure, and that the governor's constitutional objections are groundless. His fears for the illiterate voter they regard as equally groundless. The paper is signed by representatives of District assemblies Nos. 49, 63, 152, 220, 246 and 253.

NEW JERSEY'S DEFECTIVE BILL.

The ballot reform bill was amended in the New Jersey lower house on Monday last so as to provide for the use of official envelopes. The amendments were all reported from the judiciary committee, and carried by the democrats.

Mr. Potts offered a substitute for the bill. The substitute does not contain the objectionable feature permitting the distribution of official ballots before election day. The house refused to print the substitute and voted it down—18 to 30. An amendment striking out of the pending bill the provision for pre-election distribution of ballots was defeated. It is believed that the bill will pass the house and fail in the senate.

IT WORKS WELL IN RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island held last week her first state election under the Australian ballot system. The democratic ticket was carried in the state, but the democratic candidate for governor failed of a majority vote, and this will throw the election into the house, where a republican may be chosen. The new system of voting worked admirably. Tickets were obtainable by the voter only after his name had been checked on the poll list, and the possession of one of these official ballots outside of the polling place was made an offence. The republicans had issued a small ballot of a different color from the official ballot, with the republican nominees printed in fullface type and the space outside crossed. This appears allowable under the law, but the system is so simple that it seems hardly necessary. A few voters in Providence consumed the allowed time for marking their ballots, but there was no crowding at the ballot boxes. There was a little more difficulty in the country. The supervisors of elections are permitted to instruct illiterate voters, and in one of the wards of Pawtucket a democratic supervisor persisted in marking ballots for voters in spite of protests from republicans and democrats alike. According to the reports of the New York Sun the vote was lighter than usual on the democratic ticket, and this the Sun's correspondent ascribes to the "kangaroo" system, as he calls the Australian plan. Nothing of the kind is noted in other papers. An Associated press dispatch thus describes the ballots: "The ballots were printed on big sheets of

paper with the names of the candidates arranged in four columns. It required ballot boxes the size of large dry goods cases to contain them. It would take one person an hour to count sixty votes, consequently it will be impossible to announce the result in the city until twenty-four hours after the polls are closed."

Dispatches to the Times, Herald, World and Tribune say that the system worked to perfection, though it is generally admitted that the count was slower than usual.

MISSOURI LIKES THE SYSTEM.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, sends greeting and words of encouragement to the advocates of ballot reform everywhere. The new ballot reform law, which embraces the main features of the Australian system, was tried in many cities of Missouri in which municipal elections were held last week, and gave entire satisfaction. Mr. Williams adds: "Of course single tax men who were the pioneers in the ballot reform movement in this state are feeling remarkably happy."

Dispatches to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat give highly encouraging reports of the system. At Independence the purchasable voters were disgusted and some refused to vote, but reputable men were pleased with the working of the new law. At Sedalia all worked smoothly and the people were much pleased. The novelty of the system brought out a large vote at Carthage and "it worked like a charm." At Moberly there was "less buttonholing" than usual, and nearly every citizen commended the system. At Springfield, Warrensburg and Jefferson City nothing but praise was heard of the new system.

AT WAR WITH THEMSELVES.

THE PRESS PRINTS A PROTECTIONIST ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF FREE HIDES.

While Mr. McKinley's minority was shilly-shallying over the question of hides, that amiable economic imbecile, the New York Press, put into type an article from the Boston Boot and Shoe Recorder, designed to show that the argument in favor of free hides was no argument in favor of free wool. As the irony of fate would have it the Press ran this article into its "tariff talks" on the very morning when the announcement was made that the McKinley bill puts hides under a duty of fifteen per cent. Here are some of the Boot and Shoe Recorder's arguments against this feature of the bill:

Commerce can exchange articles produced for other articles, but as long as fair value is given in exchange this can bring no positive increase in the total wealth. Now if we assume that the tariff, by making an imported article cost more, will encourage domestic producers to supply a similar article, we have a very simple rule for testing whether a tariff on a given article is protective or not. If there is no tendency to development or increase of the domestic production, then the tariff is not protective, but becomes simply a tax on the consumers for the sole purpose of revenue.

Applying this test to the tariff on hides, we see at once that there is no possibility of a duty being protective in the sense of developing production, because we cannot imagine a farmer raising cattle for the sake of the hides. A tariff on meat, if we were importing largely, might tend to offer inducements for raising more cattle, but if all importations of hides were prohibited the fact would not tend to encourage the raising of a single extra calf. Neither could a tariff increase the price of domestic hides, because the domestic production is so very much larger than the possible importations that the former would govern the price. The annual product of domestic hides is estimated at 16,000,000 of all kinds, and the total imports will amount to about 4,500,000 hides.

Furthermore, the latter are for the most part entirely different in quality from the domestic hides, and do not compete with the latter in the markets. But even if this were not the case an advance of ten per cent on the cost of one-fifth could not seriously affect the prices of the four-fifths. As the production of hides could not be developed by a duty, therefore, nor the price increased for the hides that are produced, a tariff must be a tax for revenue only, without any possibility of compensating benefits. Protectionists long ago recognized this principle, and as soon after the war as the revenue could be dispensed with, hides were placed on the free list.

WANTED, A NEW ST. PATRICK.

Boston Globe.

The legend of St. Patrick driving the serpents out of Ireland suggests at least one thought pertinent to the existing unjust and cruel landlord system of that country.

The serpents which St. Patrick had to deal with could only devour the substance of Ireland when present on the soil. Those other devourers, the absentee landlords, can consume the substance of Ireland just as well when not present on the land. Their suckers are always fastened to the soil, no matter where their visible presence may be.

Yet, after all, this sort of parasite is not altogether an exclusive production of Ireland. It thrives upon the system of land tenure which burdens more or less heavily the whole civilized world. In the sweet by and by perhaps we shall have some kind of Utopian reform in this matter. Our American citizens don't feel the weight of the landlord quite as much as the Irish peasantry do; but still there are a great many Americans to whom rent day is not by any means a joyous occasion.

In Ireland, at least, there is no doubt that the serpent of landlordism is badly in need of being cast out. Where is the modern St. Patrick?

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

ALL FOR THE FARMER.

CORN, WHEAT, EGGS, RAW SILK AND PEAT UNDER HIGHER DUTIES FOR HIS SAKE.

The New York Tribune, by way of convincing the farmer that the republican party benevolently holds him in the hollow of its hand, publishes a list showing the comparative rates of duty on agricultural products by the present tariff, the Mills bill and the McKinley bill. Here are some of the most striking facts of the case, showing the increase of duty as compared with the present tariff:

Barley, 20 cents a bushel; buckwheat, 5 cents a bushel; corn, 5 cents a bushel; oats, 5 cents a bushel; wheat, 5 cents a bushel; butter, 2 cents a pound; beans, 30 cents a bushel; eggs, 5 cents per dozen; peas, changed from 20 per cent to 40 cents a bushel; potatoes, 10 cents a bushel; vegetables in natural state, 15 per cent; straw, \$2 per ton; apples, 25 cents per bushel; plums, 1 cent per pound; figs, unchanged; raisins, 1/2 cent a pound; bacon and ham, 3 cents per pound; beef, mutton and pork, 1 cent a pound; wool, unwashed, 1 cent a pound; wool, third class, not exceeding 12 cents a pound in value, 1 cent a pound; wool, third class, exceeding 12 cents a pound in value, 1/2 cent a pound; raw silk, \$1 a pound; peat, \$3 a ton; leaf tobacco, stemmed, \$1.75 a pound; unstemmed, \$1.25 per pound.

This is a refreshing list. A tariff on most of these things, especially wheat, corn, oats and bacon, is of about as much use to a farmer as a fifth wheel to his wagon. It is pleasant to know that figs are unchanged, since no farmer will suffer by their admission at the present duty of two cents a pound. It is to be hoped that every farmer realizes the advantage conferred upon him by increased duties on raw silk and peat.

CANADA'S STUPID TARIFF POLICY.

During a recent debate in the parliament at Ottawa Mr. Ellis of New Brunswick declared that owing to the increasing burdens the government was placing on the people of the maritime provinces he thought it was hardly worth while for New Brunswick to remain in the confederation. Mr. Ellis of course referred to the growing Canadian tariff. All the lumber merchants of Northumberland county, New Brunswick, liberal and conservative, condemn the additional tariff tax on flour, beef, pork, hardware and clothing. In British Columbia newspapers of all political parties condemn the tariff increase as unjust and oppressive. The tariff bill now under discussion at Ottawa is really a declaration of commercial war against the United States. It greatly increases the burdens of the Canadian people and abandons the government's old policy of reciprocity in natural products. The opposition members, led by Sir Richard Cartwright, are opposing the proposed changes and becoming more and more favorable to unrestricted reciprocity.

Joseph C. Rehling writes to THE STANDARD from Newport, Ky., saying that the town is full of unemployed men, and that this makes it easier to convince workmen generally that protection is a humbug. A lot of wide-awake men, mostly single taxers, have organized a tariff reform club in Newport. Their application blank quotes the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident." The title of the club is the Young men's independent tariff reform club.

Mrs. Mary M. Clardy writes to THE STANDARD from Texas to say that her free trade league has been formed at San Antonio, with Mrs. S. E. Davidson as president and Mrs. V. R. Leake as corresponding secretary. Mrs. Clardy says that their object is to disseminate sound knowledge concerning taxation according to God's law of justice. Their methods are prayer, bible study and economic investigation; conversation with friends and neighbors on free trade and the single tax; obtaining subscribers for THE STANDARD, and the distribution of free trade and single tax literature to women in all parts of Texas. Mrs. Clardy writes an enthusiastic letter declaring her devotion to the doctrine of free trade and the single tax. She has just gone to visit Mrs. M. J. Ross at Coleman, Tex. Letters addressed to Mrs. Clardy, in care of Mrs. Ross, will be forwarded.

SOCIETY NOTES.

"Something that nobody else has had" is what engages the attention of the hostess who has issued invitations for luncheon or dinner. Mrs. Jordan L. Mott, jr., achieved a success in the novel luncheon she gave on Wednesday in honor of Mrs. George B. McClellan and Miss May McClellan. Everything, from the tablecloth and napkins to the topmost decorations of the frosted cakes, was in the style of the First empire. At each plate were placed large bunches of violets, the Napoleonic flower. A general discussion of the life and character of the emperor followed, in which all present participated.—[New York Journal.]

William D. Clayton, a veteran of the civil war, who passed nineteen months in Confederate prisons, is likely to lose to-morrow his poor apartments at 418 West Sixteenth street from inability to pay the rent. He is a sorter of ships' cargoes, an occupation seldom worth

a dollar a day, and sometimes scarcely a dollar a week. These precarious wages are all the income he has, his eldest son having, through an illness which confined him many weeks in a hospital, lost a place worth \$3 a week. Mrs. Clayton died on January 9 with her new-born child. Both would probably have lived had nourishing food been more plentiful in the Clayton family. Mrs. Catharine Markey, Mrs. Clayton's mother, died on Friday from debility, due to lack of proper treatment and good food, as much as anything. Mr. Clayton has put his two little daughters in an institution, but a sickly boy, whom his eldest son, having now nothing else to do, takes care of, makes three persons still to provide for. Mr. Clayton's family bible shows that he belongs to a family that has been in this country over 150 years. He served in the Twelfth Massachusetts.—[New York Sun.]

Small dinners, musicales, readings, recitations, and Patti and Tamagno at the Metropolitan have been the only social incidents of the week. People are arriving every day from Florida, although there are enough still left there to make the Ponce de Leon quite gay. Miss Cameron, Miss Catharine Cameron and Miss Flora Davis have returned from Washington, where they spent a very gay week at the Shoreham under the chaperonage of Mrs. Street, the mother of Mrs. L. P. Morton. On the night after her arrival Miss Davis gave a daisy dinner, the table being decorated with yellow marguerites, and the "daisies" who surrounded it looking even fresher and prettier than the flowers themselves. Among them were Miss Hargous, Miss Lina Post, Miss Eleanor Duer, Miss Camilla Moss and Miss Jeanne Borrowe, the guest of honor being Prince Yturbe of Mexico.—[New York Sun.]

Yesterday afternoon one of the inmates of a lodging house at 15 Crescent place noticed an unpleasant odor from a little room in the attic, which was occupied by a woman named Mary Mullosney, sixty years old. Officer Hogan of station 3 was notified, and, procuring a key, he opened the door and found the dead body of the old woman lying on the floor. It was badly decomposed, and had evidently been there several days. She had been missing, so the inmates of the house say, for two months. So far as can be ascertained she had no friends or relatives in the city, or perhaps in the world. It is thought that she became ill in the room, and having no one to look after her, died of want and old age together.—[Boston Post.]

Like a vision of loveliness embodied Marie Halton, the pretty vivandiere of "The Drum Major" company reclined in an easy chair in her dainty room in the Hotel Vendome when a Journal reporter called. She wore a scanty sleeved dress of soft lavender color, which set off her trim figure to advantage, and looked supremely happy.

"I spend great sums in dresses," she said. "My dresses consume more money than I care to say."

"How much would you average, say, a month in dresses?"

"Oh, you mustn't ask me that. I would be positively ashamed to say. If I began to calculate what I spent last month on dresses it would appal me. I dare not do it."—[New York Journal.]

Utica, N. Y.—A young woman was found dead here to-day in St. Agnes's cemetery. There was an empty laudanum vial near the body. The name "Mary L. Eaglesfield" was on an envelope containing a cabinet photograph of the woman taken in Albany. A note was found worded as follows: "I have worked until I am tired out. I have no right anywhere on earth. Won't some charitable persons bury me without going to a great expense? My brother is in Berlin, Wis. I have written him to pay for my burial without taking my body to Binghamton. Bury me in the Potter's field—anywhere—only lay me to rest. I hope I will succeed in ending my life and not make a failure of it."—[New York Tribune.]

Mr. Charles H. Marshall gave a rosebud dinner on Thursday evening at which were all the debutantes of this winter, with men belonging to an older and sager set, such as Mr. Ridgway Moore, Mr. John Beresford, John Kingsford and other veterans in society's brigade.—[New York World.]

"WE SUBMIT THESE FACTS TO A CANDID WORLD."

New York Sun.

A newspaper should print the news, not manufacture it.

Providence Journal.

The New York Sun publishes an account of the difficulties of voters under the ballot reform law at the late election in this state which is two-thirds falsehood and the other third exaggeration.

HORSES COST CASH; MEN COST NOTHING.

New York Sun.

A good deal of the profit or loss in the management of a horse car or stage line, an express company, or any similar enterprise, lies in the care of the horses. It is more important, financially to look out for the horses than it is for the men employed. There are always plenty of men to be had to take the places of the sick and disabled, but horses cost good, hard cash, and can't be had in any other way. The temporary or permanent loss of a man from the service means only a little inconvenience. The loss of a horse means so much cash gone.

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

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 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 in 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. 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 corporations which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one 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 uses 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 only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor-saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

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

2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to 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 attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, April 5, 1890.

The single tax enrolment 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 obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

Owing to the absence from the city of the secretary, the committee's report is closed on the 5th, instead of the 8th.

The committee's work for the month of March has been most encouraging—our friends throughout the country are showing unabated zeal for the cause, and the reports of accessions to our ranks are steadily increasing. The committee has distributed gratuitously during the month about 14,000 tracts and STANDARDS. These tracts have not been sent at haphazard, to fall into the waste basket, but gone to our active "workers," who will see to it that they will reach the hands of those who will read them.

Reports from single tax clubs regarding the proposed informal conference are coming in slowly, and it will probably be several weeks before a majority have been heard from. As soon as a sufficient number have reported, the result of the canvass will be published.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending April 5 are as follows:

Thro' S. D. Guion (add.), Brooklyn	1 20
Thro' C. Bonesteel, Grand Crossing	2 40
Thro' H. W. Benedict, Auburn, N. Y.	4 50
Thro' Dr. B. F. Snyder (add.), Tecumseh, Mich.	60
Thro' T. P. Adams, New York city	9 00
Fred. A. Dunlap, Cambridgeport	6 00
	\$23 70

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$3,276 00

Total . . . \$3,299 70

Cash contributions for the week are as follows:

Thro' Dr. B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh	10
F. G. Anderson, Jamestown, N. Y.	1 00
James B. Jones, Philadelphia, Pa.	50
A. A. Puddefoot, Detroit, Mich.	1 00
	\$2 60

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . 703 30

Total . . . \$705 90

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week . . .	78,408
Received since last report . . .	1 91
Total . . .	78,599

G. ST. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

RESOLUTIONS ON BALLOT REFORM—GOVERNOR HILL DENOUNCED AND ASSEMBLYMAN SOMMER COMMENDED—THE CLUB NEEDED \$500 AND IT WAS RAISED IN LESS THAN FIVE MINUTES—MAJOR CALHOUN TO PRESIDE AT THE "SMOKE TALK" TO-MORROW EVENING.

Anent ballot reform, the Manhattan single tax club placed itself on record, last Thursday evening, by the passage of the two resolutions below—copies of which were ordered to be sent to Governor Hill and Assemblyman Sommer:

Resolved, That we condemn the action of Governor Hill in vetoing the Saxton ballot reform bill. We recognize in the provisions of that bill an efficient and tried method of securing the secrecy of the ballot and freeing elections from the control of machine politics; and in the recommendations of the governor we see only a pretense of reform.

Resolved, That we approve the course of the legislature in refusing to refer the question of the constitutionality of the bill to the court of appeals. The precedent of such a course to which the governor refers was a request by Governor Hoffman to the court to advise him whether or not the language of a bill pending before him would not raise a serious question as to its constitutionality, to the end that the language might be corrected. In making the request, Governor Hoffman disclaimed any intention of asking for a construction of the bill; and the court, in granting it, disclaimed any purpose of passing upon the question. Governor Hill might have imitated the course of Governor Hoffman; but that case offered no precedent for the proposition to have the legislature join him in the request; and we regard it as highly unpolitic that the court of appeals, whose duty it is to pass judgment on laws when they affect individual rights, should undertake to forestall its formal judgment by private opinions upon bills in advance of their adoption.

Whereas, William Sommer, representative in the legislature from the Tenth assembly district of New York city, has been threatened with political persecution by his own party because he voted to pass the Saxton ballot reform bill;

Resolved, by the Manhattan single tax club, that we will use our best efforts to support Mr. Sommer in any contest in which his vote in favor of the Saxton bill is made the issue.

The most important business of the evening was the matter of the proposed change of quarters. The board reported that it would be necessary to raise a loan of \$500 immediately to carry out the instructions of the club. A committee was appointed to solicit contributions to the loan, and in less than five minutes after they had opened their list—Mr. Wolf says he thought it was less than two minutes, but he is not good authority, because he was taking the names—the entire amount was subscribed. And, from the enthusiasm displayed, it is safe to say that if the board had asked for three times as much they could have had it, for when the committee closed the list fully a third of the members were on their feet trying to catch the eye of one of the committee. Nearly the whole amount subscribed was paid in to the committee within ten minutes after the adjournment of the meeting. Mr. Williams, the treasurer of the club, was authorized to arrange for a three-year lease of the new quarters.

The new home of the club will be at No. 73 Lexington avenue, near Twenty sixth street. It is a four-story and basement high stoop house, sixty odd feet deep and twenty-five feet front. The club will occupy the entire parlor floor, the front basement and the large front room over the parlor floor. The basement will be used as a billiard room, and the library will be in the room over the parlor floor. The parlor floor will be used for the club's entertainments and lectures, and on the off nights the two front rooms will be used for reading and quiet conversation, while the extension will be a smoking room. The tables on this floor will be supplied with newspapers from all parts of this country and Europe and magazines and reviews. The remainder of the house has been rented to a tenant, who will furnish the rooms and let them to such of the members as may desire them.

The house is centrally located, being only two blocks from the Twenty-eighth street Third avenue elevated station, one block from Third avenue, one block from Fourth avenue, two blocks from Madison square and avenue, and only three blocks from Fifth avenue and Broadway.

The members say that within three months after the club occupies its new quarters the names on its rolls will be doubled.

To-morrow evening, Thursday, the club will entertain its members and friends with a "smoke talk." Major Alfred R. Calhoun of Brooklyn will make the "talk," in which he will tell of his experiences as a soldier, and other interesting themes.

A number of letters have come in commending the picture on rent which appeared in the last issue of THE STANDARD. For the information of those interested we will say that the picture with the single tax platform on the back has been printed as a leaflet by the Manhattan single tax club who will send them to any address at \$1.50 per 1,000 or twenty cents for a hundred.

BROOKLYN.

THE MEETING AT FLATBUSH—MR. STEERS SPEAKS TO THE BROOKLYN MEN.

On Wednesday, April 2, nine members of the Brooklyn single tax club went to Flatbush to assist in arousing a more general interest in the single tax among the inhabitants of that village. The audience was composed almost exclusively of lawyers, doctors, and business men, who were undoubtedly in thorough sympathy with the speakers, as every point made by them was heartily applauded.

The lecture Sunday evening was delivered by Mr. A. J. Steers, secretary of the Manhattan club, who took for his theme the moral aspect of the single tax, as suggested by the festive occasion, it being Easter Sunday. The address was an admirable presentation of the religious side of the question, and was delivered with deep feeling. After asserting that in his belief the single tax was the solution of the riddle of the Sphinx, he showed that if justice was really done it would not be necessary to change human nature; the changed conditions brought about would develop the better part of man's nature. An animated discussion followed, which was participated in by Messrs. Thompson, De'anco, Aitken, Curley, Baker, Rand, Boulton and Brown.

A meeting of the club will be held in celebration of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson at the art gallery, Montague street, next to the Academy of Music, on Monday evening, April 14, at 8 o'clock. The speakers announced are Frederick W. Hinrichs, Rev. H. Price Collier and the great champion of free trade, Thomas G. Shearman. The public are invited to honor the memory of the man whom single tax men consider the best exponent of true democracy—one who professed and practiced the principles of justice and freedom.

NEW YORK STATE.

A GALA NIGHT AT BAYSIDE—A ROCHESTER CAPITALIST SEES THE CAT.

T. E. Lane, Bayside, L. I.—The Flushing single tax club had a gala night on the 2d inst. A large delegation of good speakers from the Brooklyn single tax club were present, and each one spoke for ten minutes, after Mr. Molinas had blackboarded "The Law

of Rent." There was a large audience, among whom were many ladies.

The large audience was composed mainly of the most refined and practically religious women of Flushing—not the light and airy "fad" seeking butterflies of fashion, but the intellectually solid people who do not fear to seek the truth and proclaim it when found.

A short debate followed the speaking, and not a person left the hall until the meeting adjourned, between 10 and 11 o'clock.

The members of the Flushing club were delighted over the success of the meeting, and pleased to meet the Brooklyn workers in the great cause.

Harry D. Gawn, Rochester.—Alderman Devillo W. Seyle, who has been elected for the third time to represent the Ninth ward in the board of aldermen, said to me in a conversation I had with him a few days ago, "that this country would see free trade inside of ten years," and that he believed in the Henry George system of taxation; for, said he, "I have made expensive improvements on my tract of land in the northern part of the city and known as the Seyle tract, and now the city has placed a fine on me for so doing in the way of increased taxation. I have also tried to buy the lot on the corner of State street and Lytle avenue, upon which I wish to erect a building for manufacturing purposes; but the owner has always asked me more than it is worth. If he had to pay taxes on it according to its value, I then perhaps would be able to use it." Probably no man in this city is as well posted on taxation as Mr. Seyle.

MASSACHUSETTS.

DOING GOOD PROPAGANDA WORK—JAMES A. HERNE IN DORCHESTER.

W. S. Brown, M. D., Stoneham.—It seems to me that our chief energies should at present be directed to teaching the public the gospel of free trade, and with that object in view I have been lecturing on "The tariff and wages" in a large number of Massachusetts towns, and furnishing short articles for country newspapers.

W. L. Crossman, Roxbury.—T. V. Powderly discussed taxes, real estate and ballot reform, in Faneuil hall, last Sunday evening, April 6.

John Lavis, Dorchester.—James A. Herne will give a dramatic reading of Professor Hamlin Garland's story, "Under the Lion's Paw," Dorchester hall, Field's building, under the auspices of the Dorchester and Neponset single tax clubs, on Monday evening, April 14.

I am to speak at Buffum hall, Lynn, on Sunday evening, April 13, on "Organized labor and the single tax." J. Q. Lothrop of the Neponset club will also speak.

PENNSYLVANIA.

CELEBRATING JEFFERSON'S BIRTHDAY IN PHILADELPHIA.

Oscar F. Roller, Philadelphia.—The single tax people of Philadelphia enjoyed a delightful evening on April 2 in the form of a banquet given by our club in celebration of the birthday of Jefferson. About 130 people were present (twice the number present a year ago at a similar occasion) and the affair was quite a success. After the dinner had been discussed the speeches began. They were as follows:

"Jefferson and Liberty," Dwight M. Lowrey; "The Prophet of San Francisco," Wm. J. Atkinson; "Echoes of the Tariff Message," Arthur H. Stephenson; "Enlightened Selfishness," Isaac Feinberg; "The Ethics of the Question," Henry George, jr.; "The Landlord Must Go," William Callingham; "The Home Market Delusion," Dr. John Kaye; "How Woman Can Help," Katharine J. Musson; "The Future of Reform," Thomas Earle White; "Free Trade Straight," Oscar F. Roller. The presentation of a portrait of Henry George to the Single tax society by Mr. J. C. Frost, on behalf of Mr. Louis Blaul. The chairman will accept the gift for the society. "The Single Tax," Herman V. Heitzel. "Common Sense as the Remedy," Dr. John W. Dick; "Protection to the Steel Industry," D. L. Haws; "The Corner Lot," I. L. Shoemaker; "Progress from Poverty," William Horan; "The Ballot Box," J. Henry McIntyre; "More Thought and Less Toil," John Moore; "Bricks Without Straw," D. M. Anderson; "The Millennium," Dr. H. J. Woodhouse.

We are still hard at work spreading the truth, and though our work is not so much in the way of large public meetings, we have many small ones.

There are about four single tax organizations in Philadelphia, and a single tax mission which holds public meetings every Sunday evening. At these meetings there is an opening address on the single tax, followed by open discussion.

On April 17 we expect to have a very successful public meeting at St. George's hall, Thirteenth and Arch streets, at which Father Huntington will lecture.

The tax commission of Pennsylvania, which is supposed to report a favorable method of taxation, afforded the single tax men an opportunity of good advertisement. Though the many good single tax lectures they received will have little or no effect on them, yet the public has been given a truer explanation of what we want than ever before. These things start the people to thinking, and

when we will once have secure and honest ballot these people will become valuable.

INDIANA.

A SINGLE TAX CLUB WANTS ADVICE ABOUT A PETITION.

M. Ritchie, Richmond, Ind.—The single tax club of this city have prepared a petition to be presented to the legislature, and ask the counsel and assistance of single tax men throughout Indiana. The following embodies the idea:

To the senate and house of representatives of the state of Indiana: Whereas, The constitution of the state of Indiana requires the products of labor to be taxed, and permits exemption from taxation in favor of municipal, educational, literary, scientific, religious and charitable purposes only, and whereas we believe that all the products of labor should be free from taxation; Therefore, the undersigned respectfully ask the general assembly of the state of Indiana to propose and agree to such an amendment of the constitution as will permit the general assembly to exempt from taxation the products of labor.

On the back of the petition is printed appropriate matter relative to tax reform. With the present constitutional hindrance removed there will be a clear field for needed tax reform legislation. Single tax men and clubs who have not yet received petitions are requested to communicate with either Dr. C. A. Kersey or M. Ritchie of this city. We ask that other papers please copy or notice.

Isaac H. Duran, Evansville.—The advocates of the single tax are doing good work here and converts are made daily. P. H. Carroll made a speech to the farmers of Mount Vernon last week, and Captain J. W. Wartman has given an able defense of the single tax in the Evansville Journal. A few years ago there were only a few us; now we can count hundreds.

ILLINOIS.

THE CHICAGO SINGLE TAX MEN REJOICE OVER THE RESULTS OF THE LATE ELECTION.

Warren Worth Bailey, Chicago, April 4.—I was unable to attend last night's meeting of the club, but I am assured that it was as interesting as usual and the attendance was good in spite of the extremely inclement weather. The Hon. Jonathan B. Taylor spoke on the tariff and I am told that he blistered the "protectionists" from Blaine down.

It should be noted in this connection that Mr. Taylor was a candidate for council in the Twentieth ward on Tuesday last. He was almost literally forced to make the race by the democrats after their regular nominee had declined, and he had only three or four days in which to make the canvass.

The ward is republican, normally, by about 500 majority, but Mr. Taylor reduced this by more than 300, in spite of the hostility of the democratic boss of the north side, who was also hostile to Mr. Taylor in his race for congress two years ago, when, notwithstanding this handicap he was able to cut the republican majority down by over 2,000.

The fact that it does not hurt a politician to be an avowed single tax man was shown in the nomination of Mr. Taylor, as well as by the election itself; and when this gets abroad you will find that men who now timidly hang back for prudential reasons will hang back no longer.

The election of Tuesday was very gratifying in its results on the whole. Two of the assessors chosen were definitely pledged to certain reforms in the methods of assessment for which we have been contending, and in both cases the issue was pretty clearly made. Mr. Cantwell on the West side was re-elected, and it was said in his favor at the convention which gave in the nomination, after a hot contest, that he was "the single tax candidate," and in a certain sense he was, for he had done something toward the correction of the abuses to which we called his attention last spring. Mr. Cantwell alone gave us encouragement at that time, and it is to his credit that he actually took some faltering steps in the right direction.

Mr. Richards, the democratic nominee, who boldly proclaimed that he would assess vacant and unimproved property relatively as high as the improved and otherwise equalize the burdens of taxation, was also triumphantly elected, reversing an overwhelming republican majority.

So you see we have some reason for rejoicing over this week's work, especially as it has included the election of at least one alderman who is with us wholly, besides a number whose sympathies are on our side in the contest against special privilege.

Moreover, the judiciary committee to which was referred our memorial for the appointment of a special committee of the city council to investigate the question of local taxation has given the matter favorable consideration, and it will report back a recommendation that the committee asked for be appointed.

Every member of the judiciary committee favored the proposition, and action was deferred only because it was deemed to be wise to consult the mayor and the law department on the matter.

Wm. Coulson, Spring Valley.—I have to work ten hours down in the dark mine every

day, and have other duties to attend to; so it leaves me without very much time to get around. However, I have got about eighty names to the petition which I sent to the enrollment committee, and I expect I can get a good many more in time.

I hope and pray that Mr. George will meet with the same success in Australia that he has had in my native England, and I also hope the day is not far distant when the whole English speaking race will take a more decided step in the way of justice and righteousness and set an example to the world worthy of imitation.

W. B. Steers, Chicago.—For some time I have been sending tracts to a minister here. They must have had an effect, for I see by the papers that he has taken up the labor question.

VIRGINIA.

THE DANVILLE CITY COUNCIL REDUCES THE LICENSE TAX.

T. J. Conroy, Danville.—A sign: Our city council has reduced the license tax on business men, because it is a burden on enterprise. The Danville Register, in commenting on this action, says:

Indeed, we are not so certain that it would not be a blessing to real estate owners if the revenues of the city were raised almost entirely from the tax on real and personal property so that we could advertise to the world that all men who wanted to do a legitimate and desirable business in this city could do so without paying a cent of tax for the privilege.

A policy so liberal and progressive would be sure to attract capitalists, would cheapen the cost of goods to the consumer, would stimulate business and enhance the price of real estate and the rental value thereof.

The Register is not quite out of the woods, as you will doubtless observe, but it is looking our way.

TENNESSEE.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS IN MEMPHIS—A NOTICE FROM KNOXVILLE.

S. T., Memphis.—At our last meeting the following gentlemen were elected as officers of our single tax club for this year: President, J. S. Menken; vice-president, Bolton Smith; corresponding secretary, R. G. Brown; recording secretary, G. A. Lott; treasurer, M. H. McDowell.

William Graham, Knoxville.—I would like to make the acquaintance of all STANDARD readers in Knoxville, with the view of forming a single tax club in Knoxville. Address William Graham, 5 Market Square.

MINNESOTA.

A CLERGYMAN SEES FATHER HUNTINGTON AND BECOMES INTERESTED.

C. J. Buell, Minneapolis.—The Rev. William Wilkins of St. Andrew church of North Minneapolis went to hear Father Huntington when he lectured here, and has since been reading up on the single tax. In a lecture which he delivered last week, he said he saw some advantages in the single tax system, but did not think it would do all its advocates claimed for it. On the whole, he was friendly toward the cause.

I have a good many calls on my time. I am writing a series of articles for the Great West, a farmer's paper, and also a series for the Mankato Journal, the editor of which, Mr. A. M. Morrison, says he is a single taxer.

The fact that in this state land and buildings are assessed separately makes it one of the best states in the Union to do practical single tax work in. We can get the exact figures to show just what any man's taxes would be under the single tax here. Thus we find that a three per cent rate in this city on the present assessed value of the lots and lands would yield \$120,000 per year more than we now get from a two per cent rate on everything.

There is no better way to start a single tax address than to take the auditor's report and show just what rate of taxation would be needed to get the same revenue as now if we had the single tax. This puts the whole matter on a hard, practical basis at once.

H. Ellington, Kilkenny, Lescur county.—So far as I can see the present outlook for a grand rush to our ranks next summer seems very promising. Much, very much, will depend upon the course that the democracy pursues. If they have the good sense to favor general reform and investigations into present systems of taxation in the state, and free trade in national politics, I consider our ship as safely launched into the waters of Minnesota politics.

MICHIGAN.

MAKING STEADY PROGRESS IN DETROIT.

J. B., Detroit.—The single tax is making steady progress in this very conservative old city, and if the party platform builders understand their trade they will be obliged to pay some deference to the growth of that sentiment to insure success in the next campaign. Fraternity hall was fairly well filled on Monday, March 24, to listen to a paper on "Taxation and Freedom," which fairly bristled with free trade, and the fine illustrations and well taken points received the hearty

applause of those present. This paper was read a few weeks since by Mr. Howarth to the Michigan club, the head and front of the republican party in this state, and of course created some consternation at the evident treason in camp. Mr. Howarth is at present one of the best abused men in the city; but having the courage of his convictions and the ability to express them, he has suddenly become guilty of heresy, and, of course, famous. Mr. H. is a member of the large shoe manufacturing firm of Pingree & Smith, and a young man of business who can see how trade is hampered and held down by unjust restrictions.

Mr. Henry A. Robinson made some remarks that were well received, as also did Rev. Mr. Cooper, the assistant rector of one of our large churches, the latter speaker admitting his ignorance of the remedy which we advocate.

John Johnson, Manistee.—The single tax movement has not made much progress here of late. If some public speaker from outside would speak on the single tax idea here it would do a great deal of good.

J. R. Gibbons, Saginaw.—We expect to be able to start a German single tax club here soon.

CALIFORNIA.

BURIAL OF MISS KATE KENNEDY—EULOGY OF A WOMAN WHO LOVED HUMANITY.

S. T., San Francisco.—The single tax club gave a public reception at Metropolitan temple on Saturday evening, March 29. Joseph Leggett presided and opened the proceedings by introducing L. M. Manzer. Judge Maguire, who followed, referred to the death of Miss Kate Kennedy, and announced that she had left \$10,000 to be devoted to the advancement of the single tax. He then explained to the audience what the single tax was and how it would benefit mankind as a whole. The attendance was large.

Weekly Star, San Francisco.—On Thursday, March 20, Miss Kate Kennedy was buried from the residence of J. M. Cushing, Oakland. The following gentlemen acted as pall bearers: Hon. Joseph Leggett, Hon. Thomas F. Barry, Judge James G. Maguire, Judge Selden S. Wright, Mr. J. J. Rey, Mr. J. O. Rountree and James H. Barry.

A large number of friends attended the funeral, which was conducted with marked simplicity. At the grave Judge Maguire spoke feelingly, as follows:

In the death of our beloved friend, to whose memory we now pay the last earthly tribute of respect, a life of uncommonly arduous, untiring and conscientious labor came to a close.

Here was a life of well directed, unselfish, useful labor, which has made the world better than it would have been if she had not lived, and this, her constant ambition, is, after all, the only true test of the value of any human life.

In the struggle of life she sought neither physical ease nor relief from mental responsibility, but whatever came in the line of duty, to her hands, she did with all her might.

"Rare was the day whose low descending sun
Saw no good work her hand or mind had done."

Duty was her guiding star. The principles of justice, truth, liberty, she loved dearer than life, and to them she devoted and prematurely sacrificed her life.

Kate Kennedy was, indeed, a type of noblest womanhood. She was an earnest reformer and strict moralist, yet possessed of that rare combination of virtue and tolerance, which enabled her always to love the sinner, while hating and opposing the sin.

I know that none more than our dead would deprecate any fulsome eulogy, such as is too common on such solemn occasions as this, for her simple heart despised all shams and merely formal ceremonies; but I do know, from her expressed wish, that she hoped to have some friend, acquainted with her most cherished thoughts, aspirations and sympathies, say at her grave that—regardless of the distinctions and classifications prevailing in human society—regardless of the division of races, parties and creeds—she loved her fellow creatures one and all; that she sympathized with the poor and oppressed of her brethren; that she labored and hoped for the restoration to them of their natural heritage—of their natural opportunities—believing firmly that the greatest portion of human misery, in the present age, springs from the exclusion of the poor from the resources which the Creator has so generously and so bountifully provided.

In this great cause neither her tongue nor her pen, nor her purse, ever faltered to the last, and no assurance could be more gratifying to her in this hour than that which we now give, that those who labored with her will continue in that work until it shall be accomplished.

Her life-long labor as a public school teacher is known and appreciated. In her domestic relations she was all that a true and noble woman should be—a faithful daughter, an affectionate sister, a true friend.

Now that we consign her to her last resting place, at the close of her splendid and exemplary life, we can only say: "Loving daughter, kind friend, great and conscientious teacher, noble philanthropist, farewell."

Frank W. Lynch, Palmeta Ranch, San Luis Obispo Co.—I think that the American farmer is beginning to realize that he, like Isaac, is "a strong ass couching down between two burdens"—the tariff and monop-

oly. When he realizes it fully, the single tax will triumph. The passage of the bill concerning mortgages in the next census was an excellent thing. If the work is done thoroughly it will open the eyes of those optimists who say that we are "a nation of land owners."

Isaac McCloskey, Santa Monica.—I am astonished to hear so many declare for the single tax—men that I had no idea were thinking about it. Others that have not yet so declared are asking for information.

M. Rhodes, Pasadena.—Prosperity is at its very lowest ebb in this section at present. But little employment is to be had at any price.

CONNECTICUT.

James H. Payne, Bridgeport.—Mr. Alfred W. Smith of New Haven delivered an address entitled "The Science of Moral Economy" before the Bridgeport social science club, Sunday afternoon, April 6. Mr. Smith's address was excellent, and reflects great credit on him as a deep thinker. He is a young man and a mechanic. At the close of Mr. Smith's address, Mr. Gorsuch made some very pleasant remarks on the subject, and complimented the speaker very highly.

NEW JERSEY.

J. A. Craig, Paterson.—Our last meeting was chiefly devoted to completing the preliminary arrangements for the proposed "in formal supper." It will be held on Tuesday evening, the 15th inst., and from present indications it will be a complete success. Mr. Post, Herbert Boggs, J. T. Altamus and others will be present and speak, as well as a number of local luminaries. Mr. Nellis, president of the club, has taken a trip to Florida, but it is expected that he will be back in time to preside at the supper.

LOUISIANA.

G. W. Roberts, New Orleans.—At our meeting of the 27th ult. the following were elected as officers for the ensuing term: President, James Middleton, 61 Camp street; vice-president, F. D. Van Valkenburgh, 106 Camp street; second vice-president, R. S. McMahon, Chocahoula, La.; secretary and treasurer, G. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia street, New Orleans.

Owing to the pressure of other matters, Mr. J. S. Watters declined a renomination for the chairmanship. The club accepted his declination with regret, as is shown in a series of resolutions adopted. [They will appear in next week's STANDARD.]

MISSOURI.

Percy Pepoon, St. Louis.—At the last meeting of the single tax league a committee of five was appointed to make arrangements for a celebration of Jefferson's birthday on the 13th—Sunday. There will be two rival democratic celebrations on Saturday the 12th, and the single tax league decided not to enter the field with them, but to celebrate the actual day which falls on Sunday. The committee will endeavor to secure John Z. White, of Chicago, as the principal speaker.

The mock congress has changed its time of meeting to Saturday nights and a single tax bill is now on for discussion. Sheridan Webster, clerk of the congress, has issued a small paper styled "The Mock Congressman" for the purpose of advertising the meetings. The mock congressional debates are always interesting.

COLORADO.

J. J. McClellent, Aspen.—The old democratic "mossbacks" are alarmed at the influence we expect with the party here. They call us bad names, but we hold the fort, nevertheless. I intend to work the democratic convention, which meets here next week, for subscriptions toward the work of the enrollment committee.

TEXAS.

E. W. Brown, Houston.—Texas is not, I think, a leading state, nor is the battle being fought here yet, but it is coming this way. We have a land boom now started, and before it is through I think there will be many aching heads and hearts; and perhaps then the day of battle may begin.

NEW MEXICO.

P. H. Smith, Raton.—The Rev. J. M. Rife lately delivered a sermon on the social question, using as his text "The golden rule." During his address he made excellent use of THE STANDARD'S Society Notes. Those who heard him praise his sermon very highly. I am pleased to be able to say that the pastors of two other churches are searching the scriptures for the truth, and my hope is well founded that they will find it.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

KIND WORDS FOR AN ABSENT FRIEND.

J. M., Victoria, Vancouver island.—The single tax cause in this city has lost an earnest and effectual worker by the recent sudden departure of Walter L. Sinton from Ireland, in answer to an earnest request from his father that he would return as quickly as possible and take charge of his extensive manufacturing interests. The sickness of his father being very serious and expectedly fatal necessitated his hasty departure and

left us no time to make arrangements for a farewell gathering and testimonial worthy of him. So we called together as many friends of the cause as we could reach in the short time at our disposal, and passed a few hours very pleasantly with Mr. Sinton and his family. Shortly after the arrival of the guests our brother was presented with a gold-headed cane and an address, to which he replied in a few well chosen words that did honor to the great cause in which he has labored so zealously during the past few years.

The "old guard" of Victoria feel the brother's loss more than they can express, for though there are many sympathizers here with the cause so dear to his heart and ours, there are few who manifest the zeal he did for the spread of that cause among the people. But what is our loss will be others' gain, for we know he will continue to fight for the truth as long as life and strength will permit him to.

GERMANY.

THE SINGLE TAX IN THE KAISER'S LAND—THE EMPEROR INTERESTED.

S. T., Düsseldorf, Rhine province.—As an indication of the growth of the single tax, I point to the establishment here of a weekly paper, *Frei Land*, which is an advocate of our doctrine. Michael Flurschheim was asked to become its editor, but declined because he had not the time to devote to it; so Dr. H. Webberg, the president of the League for land tenure reform (the oldest single tax club of Germany), has taken charge of the paper.

Among other items, the *Frei Land* says that Dr. Harmening of Vienna, a member of the league, has been elected to the reichstag from Eisenach, celebrated in history as the place where Martin Luther began his great religious reform.

Michael Flurschheim is at present in England, where he is endeavoring to get the socialists to join politically with the people favoring the taxation of ground rents.

A branch of the land reform league was organized in Berlin a short time ago. The local papers said that the emperor sent one of the members of his unofficial council to the meeting to find out the objects of the new organization and make notes of the addresses. The councilman made his report to the emperor, who is said to have been so favorably impressed with the presentation of the single tax theory, as reported to him, that he brought the matter up for discussion at a meeting of his advisory court, which is composed of his cabinet and intimate friends.

HELL BET THAT THE TARIFF IS A TAX.

Klingman, Kan., Democrat.
He sat at his door at noonday, lonely and gloomy and sad,
Brooding over the price of his corn crop and figuring how much he had.
He had worked from early springtime, early and late and hard,
And he was counting his assets and figuring out his reward.
He figured that it took two acres to buy his two boys new boots,
And ten acres more on top of this to fit them out with new suits.
To buy his wife a protected dress took a hundred bushels more,
While five acres went in a solid lump for the carpet on the floor.
His taxes and his grocery bill absorbed his crop of oats,
While the interest on his farm mortgage took all his fattened shoats.
The shingles on his cowshed and the lumber for his barn
Had eaten up his beef steers and the balance of his corn.
So he sat in his door at noonday, lonely and gloomy and sore,
As he figured up his wealth a little less than it was the year before.
"By guns, they say I'm protected, but I know there's something wrong;
I've been deceived and guiled and hoodwinked by this high protection song.
They told of rebellious traitors, and held up the bloody rag,
And I followed along like a pumpkin, and now I am holding the bag.
But from this time on I'll investigate, and get to the bottom of facts,
And I'll bet four dollars, to begin with, that the tariff is a tax."

THE KNIGHTS GROWING.

Topeka, Kan., Jeffersonian.

We predicted, when the last general assembly of the Knights of Labor took a sound and logical position on the land question, that the order would receive a phenomenal increase in numbers and enthusiasm. Such has proven to be the case, notwithstanding the editor of the national organ of the order so far mistakes his duty as to antagonize the principal and most valuable and important plank in the platform of the order.

BUT THE COUNTRY IS PROSPEROUS, ISN'T IT?

Boston Globe.

The miners out in the Wyoming valley, in protected Pennsylvania, are feeding on potato parings and outs, and, according to the reports that come from there, are slowly starving.

HOW ABOUT THOSE WHO WANT FREE SUGAR?

New York Press.

When 1,500 American artists request the admission of foreign works of art free of duty, this is a good place to cut down the revenue and reduce the surplus.

A MOST PRACTICAL PLAN.

FATHER HUNTINGTON TELLS HOW THE PROHIBITIONISTS MAY OBTAIN THEIR OBJECT.
Omaha World-Herald.

To the Editor of the World-Herald: May I thank you for the kind notices you have given of the work it has fallen to me to do in Omaha? Your report of the rather crude address I gave last Sunday afternoon was specially gratifying, because it brought out so clearly and succinctly the principles of the great reform known for the present as the single tax, which I was then advocating. But one portion of the report leaves me open to misunderstanding, or at least to misrepresentation, and I shall be grateful if you can spare me space to make my meaning somewhat clearer.

The passage I refer to is that in which I tried to deal with the third of the trio offered by a distinguished clergyman of a wealthy congregation as the solution of labor troubles—"Thrift, Toil and Temperance." There are many people who dimly recognize that thrift and toil are impossible for hundreds of thousands under existing conditions, but who believe that in temperance lies the remedy for all social ills. And many of these earnest people think that temperance can be had by a majority vote on election day. Now I trust that in what I am going to say I shall not seem to be antagonizing temperance. I should be a disgrace to my profession and unworthy of my office if I were not strenuously endeavoring to make men and women temperate—not by legislative enactment, but by the example of Jesus Christ and the grace of the sacraments. As a matter of fact I have myself been for ten years a total abstainer and am under vows for life which forbid me the use of tobacco or of alcohol. And I am sure that there are many persons, men and women, in different parts of the country who would gladly bear witness that I have been the means of strengthening them in holy living.

And yet I have recently been subjected to attack by a dear friend, a brother priest, because I held that temperance was not a solution of the industrial problem, and more than that, that if all the men now living in idleness through drink were suddenly to become sober and apply for work in the shops and factories, the result would be to make things not better but worse.

Of course that statement has a startling sound, and raises the ire of our prohibitionist friends. But why is it so startling? Is it because it is false or true? Mind, I do not say that if all drunkenness and immorality would cease things would be worse. No one but a fiend could say that. But I said that if all men were to become sober for the time being and apply for work, that would lead before long to a worse condition of things. Is it not so? Of course if any one man becomes sober and gets work he will be better off, but is that the same as saying that if all men become sober they will get work? I am able to continue in conditions favorable to sobriety? Take the figure that John Stuart Mill uses in his essay on "Socialism." He supposes 100 men set to run a race with the warning that the last ten will have their heads cut off. The men start to run the race in heavy overcoats. Now it is evident that if one man takes off his coat he will have a better chance of coming in among the first fifty, but if all the men take off their coats will not there still be ten men who will have their heads cut off? When all men become suddenly sober and entered the labor market to compete for work in order to live, then wages would inevitably fall. It would be like the sudden introduction in all our communities of thousands of starving foreigners. They would offer to work for even lower wages than those now paid. The present wage-workers would be forced to accept lower wages and to bring down their standard of living to a yet lower point. Widespread misery and poverty would follow, and their conditions would issue in further debasement of the people, and consequent drunkenness, licentiousness and crime.

I do not mean, and did not say, that all drunkenness is the result of poverty, but I have seen on a large scale in New York city how poverty makes drunkenness. Many women work so constantly in order to exist that they have no time to cook food for themselves and their children; but the "growler" from the saloon down stairs will still the baby's crying and keep themselves from fainting at their machines. In many towns a hungry man can get a glass of grog, though he may beg in vain for a piece of bread, or be locked up if he asks for money. When men's tastes are brutalized the animal desires thrust themselves forward, and even the mind craves the stimulus that alcohol for a time affords. And among an altogether different class, does not the presence of the specter of poverty, that in our modern civilization haunts the office of many a seemingly prosperous man, drive him to frantic exertions to escape from the possibility of want, and is led to that feverish spirit in business life that drives many a man to brace up on brandy or absinthe.

In a condition where there was assurance of opportunity for all men they could lead lives freed from the terrorism of hunger and fear. If this is true, then it can be seen that to make the struggle more intense, to swell the crowd of competition in a field narrowed more and more by land monopoly, to depress wages and men to desperation, is not to solve the labor problem or to increase temperance. Prohibition is at best a palliative. Obedience to God's law by restoring to all their rights to the soil is to abolish involuntary poverty and deliver tens of thousands from the causes that make them drunken and vicious. Therefore I advocate the application of single tax on land value as a means of opening up natural opportunities and restoring the people to their rights. Respectfully,
JAMES O. HUNTINGTON, S. H. C.

A REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST.

Boston Post.

Senator Sherman wants to have a law requiring all salted meats to be kept in pickle sixty days. If this bit of paternalism is to be complete, the strength of the brine should be

prescribed. Happy thought! Why not fix by law how many lumps of sugar a man should put into his coffee, and the size of the lumps. That would be a simpler way to "develop" our sugar industry than the proposed bounty, provided the number was set high enough.

THE SUN'S SINGLE TAX "EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN."

Evening Sun, March 20.

A Broadway corner lot sold the other day for \$182 per superficial foot, and the price is spoken of as "high." But, for the corner of Broadway and Liberty street, is it really high? The only practical test ever proposed for determining the relative intrinsic values of city real property is the number of people who pass it daily. Applying this test, how much more is any prime downtown property worth now than it was fifteen years back? Gauged by the possibilities of increase in population due to the elevated roads, how much more ought any prime downtown property to be worth now than it was fifteen years back? How much more ought it to be worth because of the Brooklyn bridge? How much more because of the other prospective East and North river bridges certain to be built? In the year 1900 how many more people will pass a given point on Broadway than passed the same point in 1875? How much per centum has the development of the passenger elevator increased the intrinsic availability of each unit of area? There is not wanting reason to think that at \$182 the foot the Broadway property above referred to fetched a low figure.



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CATARRH.

Catarrhal Deafness—Hay Fever—A New Home Treatment

Sufferers are not generally aware that these diseases are contagious, or that they are due to the presence of living parasites in the lining membrane of the nose and eustachian tubes. Microscopic research, however, has proved this to be a fact, and the result of this discovery is that a simple remedy has been formulated whereby catarrh, catarrhal deafness and hay fever are permanently cured in from one to three simple applications made at home by the patient once in two weeks.

N. B.—This treatment is not a snuff or an ointment; both have been discarded by reputable physicians as injurious. A pamphlet explaining this new treatment is sent free on receipt of stamp to pay postage, by A. H. Dixon & Son, 337 and 339 West King street, Toronto, Canada.—[Christian Advocate.

Sufferers from Catarrhal troubles should carefully read the above.—[Adv.

Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar

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