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THE STANDARD.

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EDITORIAL.

"I feel as if the hoof of an unclean beast were on my neck," exclaimed an honorable and upright Maryland democrat, a few years ago, in a speech denouncing the tyranny and corruption of the Baltimore ring. The decent republicans in Brooklyn must have a like feeling of disgust as they read the revelations as to the methods by which their party is managed made by ex-State Senator Albert Daggett in his recent public statement.

Mr. Daggett, commonly called "Al" Daggett, has been for years a notable character in Brooklyn politics. He was the trusted assistant of Blocks-of-Five Dudley, when that fragrant Indiana statesman was, as the immediate representative of candidate Harrison, managaging the work of the National league of republican clubs during the last presidential campaign. He appears to have given such complete satisfaction in this matter that Quay and Dudley charged him with the responsibility of handling the enormous corruption fund thrown into Brooklyn on the eve of the presidential election. If something could force Daggett to tell the truth about that fund, and the disposition made of it, we should doubtless have in print the blackest and foulest chapter of our political history.

No well informed politician has any doubt that the defeat of Mr. Cleveland was due to a deal between the Hill and other machines, and to such wholesale bribery as was never before known in the history of this state. Though these influences were felt throughout the state, the city of Brooklyn was the scene of their greatest activity and most notable results. In many election districts of that city, inhabited by respectable people, the vote for Cleveland was double that for Hill, but in the districts controlled by the saloons and machines this ratio was reversed and the democratic majority on the electoral ticket fell far short of the majority given Cleveland four years before. All who waited up to receive the returns that night remember the surprise and incredulity with which the first reports from Brooklyn were received. The only people not surprised were those in the confidence of the machines. Republicans of this class were jubilant in their commendation of the "smartness" of Quay in quietly concentrating the whole power of his corruption fund on Brooklyn, while the democratic national committee had been devoting its whole energy and such funds as it could raise to meeting and resisting the anticipated wholesale bribery in New York. For his skill and fidelity in handling the Quay-Wanamaker fund in Brooklyn, "Al" Daggett was rewarded by the profitable contract, that he now holds, for furnishing Mr. Wanamaker's department with postal cards.

This is the man who now comes forward to testify concerning the methods by which the dominant faction there obtained control of the republican machine in Brooklyn and elected Secretary Tracy's candidate, Franklin Woodruff, chairman of the county committee, despite the fact that a majority of the members of the committee had been pledged or instructed to support Boss Platt's candidate, David A. Baldwin. Both these candidates, it is well to remember, are rich and "eminently respectable." Daggett speaks with full knowledge of the contest, for he and State Senator James W. Birkett managed Platt's canvass in behalf of Baldwin, while Naval Officer Theodore B. Willis and United States District Attorney Jesse Johnson managed Secretary Tracy's canvass in behalf of Woodruff. Dagget, as historian of the contest, says:

Franklin Woodruff has been re-elected chairman of the republican general committee after a canvass which for corruption, fraud and deceit has never been equalled in the history of the politics of any party in this or any other community, as I shall show to the satisfaction of every fair-minded man. This campaign was inaugurated and carried to a successful termination by Franklin Woodruff, Theodore B. Willis and Israel F. Fischer. It embraced bribery, forgery, the prostitution of the patronage of the government, lying, trickery and every wicked device known or practised by the worst specimen of pothouse politics.

The story told by Daggett not only seems to prove his accusation, but it demonstrates that both parties to the contest were equally corrupt. He gives numerous instances in which votes were bought for Woodruff by the appointment of delegates or their friends to offices in the custom house or navy yard. On one occasion, in an authorized interview in a local newspaper, Naval Officer Willis boasted that he had returned from Washington, bringing home with him thirteen "Christmas presents" for men who would soon hear of their appointment through the proper departments. We believe no serious attempt is made to deny that not only Secretary Tracy, but Secretary Windom and President Harrison, himself, freely used the appointing power to promote the changes that resulted in the capture by Woodruff of votes pledged to Baldwin. Daggett further insists that in addition to all this, other votes were obtained by direct bribery. He does not, however, leave any room for a pretense on his part of honest indignation, for he unblushingly tells the story of his own bribery of a "district leader" named Greenleaf Smith, "who controlled nine votes." This precious scamp told Daggett that Naval Officer Willis had offered him a place at $3.50 a day if he would support Woodruff, but he declared that nothing short of a $1,500 position would cause him to desert Baldwin. Daggett after some fencing said to Smith: "They have tried to buy you with a place and failed. I will give you a place in my factory (the postal card factory) and will give you $1,000 a year during the term of this administration to maintain your leadership. I will enter into a contract with you to that effect. I will give you any security you want. Go tell your lawyer to draw a contract which will bind me to pay you $1,000 a year for such service as I may require of you under my contract. That will be no promise made to-day and broken to-morrow. It will be a legal and binding contract, which I could not evade if I desired."

"Leader" Smith was not shocked by this frank offer to bribe him; but he distrusted Daggett. He demanded immediate payment. He was accompanied by two of his heelers named Wick and Buchman. Daggett offered finally part cash and part notes. "Buchman," says Daggett, "seemed to get that suggestion through his skull," and he remarked, "Greeny, that will do if the notes are indorsed by Senator Birkett." The transaction was finally completed, the amount figured up to $3,166.66, and Daggett thereupon made eleven notes at $250 each, and called on Senator Birkett, who indorsed the notes and lent Daggett $416 66 as a cash payment for the first quarter and the two odd months.

Greenleaf Smith seems to have had a profound distrust of Daggett. The remainder of his story is told in a shameless affidavit that he has published. After obtaining the notes from Daggett he swears that he reopened negotiations with Naval Officer Willis, and finally made a bargain to sell his nine votes for $2,250 cash to the Woodruff faction. The bargain was made and he was told to go to the office of Sheriff Rhinehart for the cash. Arriving there, he was directed to call on Mr. Woodruff himself, at the elegant home of that wealthy gentleman at 106 Remsen street, on the aristocratic Brooklyn heights. He did so, and according to his story, Woodruff asked to see the papers that Smith had received from Daggett, and thus obtaining possession of them, he refused to return them to Smith.

Having obtained these papers, Woodruff sent for Daggett and Birkett, and in a stormy interview, reported in detail by Daggett, he threatened to have them both arrested unless they would agree to throw the votes they controlled for him as chairman, and thus secure his election. Daggett evidently felt that his transparent subterfuge of engaging Smith to work in his postal card factory would save him from conviction, even if bribing delegates to a party convention were found to be an indictable offense. He therefore defied Woodruff, and, according to his own story, derided his angry opponent's pretense to "purity in politics." He further declares that after this interview, United States District Attorney Johnson offered to return him the notes and check given to Greenleaf Smith, provided he would turn over the votes necessary to insure Woodruff's election.

Daggett does not appear to have any sense of shame in making these revelations. The fact that he pretended to hire Smith to work in his factory, while really hiring him to vote for Baldwin, appears to satisfy his conscience as to that transaction. It seems to surprise nobody that such a sneaking and manifestly ignorant rascal as Greenleaf Smith should be a district leader and control nine votes in a county convention. Daggett manifestly feels that he has come out of the business with flying colors, and he proudly declares: "For my political efforts in behalf of my own party, *I have earned at least the respect of democratic opponents.*" We have no doubt he is right. The democratic opponents with whom he probably made a Harrison and Hill deal last fall, will doubtless testify that "Al. Daggett is a square man, who don't go back on a bargain." Feeling sure of the approval of practical politicians of the machine kind, Daggett can afford to say: "As to the men who have been engaged in this blackmailing scheme to smirch my character, I have nothing but profound contempt." Think of the man who boldly confesses to the bribery of Greenleaf Smith believing that he has a character to smirch! Yet he has one to lose, according to the standard of judgment among the bosses and heelers who really control our politics.

"The hoof of an unclean beast" is on

our necks. That beast is the spoils system. It is not confined, however, to the misuse of the appointing power by public officials. It permeates our whole social and business system, and it is corrupting the very sources of power. Civil service reform is a good thing, but carried to its uttermost, it can only cleanse the outside of the platter; it cannot put an end to the system that gives such sneaking wretches as Leader Greenleaf Smith, and his hoodlum heeler Buchman, the control of votes in party conventions, and the practical control of the vote of districts. The wedding of great business operations to government multiplies the opportunities for patronage beyond computation. A local leader, like Daggett, with a fat contract, will control a patronage that will assure him political power if every public office under the federal government were filled by "the merit system." A political boss who is at the head of a great express or railway company can use his patronage effectively in advancing his political schemes, while protected manufacturers can, and do, control the vote of men in their employ.

The establishment of the Australian system of voting will do much toward remedying these evils by releasing voters from espionage, checking bribery and curtailing the power of the machines. It is, however, only the first step, and is chiefly valuable in preparing the way for a free and effective declaration of the people's purpose to accomplish greater and more far-reaching reforms. The next great step will be the overthrow of the protective tariff. The false and fraudulent system, called protection, that gives to numerous individuals a pecuniary interest in the result of elections and in legislation, is chiefly responsible for the bribery and corruption that marked the last presidential campaign, and which was probably more effective in Brooklyn than in any other part of the country. So moderate a reform as the establishment of a tariff for revenue only will do wonders in depriving the corruptionists of the vast sums they now raise by "frying the fat" out of the protected monopolists, but, so long as a tariff of any kind remains, there will be the constant tendency to seek protection for special interests and the temptation to the corrupt use of money for the control of conventions and the purchase of legislation. Absolute free trade, alone, will put an end to such attempts to misuse governmental power for the private advantage of manufacturers.

Back of this problem, again, lies the tremendous railway question. The power of the government to regulate transportation is now conceded, and so long as public highways are permitted to remain in the possession of private individuals, to be operated for private profit, a dangerous connection between private and public interests will remain to stimulate a selfish and improper pecuniary interest in the results of elections.

Even after all these problems are solved there will still remain the greater and more fundamental one, the only solution for which is the single tax. So long as the many are dependent on the few for the opportunity to earn a living this will never be a nation of free men, and absolute independence of voters and purity of elections will be impossible. Break this thralldom and afford to every man refused a job the opportunity to employ himself, and the Greenleaf Smiths and their henchmen will control no votes, the Al. Daggetts will have no reason for bribing them, and the wretched brood of bosses, henchmen and heelers will cease to look to political activity for pecuniary profit and either go to work for a living or cease to live. Abolish the monopoly of natural opportunities, refuse to all individuals the monopoly of the common wealth and of the political power belonging to all, and the majority of men will be transformed from a race of suppliant slaves, begging the opportunity to earn a living, into a body of self-supporting independent freemen asking no favors and under no temptation to sell their manhood for a bribe. Thus, and thus only, can "the hoof of an unclean beast" be lifted from the necks of the American people.

At the annual meeting of the International typographical union of North America, held at Denver last June, a recommendation was adopted that a committee be appointed to receive from printers communications expressive of their opinions as to the proper solution of the labor problem. This committee was directed to examine all communications thus received, and to publish in the Typographical Journal, the organ of the union, the best presentation of each school of thought. The committee organized some time ago, and it has just printed in the issue of the Journal for January 15, the first of the series of articles. It is written by Charles A. Kohlman of St. Paul, Minn., and is an able presentation of the free trade and single tax doctrines. It recommends the establishment of a lecture and press bureau for propagating ideas.

The minority report by Senator Chase of Albany, in which he objects to the Linson bill because of its failure to provide an exclusively official ballot, and at the same time insists that the Saxton bill should have added to it those sections of the Linson bill that relate to intimidation, corrupt practices, and the ousting from office of men seated in violation of law, is entirely creditable, and if the republicans at Albany are animated by a sincere desire to secure honest elections, they will throw no obstacles in the way of such action. All true ballot reformers feel this to be the case, but they have hesitated to jeopardize one measure of reform by linking it to another. There can be no doubt that we need not merely a corrupt practices act, but a general registration law, and it would be well if they could all be passed in one bill, or simultaneously in separate bills. Nevertheless, no true ballot reformer will fail to vote for any one of the measures because the other is not attached to it.

Mr. Eli Thayer apparently lives for the purpose of setting the world right as to the character and conduct of John Brown of Ossawatomie. We fail to see, however, why he should go out of his way to make an elaborate attack on Henry George for a mere allusion in "Social Problems" to the accepted stories concerning Brown's death. That book does not profess to be a biography of John Brown or any other man, and it is simply silly for Mr. Thayer to make the opening of Chapter 9 the text for an article abusing everybody who has not accepted his own, rather than the ordinary estimate of Brown's character and career. If Mr. Thayer does not take care he will become a crank on this question.

Mr. Thomas B. Usher has introduced into the assembly of New Jersey a bill to "authorize and provide for the probate of wills during the lifetime of the testator." The act does not affect wills made in the usual fashion, but gives opportunity to the man who proposes to make a bequest that may be contested to have its legality tested, while he is still living, so that he can make any change necessary. Mr. Usher says that the litigation concerning the Hutchins's bequest to Henry George suggested to him the necessity of such a bill.

Mr. Amos J. Cummings is savagely attacked by some democratic papers for introducing into congress a subsidy bill in the interest of C. P. Huntington, H. K. Thurber and others. Mr. Thurber writes to the World that this is grossly unjust. We agree with Mr. Thurber. What did the democrats of Tammany hall expect of Mr. Cummings? What else could be expected of any congressman who is a member of the Sun staff?

Mr. Parnell has withdrawn his suit against the London Times and the paper will pay him £5,000 damages. The Times makes an editorial apology acknowledging its error and it is understood the paper will pay £200 damages to Mr. Henry Campbell, Mr. Parnell's counsel, for damaging statements made by Attorney-General Webster when acting on behalf of Editor Walter. All this should be an ample vindication of Mr. Parnell in the matter of the Times charges, but then right minded people accepted Piggott's confession as sufficient vindication of the persecuted Irish leader, and nothing short of a direct and irresistible revelation from on high could carry conviction to the dense and rabid tory intellect now dominant in English politics.

"You may," said Lord Derby to the Liverpool reform club, "trust the owner of 10 or 20, 50 or 100 acres to defend the rights of property as effectively as if he owned 1,000 or 10,000." It is this consideration, says the noble lord, that reconciles him to the Irish land purchase scheme. It is well that Lord Derby is so frank. Single tax men have said from the beginning that all plans to establish peasant proprietorship by state purchase are really designed to fortify landlordism in Great Britain and Ireland. Our English letter indicates that there is no difference of opinion between us and Lord Derby on that question.

The wrecking of the Sixth national bank by a gang of conspirators, whom everybody now professes to regard as disreputable, but who certainly had access to men prominent in business, and some sort of financial standing, indicates the singular condition into which "business" has fallen in this metropolis. The truth seems to be, that gambling forms so large an element in most business operations, that success seems to justify any means resorted to to attain it, and that therefore all moral standards in relation to business are gradually fading away. If the cashier of the Sixth national bank had not exposed the operations of the men who had planned to buy the stock of the majority stock holders with funds eighty per cent of which belonged to the minority, the conspirators might have put through the scheme. Had they done so and brought enough business to the bank to make it successful they would have become eminent financiers, and their names would have figured inside of ten years on the lists of directors of numerous companies. They were found out, and public sentiment says they ought to be sent to jail for it. The mad rush for wealth that characterizes modern society, and which is increasing in velocity from day to day, cannot fail to absolutely destroy all moral sense in the business community, and we doubt if it can be checked by anything short of the radical measure that alone can remove the fear of want, which is the mother of avarice and greed.

The proposal of Hon. Benjamin Butterworth to establish absolute free trade between Canada and the United States sends a shiver of alarm through that small body of protectionists who have sufficient intelligence to comprehend tendencies and draw logical deductions. No one now denies the advantage of free trade between the states of this Union. The man who would come forward with a proposal for local tariffs and state custom houses would be regarded as a lunatic. The protectionists, however, have always claimed that, while free trade among citizens of the same country may be an admirable thing, the conditions instantaneously change when free trade is proposed with foreigners. It is a good thing for Americans to swap one with another, but swapping with foreigners is ruinous. There does not seem to be any question of a sea voyage involved, for we have rigidly maintained a tariff against Mexico as well as Canada. To establish free trade, then, with Canada, will be to abandon the whole policy of protection, and acknowledge that there is no real harm in giving what we do not need to the foreigner, and obtaining in return something that we want. Butterworth is a dangerous man, and the faithful protectionists should promptly proceed to read him out of the party.

SPEAKER REED'S REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS.

Had the angry democrats in the house of representatives suddenly assaulted the speaker and dragged him from the chair they would have covered themselves with disgrace, but their lawless action would not have been a whit more revolutionary than was the action of the speaker in insolently setting aside the established usage of a century, and, by his mere personal dictum, ordering the clerk to note on the minutes as present and helping to constitute a quorum, members who sat silent and refused to vote.

There is room for two opinions as to the wisdom of the established parliamentary usage in this country respecting a quorum. If the question were a new one the rule for which the republicans are now contending would to many appear reasonable and just. But the question is not a new one. It has been raised again and again, and it has been invariably settled in a way directly opposite to Speaker Reed's rulings. Whatever doubt might exist as to the propriety of the decisions thus reached, there is no room for doubt as to where the authority and power to settle the question is lodged, and that is in the house itself. In attempting to settle it by his mere personal dictum, Mr. Reed is as guilty of usurpation as he would be if he attempted, without consulting the house, to pass on the qualification of members.

The argument that the democrats are now contending that the minority ought to be permitted to rule is utterly without foundation. A majority that will do its duty can always rule the house, under the rules that have prevailed ever since congress was first organized. All that is necessary is that those constituting it shall be in their seats and vote. When this is the case all the filibustering that men can invent will not prevent the maintenance of a quorum. This is the remedy for obstruction, and even Mr. Blaine, when speaker of the house, decided that it was the only remedy.

In this particular instance the democrats have as much justification for filibustering as any minority has ever had in the past. The speaker and the republican majority have deliberately delayed the reporting of rules for the government of the house, for the express purpose of facilitating the unseating, by summary action, without any such examination of the evidence as the rules would necessarily demand, democrats whose seats are contested. In order to accomplish this the house has been turned into a mob and the speaker has attempted to rule its proce-

dure by his mere dictum. This proceeding is an attempt to exercise unjust tyranny by the majority in defiance of the constitutional rights of the minority, such as has always been held to justify filibustering.

That a man like Reed should resort to such tactics is not surprising, but it is little short of amazing that republican members who hope for election to future congresses should assist in setting a precedent that can be used against them with such damaging effect by unscrupulous democrats in the future. This readiness to overthrow established precedent by revolutionary usurpation shows how desperate is the situation of the protectionists, even in their own eyes. One reason for the recklessness is supposed to be the desire to pass a law authorizing federal control of elections, but back of this, and dominating all their actions, doubtless lies the eager greed and defiant insolence of the protected monopolists. They see the handwriting on the wall. They know that their robber rule is doomed. All they now can hope for is the continuance of the existing tariff through the senate's obstruction of free trade legislation. If they can get a higher tariff bill through the present congress, they feel that they can depend on the United States senate to prevent any reduction of duties for some years to come, and in this, and in this only, they see their hope for several more years of good stealing.

The statement put forth by the democrats is lucid and entirely satisfactory. Even more to the point was the action of Mr. Reed and the republicans on Monday when they seated Smith, republican, in place of Jackson, democrat, as one of the congressmen from West Virginia. Had the republicans believed in the legality of Mr. Reed's recent rulings, they would have passed the motion seating Smith as they have been passing other motions for a week past. But this was a case that promised opportunity to test the question in the courts. The republicans dared not subject their pretence to that test, and so they managed, in some fashion, to gather in enough of their absentee members to legally pass the resolution. The democrats refused to vote, but the roll call, and not the order of the speaker, disclosed the fact that there were 166 republicans present and voting "aye." This constituted a constitutional quorum, and the trouble taken by the republican managers to have their members on hand to constitute such a quorum was a practical confession that they themselves knew that Mr. Reed's so-called a quorum was not legally constituted.

VACANT LAND ASSESSMENTS.

The comparison of assessments with selling prices of improved and unimproved property, printed in this issue of THE STANDARD, shows even more plainly than did that of last week, the change that has been brought about in valuations. This week, the inquiry is extended over two years, so far as assessments are concerned, and it will be seen that there has been no change whatever in the valuation of improved property. On the other hand, the valuation of unimproved property shows here and there marked changes. In one case, the increase was from 26 per cent of selling value to 49 per cent. In another place, from 26¼ to 49½. In a number of instances, however, no change has been made. The average assessment of the vacant lots recently sold was in 1888, 40 per cent, while in 1889 the average assessment of the same lots was 48 1-7. On improved property, however, the average was 55 per cent each year. Of course there is no legal warrant for such low valuations in either case. The law requires that both the improved and unimproved property shall be assessed at its selling price. There is, however, a visible and gratifying tendency to increase the proportionate assessment on vacant lots, and if holders of improved property will back up the efforts THE STANDARD has thus far made, they will find a still more gratifying change a year hence.

Not long ago Rev. Heber Newton declared his willingness to assist in a movement to bring about an increase of the valuation of vacant land for the purpose of taxation. If Mr. Newton's health will permit, now is the time for starting that movement. Unaided, THE STANDARD has already forced a decided change for the better, but much remains to be done. Every person owning a house and every one hiring house room in this city is directly interested in increasing the assessment on vacant lots in New York. The tendency of the increase of taxation on vacant lots thus brought about will be to force these lots into use and to lower the taxation on improved property. Though this is far less than the single tax men demand, it is a step in the right direction and they will heartily support any effort for this partial reform. Fortunately no new legislation is required. All that is necessary is to enforce the existing law. Are those who see the importance of this reform willing to form an association to insist on the enforcement of the law?

A FRIGHTENED ORGAN.

If we may safely found a correct inference on the increasing fright of the London Spectator, the attack on the existing system of land tenure in England is making gratifying and rapid progress. In an article entitled "The Battle of the Betterments" the Spectator of January 11 makes a most impassioned protest against the persistent and continuous attacks on the privileges of the landlords. "They have," it says, "for the last twelve years been objects of incessant attack directed at them through parliament and in a perfectly constitutional way. They have been stripped successively of their rights over ground game, of their control over rural tenants, of their ancient privilege of directing county affairs and of part of their comparative exemption from death duties." All of these, remarks the Spectator, remembering that during the greater part of those twelve years it was a liberal paper, were "so far removals of unjust privilege."

Since the Spectator deserted the liberal ranks, however, this process has naturally and logically gone further on the same lines; until the enemies of the landlords, "not satisfied with their successes," wails the paper, "now declare that they will establish courts to fix rents, will compel them to sell their urban leaseholds to the tenants at prices to be fixed by judicial awards, and will make the owners pay separately and heavily for improvements intended to increase the amenity of great cities." "They, in fact," it continues, "as the county council threaten, shall not gain but lose by urban improvements." All this distresses the Spectator beyond measure, and its distress deepens to despair as it reflects that this deep design of spoliation has been conceived by "the new king, King Majority." It tells the new monarch that the landlords begin to suspect him of tendencies toward Asiatic despotism and it warns him to beware, lest they shall refuse to own land and let it pass into the hands of inferior people who may become extortionate in their demands on tenants.

Having pictured this terrible possibility, the Spectator, with a logic and sincerity worthy of an American protectionist pleading for the continuance of a high tariff in the interests of the American workingman, goes on to point out to the London poor that their fate will be terrible, indeed, if the present London ground lords are driven out of the landlord business. Yet after uttering this threat, it admits that under the existing system "in every capital of Europe rent is becoming the despair of philanthropists," and to declare "that owing to the increase in wages, the cost of building materials, *and the competition for sites*, poor houses cannot now be built, except to let at rents which constitute a ruinous first charge upon the workman's wages."

The situation is distressing, and if the Spectator would but listen, we could point out to it a remedy that would guard against charging any man more for betterments than he is actually bettered by improvements; avoid all necessity for compulsory sale of leases, or judicial tribunals for fixing rents, and greatly relieve the philanthropists from any necessity for worrying over the rent problem. In this country we call this remedy the single tax. By it we propose to take for the state the annual rental value of bare land, and thus afford the community an abundant fund for all necessary public improvements. No assessments for betterments would then be necessary, because the increased value would come back to the public through increased taxes, while any personal property—including buildings—destroyed, would be paid for, and any diminution in land values would at once cause a corresponding reduction in taxation. Of course, under these circumstances, the "competition for sites" would cease to be an important element in the first cost of houses for the poor, and the tendency of builders would be toward the erection of more houses, as about the only investment of capital open to them. In that event this form of investment and industry could be relieved from all taxation, and higher wages might with impunity be paid without the fear of thereby ruining those receiving them through an enormous increase of their rent.

We ask the Spectator to consider this suggestion. We do not expect it to accept it now; but after "King Majority," whom it admits "not only claims absolute power but to possess irresistible strength," has completed his work; when land is no longer "desired by the rich and great men who are averse to newspaper comment," and it has fallen into the hands of men comparatively extortionate, "as much poor property has already done;" then we hope that the Spectator will be prepared to adopt the simpler measure of justice and relief that we have commended to its distinguished consideration. Should it adopt such a course it will divide those it is now fighting as a whole, and draw to its support Mr. William Saunders and several other members of the county council with whom it is now at odds. As the Spectator is soon likely to occupy the anomalous position of a party paper with no party back of it, this suggestion is one worthy of its consideration for reasons peculiar to itself.

CROOKED ETHICS.

The New York Witness, in answer to a letter from Mr. J. B. Vining of Cleveland, says:

> We have never denied that the single tax system might have been both equitable and beneficial if it had been introduced by the first colonists, but the proposition to tax present owners of land in this country to the full extent of what Mr. George calls the "unearned increment" of its value would be downright robbery.

The paper then goes on at considerable length to picture the wrong that would be done to a western farmer, who had cleared his land and who was about to be taxed out of its possession. If the Witness had paid any attention to the literature of the single tax movement, it could never have written such an article. Every such western farmer as it describes is now far more heavily taxed than he would be under the system we advocate. Everything he uses or wears, aside from the food raised on his own land, is heavily taxed by the robber tariff, while local taxation is levied on his buildings and other improvements. The single tax proposes to stop all this, and let him pay one tax on the prairie value of his land, regardless of improvement, in lieu of all other taxes. This is the practical side of the question.

The Witness's ethics, however, are as much out of joint as its economics. We turn it over to our clerical friends, in order that the editor may be shown that this earth was given by its Maker to all men, and that the gift had it not been diverted, would still belong to all. Under such circumstances it is nothing short of impiety for a religious editor, professing to believe in the Bible and Christianity, to insist on it that future generations cannot put themselves in accord with the divine plan because past generations have sinned. This, however, as we have said, is a matter that we prefer that our clerical friends shall fight out with the editor of the Witness.

HORACE WHITE ON THE SINGLE TAX.

In the February number of the Popular Science Monthly, Horace White studies the single tax in its relations to agriculture.

He begins by examining the doctrines of the physiocrats, and particularly their notion that all occupations except agriculture are unproductive. The physiocrats taught that agriculture yielded, over and above the cost of cultivation, a net product which constituted rent, but that other occupations would yield only enough to repay the cost of production; and as they proposed to levy all taxes upon this "net product" of agriculture, Mr. White finds that "the only practical difference between Mr. George and the physiocrats is that he would take all the 'net product' for public use, while they would take only so much as might be required for the purposes of economical government." He finds differences of reasoning between them, "but this is the only difference in results." And since the world has agreed for over a century that "the physiocratic doctrine of net product and single tax was erroneous," Mr. White summarily dismisses the economic pretensions of the single tax in general, and turns to a consideration of its principal claims relative to social reform.

To the argument that absolute private property in land tends, irrespective of personal merit, to raise the few and to grind down the many, he answers by asking whether landlords get rich faster than other people, and points to the Vanderbilts, the Havemeyers, the Drexels, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Armours and the Pullmans as examples of very rich men who "do not own land to any large extent." Then, with a comical air of triumph, all the more comical because it is serious, he asks if any one can "point to a similar group of rich men whose income is derived from *agricultural* land."

In the argument that the single tax would abolish poverty, he can see no force except that the reform might be promoted by the extinction of all other taxes. He does not undervalue the relief that would accrue to industry from the abolition of indirect taxes. He holds that it should be the first step toward the elevation of the poor man "to let him have and enjoy what he earns—all of it except just sufficient to keep him watchful of tax eaters and tax thieves." But that this would abolish poverty he cannot see, and he declares that those who think so are bound to tell how.

Turning then to the moral aspects of the question, Mr. White finds that the

reason land is singled out for purposes of taxation is that land is not rightfully the subject of absolute property. This leads him into a rather unprofitable inquiry into the doctrine of "natural rights," from which he concludes that "the rights of life, liberty and property, including land, all rest upon experience, translated, after infinite trouble, conflict and bloodshed, into law." But he does not dispute the right of the state to resume possession of the land, for it has never divested itself of that right; he does dispute the justice of the single tax, however, because the state has divested itself of the right to take land without just compensation.

His next and final step is to consider whether the taxes on land in this country are high enough, and whether conomic rent is sufficient in amount to support government, questions which he considers solely in their relation to agriculture. Taking the statistics of 693 Connecticut farms, he finds that "the single tax theory is already in operation in rural Connecticut 'unbeknownst' to its advocates," because "economic rent is wholly taken by the tax gatherer from agricultural land plus something from the returns of the farmer's capital." And if this is the case in one of the most densely populated states of the Union, "where," he asks, "shall we look for the revenue that is to liberate all other industry from taxation?"

The immediate object of Mr. White's criticism is Samuel B. Clarke's pamphlet, to which he refers rather than to Progress and Poverty, "because the former, although drawn almost wholly from the latter, embraces in small compass and with evident fairness all that is needed to set out the single tax argument, and does not lure us into by-ways as Mr. George often does." So far as the criticisms relate exclusively to Mr. Clarke's valuable review I shall ignore them, for Mr. Clarke is abundantly able to take care of himself; but as to Mr. White's general criticisms I intend to reply seriatim and in greater detail than would be called for if they had been offered by a man of less reputation.

Following the order of Mr. White's argument, the first question is the supposed identity of the single tax of to-day's agitation and the single tax of the physiocrats. Mr. White says the only practical difference is that the physiocrats proposed to take for public use only enough of the "net product" to meet the expenses of economical government, while what is now proposed is to take the whole "net product." Mr. White's error here, and it runs through his whole argument, lies in confounding the "net product" of the physiocrats with the "economic rent" of modern political economy. The "net product" related to agricultural land alone, and it was a product; while economic rent relates to all kinds of land, and is not a product at all, but a premium.

According to the physiocrats, all agricultural land in use yields a "net product," but according to modern political economy, no land commands "economic rent" unless it is more desirable than land to be had for nothing; and the amount of rent it will command is governed by the supply of land equally desirable. Mr. White credits Adam Smith with having routed the physiocratic doctrine of net product and single tax; but Adam Smith's commentator, M'Culloch, does not appear to have been so easily satisfied. In a note to the great economist's ninth chapter and fourth book, M'Culloch says of the "net product" of the physiocrats:

> This error seems to have originated in the view taken by Quesnay and the economists of the nature and causes of rent. They remarked that the industry of merchants and manufacturers did nothing but replace their capital with wages and profits; whereas the industry of agriculturists yielded them the same wages and profits, exclusive of an additional surplus or *produit net*, paid to the landlords as rent. This circumstance appeared to the economists to prove conclusively that agriculture was the only productive employment; that is, the only one that afforded a greater quantity of products than were necessarily consumed in carrying it on, and it is on this assumption that their whole theory is built. *Had they been acquainted with the circumstances which give rise to and which also limit and determine the amount of rent, they would not have drawn such conclusions. . . . Dr. Smith was not aware of this* (the law of rent), *and therefore his refutation of the system of the economists is far from satisfactory.*

When Adam Smith wrote, the law of rent had not been discovered; but it was discovered long before Mr. White wrote, and there is not the same excuse for him that M'Culloch makes for Adam Smith. Had Mr. White been familiar with the law of rent, he would have escaped many errors and probably saved himself the whole trouble of writing his essay on the single tax and agriculture. He would certainly have avoided the unconscious misrepresentation involved in his identification of the single tax of the physiocrats with the single tax which Henry George advocates. And he would not have made himself an object of ridicule by asking whether a group of rich men can be pointed out whose "income is derived from agricultural land."

The vast fortunes of the men whom Mr. White names—the Vanderbilts, the Havemeyers, the Drexels, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Armours and the Pullmans—are chiefly due to private ownership of land, irrespective of whether they are landlords or not. Mr. White makes the mistake of supposing that the only evil of land ownership to which we refer is the diversion of rent from the public to individuals. But that is not the only evil nor the greatest evil. Land ownership burns the industrial candle at both ends. It takes the premiums of better natural opportunities than the poorest to which resort is had; and it also shuts out from labor all natural opportunites, even those which are not in use and which in normal conditions would not be resorted to until population had vastly increased. The latter result forces laborers to seek masters, and in the scramble which ensues the master has an advantage over the man, for, land being scarce and dear, there are more men seeking masters than there are masters who want men. This presses wages down, and the Carnegies, the Vanderbilts, the Havemeyers, and so on, though they did not own a foot of land, would be able to build up fortunes on the foundation which landlordism affords. In fact, however, the vast incomes of these men are dependent on their power to control land, as any analysis of their fortunes will prove.

If it were not for landlordism, if there were no inducement to appropriate land except to use it, free land of great productive power—agricultural, mineral and urban—would compete with the Carnegies and their kind for men to work upon it, and no master could get a man for less wages than the man, in co-operation with men like himself, could earn upon the best land that was not actually in use. Then no fortunes would accrue to landlords as such, nor to employers by virtue of their power to make one-sided labor contracts. Then all private fortunes would be the result of the productive industry of their owners.

Mr. White says he does not undervalue the relief that would accrue to industry from the application of indirect taxes, and that in his opinion the first step toward the elevation of the poor man is "to let him have and enjoy what he earns." On this point we can have no discussion. It is precisely what we aim at and what we believe the single tax will accomplish. That the poor man cannot have and enjoy what he earns so long as he is taxed upon his labor and as he labors, Mr. White practically concedes when he opposes indirect taxation. But he does not see how that can abolish poverty, and puts this staggering question:

> Suppose that divine providence should bestow upon us rulers who could carry on government without any taxes whatever. Would that dispensation abolish poverty? Those who think so are bound to tell us how.

Mr. White will be surprised to learn that in the opinion of single tax men such a dispensation would not abolish poverty. He may be even more surprised to learn that Henry George has over and over again used this very supposition to show that so long as land is treated as private property no improvement in government can benefit those who depend upon their own work for their living. And judging from Mr. White's evident ignorance of Progress and Poverty, I have no doubt it will astound him to learn that the same idea is expressed in that book as follows:

> In the improvements which advance rent are not only to be included the improvements which directly increase productive power, but also such improvements in government, manners and morals, as directly increase it. Considered as material forces, the effect of all these is to increase productive power, and, like improvements in the productive arts, their benefit is ultimately monopolized by the possessors of the land. . . . If the corrupt governments of our great American cities were to be made models of purity and economy, the effect would simply be to increase the value of land, not to raise either wages or interest.

The first effects of such a dispensation would be beneficial. There would be no fines upon building, and houses would fairly grow; there would be no fines upon business, and the factory and the store would experience an activity that had never been known; there would be no penalty upon extracting minerals from the earth, and mines would pour forth their hidden treasures; there would be no penalty upon farming, and agriculture would revive; there would be no restriction upon trade, and by means of the telegraph, the railway, the steamship and the bank, the producers of the world would come freely together to exchange their various commodities; there would be an abundance of work to do and a scarcity of men to do it, and wages would rise. For a time it would seem that the problem was solved. For a time it would seem that poverty was abolished. No one able and willing to work would be without profitable work to do. But soon a reaction would set in. Building materials, manufactured commodities, agricultural products, all come from the land, and none can be utilized, either in the processes of advanced production or for final consumption, without land. Land—for farming, for mining, for lumbering, for manufacturing, for traffic, for professional occupations, for building sites—would come into greater and greater demand as the invigorating effects of freedom from taxes increased, and as the demand grew so would grow the rent and the price. Then, as it was seen that land tended steadily to advance in value, investments in land merely for the sake of ownership and its speculative profits would attract attention. This would be the beginning of the end. Soon society without taxation would have completed the circle, and returned to the point at which it left society when taxation prevailed. Land would cost more than it was worth. No land would be free, and, its productive power considered, none would be cheap. All the benefits of the new dispensation would be absorbed in rent. Business activity would be restrained by the difficulties of getting land on terms that would allow business activity to be profitable, and workers would be underbidding each other again for the privilege of getting a master.

It is at this point that the single tax would secure to the public the benefits of freedom from taxation. It would abolish all taxes on industry, just as Mr. White's new dispensation would do; but instead of ultimately transferring the resulting benefits to a class, it would permanently secure them to all by removing inducements to hold land for any other purpose than that of using it. As land grew in value, as under the spur of prosperity it would, the value would go to the public; but at all times there would be left to labor whatever it might earn on the best unused land. Not merely what one lonely laborer might earn, but what associated labor might earn. For unused land would be open not to one, but to all; not alone to laborers without capital, but also to laborers with some capital who would seek for other laborers to help them. The demand for laborers under the single tax would be a relatively increasing demand; whereas, under any system which admits of absolute ownership of land, it must be a relatively diminishing demand. When the labor market is always short how can wages be low? And when wages are the full value of the laborer's work how can there be any involuntary poverty?

Mr. White says he thinks "that the utmost good to be derived from the exemption of all others than land owners from taxation would be gained equally by any device or dispensation which should enable government to be carried on without taxes." The reason he thinks so is the same reason that makes him identify economic rent with the "net product" of the physiocrats; because, like Adam Smith, he is not aware of the law of rent. But that aside, what possible device can accomplish this save the single tax?

Against the claim that the ownership of land is subversive of natural rights, Mr. White asserts that there are no natural rights. His is the familiar argument that, inasmuch as among those tribes that are nearest to the state of nature equal rights as to life, liberty and property are not observed, therefore, equal rights as to life, liberty or property are not natural rights. But, although he does not express it, Mr. White no doubt adopts the other argument, that there are no spontaneous conceptions of right in the mind of man, and that our ideas of right and wrong are purely conventional. I do not intend to enter upon this discussion. It is not necessary. It is enough for the purpose that, whether from experience or intuition, civilized mankind are agreed that the confiscation of private property for private use is wrong. It is enough that Mr. White himself accepts the doctrine of equal rights. All that follows is mere matter of argument. Take for a premise the doctrine of equal rights, or the doctrine that confiscation is wrong, and there is no logical escape from the conclusion that private property in land is wrong.

Confiscation is the forcible taking of another's labor without rendering an equivalent. To take the product of another's labor is to take his labor. If the equivalent returned is nothing more than permission to labor, there is no real equivalent, for it is a matter of plain observation that any able-bodied man can labor without permission unless prohibited. If a prohibition exists, that prohibition is the compelling force by means of which he is obliged to yield up part of his labor to another, lest he die for want of so much of his labor as he is permitted to apply to the satisfaction of his own wants. We need to know nothing about the refinements of the schools as to natural rights to see that a man cannot live without labor—his own or some one else's. Nor to see that he cannot labor unless permitted to use land. Nor to see that if he gives up part of his labor for permission to use land he is giving it up for permission to do what he could freely do did not some human agency interfere. Nor to see that the interference is purely arbitrary. Nor to see that for the labor surrendered no labor is returned. Not from any innate perception of right and wrong, nor from any historical observations of the ethical codes of savage tribes, but logically from the premise that confiscation of private property for private use is wrong, is it not clear that when a man surrenders part of the product of his work for permission to use land in order to work his rights are invaded? Call them natural rights, or recognized rights, or what you will, the fact remains that they are rights and that they are taken away.

The proposition, conceded by Mr. White, that the rights of men are equal, makes a premise from which the wrong of absolute private ownership of land may be still more clearly shown. Rent is a premium which demand for land in the civilized state produces. It measures the difference in desirableness at any given time between different land. Whoever is allowed to appropriate this premium to his own use is, without merit of his own, placed at an advantage over other men. Their rights are not equal. Let

A own land commanding the highest premium, and he need not work at all; others will support him in luxury out of the proceeds of their labor for the privilege of being allowed to use the land to which, if rights ought to be equal, he can have no better claim than they. Let B own land commanding only a moderate premium, and though he may have to work, yet with the same labor he will get a better result than C, whose land commands no premium at all. Is this consistent with equal rights? Then we have D, who has no land, and whose name is legion; he must go far beyond the confines of civilization to find land to which he may apply his labor, and if he remains in his own community must pay land rent to an owner or take starvation wages from a master. Are these rights equal? They can be made equal by taking the premium—economic rent, not "net produce"—for common use and leaving to the individual the net produce of his own labor. That the single tax will do.

I do not believe that honesty consists in keeping out of the penitentiary. I believe that there are innate perceptions of right and wrong. But what practical difference in this age does it make whether there are or not? What difference does it make if the rights of life, liberty and property do "all rest upon experience, translated after infinite trouble, conflict, and bloodshed into law." Whatever they rest upon, they are accepted among us, and that obliges us to draw logical deductions from them, and justifies us in saying, when any of our institutions are found to be in conflict with them, that such institutions are wrong. They are institutions which subvert what we believe to be rights of man, and therefore ought to be abolished, even if more trouble and conflict is necessary to translate the abolishment into law.

When Mr. White comes to consider the sufficiency of the single tax for public revenues, he promises to consider it in its "relation to agriculture." What he evidently means by this is to inquire whether the single tax, applied to farming land alone, would produce a sufficient revenue. He is so completely absorbed by the notion that the "net product" of the physiocrats and "economic rent" are identical, that he seems really to suppose that if farm lands will not produce enough revenue the single tax will fall short of meeting public necessities. This mistake leads him into a long argument to prove that it is false reasoning to draw a distinction for purposes of taxation between agriculture and the manipulation and transportation of its products. Of course this argument was wholly unnecessary. The single tax allows no such distinction. It would fall upon all land having a value in proportion to its value, and irrespective of the use to which the land was put.

In the same connection Mr. White says, "mere space, which is not applied to the growing or gathering or mining of anything, is not to be included in the wealth producing parts of the earth's surface, according to the physiocratic conception," and leaves his readers to infer, as he no doubt does himself, that it is not included in the scheme of the single tax. But mere space, irrespective of the use to which it is put, is precisely what *is* included in the single tax scheme. It is not, of course, proposed to tax mere space, but it is proposed to tax the value of mere space. In some locations a great deal of space has very little value, and that space would be taxed very lightly; in other locations a very little space has great value, and on that the tax would be high. Between these extremes there is much variety in value, and the tax would vary accordingly.

It is in this connection, too, that Mr. White looks for the "economic rent" of 693 Connecticut farms. And how does he do it? About as a man who is not aware of the law of rent, and whose idea of economic rent is taken from the notion of the physiocrats, might be expected to. From total annual receipts he deducts total annual expenses, and the remainder he calls economic rent. In some cases he finds a deficit instead of a remainder, and he innocently asks what shall be done in these cases "where economic rent is a minus quantity." Economic rent a minus quantity! "Three hundred and seventy-eight farms," he says, "out of 693 (fifty-four per cent) report no profits, but losses instead. Should they not be compensated in some way? Would it be fair for the state to take only the choice cuts of economic rent and leave the bone and gristle?" After this, is it surprising that he should suggest that "the least that it could do would be to abolish taxes on all land that yields no return to an industrious cultivator?" Why that is precisely what the single tax would do. It is a tax that would fall on land according to its value as land—as a space in which to work—and not on what an industrious cultivator might make out of it. The question under the single tax would always be, not what an industrious user of land makes by using it, but what an owner can make by not using it.

In his statistics about these Connecticut farms, Mr. White's peculiar notions of what economic rent is have led him far astray. It may be that some of the farms on which no profits are made are better adapted to something else than farming, and that they have a great value. In that case the single tax, falling as it would on value, would compel the "farmer" to turn the land to account for whatever it might be adapted to, or to turn it over to some one who would. But if it is really adapted only to farming, or if that is the best use to which it can be put, the fact that an industrious cultivator comes out behind shows that it has no real value, and if it were not for land speculation, that it would not sell for anything as mere land. In that case it is below the margin of production, and no economic rent naturally attaches to it. Then its owners would pay no taxes at all, neither on the land nor on the improvements, nor on anything else. Mr. White does not see how the single tax would abolish the poverty of these 378 Connecticut farmers. It would abolish it by extinguishing all their taxes and leaving them the full product of their labor. According to his own showing, that would materially improve their condition.

Mr. White makes the mistake of confounding ownership with possession, the besetting economic sin of the Evening Post, for which I suspect that Mr. White, as one of its editors, is largely responsible. He thinks "the land owner is spurred on to improvement by the hope of gaining a ground rent, and by the imposition of a yearly tax on his property, which he must pay whether it yields any return or not," and it is to land ownership that he attributes stability in institutions. The fallacy of these assumptions has been often exposed. Ownership involves possession, and therefore the thoughtless are prone to attribute to ownership the benefits that flow from possession. But it is possession and not ownership that spurs on to improvement, that multiplies homes, that conserves beneficent institutions.

It is an obvious fact that land owners are not spurred on to improvement by the hope of gaining ground rent, nor by the imposition of a yearly tax on the land so long as that tax bears so small proportion to the possible ground rent as it does now. What spurs on to improvement is the consciousness that it is only by improvement that any profits can be made. That is the reason ground renters invariably improve without delay, while ground owners often keep their land out of use for long periods. This is true of ground owners even when the land is absolutely vacant, and the only hope of recouping taxes is by a favorable sale; but when the ground owner has a rookery on the ground from which he gets rent enough to meet his taxes, he is almost certain to keep the rookery there until he can sell at a fancy price. The ground renter who leases such a property loses no time in tearing down the rookery and erecting a building appropriate to the location.

Mr. White believes that "the system of land tenure which offers the greatest inducement to the creation of capital is the one most conducive to the public interest." We ask no broader concession and are willing to rest the merits of the single tax upon it. There can be no better system of land tenure, for the purpose to which he refers, than one which taxes land only according to its value (not its usefulness but its value) as an opportunity for the creation of capital, and exempts all capital from taxation.

Again misled by his confusion of "net product" with economic rent, Mr. White refers to India as a country in which "the single tax has been in force from the earliest times, supplemented by other taxes only after economic rent had been exhausted." Yet he observes that poverty has not been abolished there, nor has there been any tendency in that direction.

India is a safe country to refer to for such a purpose, so little is known of it here, and I trust I may be pardoned for falling back on the encyclopedias. They are not infallible, but neither, as an authority on government in the East Indies, is Mr. White. Frederick Martin in the "Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and United States History," writes of land tenure in India as follows:

> The land revenue of India, as of all eastern countries, is generally regarded less as a tax on the land than as the result of a joint proprietorship in the soil, under which the produce is divided in unequal and generally uncertain proportions between the ostensible proprietors and the state. . . . Under the old native system a fixed proportion of the gross produce was taken, but the British system ordinarily deals with the surplus or net produce which the land may yield after deducting the expenses of cultivation.

Here is no resemblance to the single tax. This tax on agricultural lands, instead of being a tax on the land according to its value, is a tax on the labor of the cultivator according to his product—the more he produces the higher he is taxed. This distinction is enough, but it is supplemented by the fact that waste lands whether valuable or not are not assessed, city land is not taxed according to its value exclusive of improvements, and some products are taxed to the verge of prohibition.

The nearest approach in India to the idea of the single tax appears to be in the Bombay Presidency, which, according to the same writer, follows a system introduced and carefully elaborated about twenty-five years ago:

> The whole country is surveyed and mapped, and the fields distinguished by permanent boundary marks, which it is penal to remove; the soil of each field is classed according to its intrinsic qualities and to the climate, and the rate of assessment to be paid on fields of each class in each sub-division of a district is fixed on a careful consideration of the value of the crops they are capable of producing as affected by the proximity to market towns, roads, canals, railways and sundry external incidents, but not by improvements made by the ryot himself. . . . The measurement and classification of the soil are made once for all; but the rate of assessment is open for revision at the end of every thirty years in order that the ryot on the one hand may have the certainty of the long period as an inducement to lay out capital, and that the state on the other may secure that participation in the advantages accruing from the general progress of society to which its joint proprietorship entitles it.

This system is prophetic of the single tax; more so than the vague idea of the physiocrats of a century ago from whom Mr. White takes his notion of economic rent. But it is not the single tax. It applies only to agricultural land; it is based on what the land is capable of producing instead of being based on the economic rent; no land can be used unless the tax is paid, even though it lies below the margin of production; the rate was only about half the value of the land when it was first imposed, and is now only about a quarter or an eighth; and the tax is supplemented by burdensome taxes on industry, the land tax yielding only about a third of all the taxes raised.

But one of Mr. White's criticisms remains. He finds that a large part of Henry George's argument is addressed to the coming time when all land shall be appropriated, and therefore sees, with a clearness of vision that is remarkable in one to whom so many simpler truths are blurred and distorted, that "renting by auction is the only process that will enable society to collect economic rent surely, equitably, progressively and scientifically."

Henry George's argument is largely addressed to the time when all available land shall be appropriated; but not to the time when all available land shall be used. Under existing institutions the former time is near at hand, but under no institutions will the latter time come; and under the single tax the former will come no sooner than the other, for under the single tax no one will find it profitable to appropriate land without using it. Renting by auction, therefore, is not a matter of necessary consideration. So long as there is unappropriated land the margin of production will regulate values and the single tax will appropriate them as surely, as equitably, as progressively, and as scientifically as the fairest auction could.

LOUIS F. POST.

A GREAT BOOK.

There is no man in American literature to-day who so challenges discussion as William D. Howells the novelist. He has become an issue in literature as radical as the single tax in economics, because he stands for advance, for progress, for Americanism in art. Ten or fifteen years ago he was one of the American novelists most favorably received of all by the conservative class. He wrote charming and graceful stories and essays, and had only here and there a hint of restlessness under social conditions.

Fifteen years is a short time, and yet it has brought to the author of "Annie Kilburn" and "A Hazard of New Fortunes" more changes mentally than falls to the lot of most men. As he has deepened and broadened so his books have deepened in insight and broadened in sympathy. The attention to style, the graceful turn of a phrase is still seen, but it is only the scroll on the column—the first need now is utterance—its manner has become secondary.

His books are now dealing with the most vital of all questions, the question of the persistence of poverty, vice and crime in an age of invention, art and abundance. He has not forsaken his art; he has made art his means of expression—expression for his whole life and the thought and feeling mature life has brought to him.

His canon of art is: To see, and present as he sees, life. And because the social life is to-day filled with the discussion of problems, the movements of reformers, so we find in his latest and perhaps greatest book a magnificent study of the reform spirit of the day.

It is a book that will alienate him completely from conservatives, but it will as certainly win the love and admiration of all of us who have the good of humanity deeply at heart. He must by this book secure the support also of all the so-called upper classes whose sympathies are not quite confined to their own immediate circle, for it is so broad, so deep, so tender in its humanitarianism that no one can justly be offended.

And yet the book is a stern and unswerving criticism of things as they are. It is full of words that have no indefinite meaning. Of a certain street, he says: "It was not the abode of the extremest poverty, but of a poverty as hopeless as any in the world, transmitting itself from generation to generation and establishing conditions of permanency to which human life adjusts itself as it does to those of some incurable disease like leprosy."

Of the flat March says: "No child born and brought up in such a place can have any conception of home . . . think of a baby in a flat! It's a contradiction in terms—the flat is the negation of motherhood . . . the flat abolishes the family consciousness. The Anglo-Saxon home as we known it is impossible

in a Franco-American flat—not because it's humble, but because it's false."

Of Fulkerson March says: "He is naturally a generous and right minded creature, but life has taught him to truckle and trick like the rest of us." "Somebody always has you by the throat unless you have some one else in your grip. I wonder if that is the attitude the Almighty intended his respectable creatures to take toward each other. I wonder if he meant our civilization the battle we fight, the game we trick in."

Such comments are straws to show the set of the current.

The story is nominally that of Mr. March, who goes to New York to take charge of a new magazine, but he meets there the real center of the book, Jacob Dryfoos, who was a farmer in the western oil fields, a hard-working man till he found gas on his farm, and secured a share in a great monopoly, which made him a millionaire. From thence he becomes a different man. He "caught on," as Fulkerson said. He sells out half of his land and the other half turns out to be still more valuable. From appropriating a gift of nature he becomes a "financier" with all that means in these days. He sells his farm in lots to suit purchasers. He moves to New York, and there Marsh studies him, uneasy and unhappy.

"He has sharpened but he has narrowed. He must have undergone a moral deterioration, an atrophy of the generous instincts. His sagacity has turned into suspicion, his caution to meanness, his courage to ferocity, and I'm not very proud when I think such a life and such a man are the ideal and ambition of most Americans." Dryfoos has a son Conrad, who has a turn toward the ministry; who is in fact a modern reformer—gentle, but firm and persistent. The tragedy of the story comes inevitably from this opposition in the character of father and son, and marks the highest reach of the novelist's art. Nothing can exceed the pathos, the stern yet quiet realism of that great scene where the two old people stand looking down on the dead boy.

The book is full of radical thought. March, who has lived a quiet life in Boston, is appalled and fascinated by "the infinite drama," the terrible pressure of human life. The swarming misery affrights him, and as he seeks for a remedy the book is born. It is as genuinely a product of to-day as the electric railway.

March sums our civilization up in the following fashion: "At my time of life, at every time of life, a man ought to feel that if he will keep on doing his duty he shall not suffer in himself or in those who are dear to him, except through natural causes. But no man can feel this as things are now, and so we go on, pushing and pulling, climbing and crawling, thrusting aside and trampling under foot, lying, cheating, stealing, and when we get to the end covered with blood and dirt and sin and shame, and look back over the way we've come to a palace of our own, or the poor house, which is about the only possession we can claim in common with our brother men, I don't think the retrospect can be pleasing. Conditions make character, and people are greedy and foolish and wish to have and to shine, because having and shining are held up to them by civilization as the chief good of life. If we felt sure that honest work shared by all would bring food, we'd trust our children with the truth."

"A Hazard of New Fortunes" is a great book. It is the greatest, sanest study of a city I have read. The amount of the material handled has never been surpassed in one volume, and in clearness and definiteness and reality it stands far above any study of an American city ever made. The single tax man reading it can rely upon the realities of the book. It is a real city, a city of actual people and actual brick and mortar stripped of romance. The reader walks its hideous streets when the sun is shining; there is no mystery but the mystery of misery and fruitless labor, and the romance of toiling men and women.

It is a direct, conscientious, balanced and sympathetic study of social conditions as they now are in New York city, and best of all (to a literary man), it is everywhere a work of art. The author nowhere speaks in his own person, nowhere preaches, and yet the lesson is there for all who will read. Whatever he may lose on the side of conservatism he will win from those who love truth beyond romance and justice above all.

By this book Mr. Howells has become that which I long have considered him—OUR novelist—the greatest delineator of American life. HAMLIN GARLAND.

January 13, 1890.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

SPEAKER REED'S POLICY OF STRONG GOVERNMENT AND PERPETUATION OF PRIVILEGE—PREPARATIONS FOR ENORMOUS EXPENDITURES OF PUBLIC TREASURE—A CLEAR STATEMENT OF EXPLANATION BY WILLIAM C. P. BRECKINRIDGE OF KENTUCKY—THE DIRECT TAX REFUNDING BILL—THE NEW CENSUS BILL—GOVERNOR BEAVER AND BALLOT REFORM—IN THE SHADOW OF THE CAPITAL'S DOME.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 3.—Whatever else is doubtful, it is clear that Speaker Reed is bent on building up a power that will enable him to over-ride, ruthlessly if need be, all opposition to that policy of strong government and perpetuation of privilege which is shown at every turn to be the policy of the "protection" party. With a backing that will at all times give him a good working majority he will be powerful enough to carry through the house almost any measure that his party may have the boldness to bring forward. And that his party does not lack daring is seen in the appalling array of bills introduced into both houses of congress, which call for the most reckless and wanton expenditure of public treasure. One senator alone (Dolph of Oregon) has introduced bills calling for the appropriation of over $100,000,000. The colossal scheme recommended by the executive department for the building up of a huge navy calls for two or three hundred millions; and nobody ventures to say what it is going to cost to arm the coasts. Already pension payments absorb $100,000,000, a third of the revenue, and I am informed by authority from inside the pension office that certificates are being granted at a rate that will soon run the annual expenditure up to $200,000,000. Now comes a bill into the senate granting a bounty to "every non-commissioned officer, musician, artificer, wagoner and private soldier" who served in the army of the United States during the late war and was honorably discharged—payment to be made at the rate of "$10 a month for all the time which such non-commissioned officer, musician, artificer, wagoner and private soldier actually so served between the 12th day of April, 1861, and the 9th day of May, 1865." Such service covers a period of forty-nine months, which, at $10 a month, would entitle a man enlisted throughout this period to draw $490 from the United States treasury. Who will hazard a guess at what this will cost the country should the bill pass.

As to the significance of Speaker Reed's action and some of the consequences which must follow, William C. P. Breckinridge, member of the house from Kentucy, says:

"I think the action of the speaker in counting a quorum is as much a result of the influence of those interests in his party which desire legislation for their private ends as it is for the purpose of unseating democrats and putting in contestants. With some exceptions the contestants are not persons whose presence in the house would be expected to interpose any serious obstacle to any well organized assault upon the public treasury; while every one of the democratic contestees is known to be opposed to those assaults, so that the change by seating of the republicans and the unseating of the democrats makes a change of two against economical expenditures and in favor of subsidies and other private legislation, and it is perhaps for this reason more than for any political reason that this unprecedented decision of the speaker has been made. The number of apparently respectable raids upon the treasury is greater than is generally apprehended. Those who are interested in these raids are entirely too well informed to run any risks of the legality of the measures they advocate to have them enacted by the speaker's quorum rather than by the constitutional quorum, and so it is a condition precedent to their success that a constitutional quorum, and one pliant to their wishes, shall be obtained. I think I may safely prophesy that no subsidy bill will be passed through the house by the speaker's quorum; that while the republican representatives have, and may hereafter, sustain this ruling in all preliminary matters and on all questions which cannot be carried into the courts, they will be very careful not to run the risk of having any final action taken by such a quorum. Mr. Blaine was undubitably correct when he said that as a matter of history in every legislative body where the speaker had undertaken to count a quorum scandal had arisen. And the prophesy contained in this statement will be verified if the ruling of the speaker remains the policy of the house."

Mr. Breckinridge said furthermore:

"It is evident that the republican party beleves that the next house will be largely democratic, and no doubt a large number of their wiser leaders believe that we will win the next presidency. They, however, feel secure of the senate until the end of the next presidency. They judge that this will prevent the repeal of any measures which this congress can enact, and that therefore it is vital to every organized interest which desires to obtain public means for its private purposes that their bills shall become laws during this congress; and that all mere partisan legislation can be enacted, for this would give them six years of annuities from the government and also six years' control of such states as by their legislation they might secure. It, therefore, becomes essential that the republican majority in the house shall be both safe and pliant. It is understood that the speaker made his ruling without consultation with the leading members of the house, under his judgment that if they were consulted they would protest and be committed against it, whereas if he once made the ruling they would be compelled, no matter with what internal reluctance and disgust, to sustain him. And that he was correct in his judgment is shown by the result that he has been sustained by gentlemen whom there is every reason to believe did not approve the decision. And it shows how one false step leads to others when these gentlemen are compelled to sustain succeeding rulings of the speaker's on various questions, which rulings there can be no doubt are absolutely unprecedented in this country."

As may be inferred from Mr. Breckinridge's statement, there is no ground for doubt that the bill for paying back to the several states and territories and the District of Columbia the sum of $18,000,000 collected under the direct tax act of 1861 will pass the house as it has passed the senate. Speaker Reed's majority will carry that through, as it may, if it will, carry through other bad measures for so long determinedly and effectually resisted by the democrats in the house.

The republicans responsible for the taking of the eleventh census have apparently seen a great light. Since I wrote to THE STANDARD last week Senator Hale's committee has reported and the senate has passed a bill appropriating $1,000,000 to ascertain "the number of people who own their own farms and homes, and the amount of mortgage indebtedness thereon." By this bill the superintendent of the census is also directed to ascertain "the objects for which mortgaged farms and homes have been mortgaged" and "the rate of interest paid upon mortgage loans." The bill went through the senate with a rush, there being but a brief debate, and only four votes being recorded against it. Those four votes were cast by Senators McPherson of New Jersey, Morrill of Vermont, Sherman of Ohio and Stockbridge of Michigan. Senator Sherman, who had already this session disgraced himself by introducing his federal election bill and by his speech urging the passage of the direct tax refunding bill, declared that if he could by his vote defeat this bill he "should be very glad to do it," because he deemed it a fruitless and useless undertaking. In the first place, he said, reliable information about the extent of mortgages could not be had, and in the next place, even if it could be had, he did not see of what use it would be to any mortal man, or of what aid it could be to legislation. Senator Evarts, on the other hand, took such a languid interest in the matter that at the voting he stated that, "if necessary to make a quorum he would vote 'yea.'" But there being a quorum he did not vote. Superintendent Porter says there is no doubt of this bill being passed by the house, and Mr. Dockery of Missouri, who had a week or more ago given up for dead his own bill providing for the same work, concurs in this opinion and believes the ascertaining of these facts is now assured.

The sudden change of republican front on this important matter is probably due to the discovery of a strong sentiment in favor of it and fear that the democrats would carry the measure through. Whatever the motive that influenced them is, however, of small importance. The point of significance is that the passage of this measure is the direct work of single tax men—just as the honor of introducing the Australian ballot system in this country is due to single tax men—and it marks the entrance of their influence on national legislation. For, originating in the St. Louis single tax club (Mr. B. C. Keeler, I believe, was its author), a petition requesting this information was indorsed through resolutions by the single tax clubs throughout the United States, was taken up by many of the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor, trades unions and branches of the Farmers' alliance, and received the urgent support of the most influential part of the labor press. Petitions, letters and newspaper articles kept pouring in upon the committees of congress, the secretary of the interior and the superintendent of the census until they had to acknowledge the prevalence of the wide-spread demand.

A dispatch having appeared in a daily paper saying that Governor Beaver of Pennsylvania had declared for ballot reform, I called on the governor, who was here during the week, to ascertain if the information was true. Governor Beaver not only assured me that it was true, but said that he himself wrote the dispatch precisely as it appeared. I showed him a copy of THE STANDARD, asking him to read the five requirements of the Australian system as formulated by the New York ballot reform league. He did so, reading them aloud, and he then declared that he could find no fault with them; that on the contrary, he indorsed them, and that he would go further if necessary to make a more rigorous and perfect law. He said, in short, "I believe in taking any steps necessary to guarantee an absolutely secret ballot, and I cannot see how any honest man can believe otherwise." Governor Beaver says, however, that a change in the state constitution will be required before the reform can be brought about in Pennsylvania.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

OUR ENGLISH LETTER.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM—WHY LORD DERBY IS WILLING TO VOTE TO BUY OUT IRISH LANDLORDS—PRACTICAL WORK BY MR. BENTLEY IN MANCHESTER—MICHAEL DAVITT'S POSITION.

HYDE NEAR MANCHESTER, Jan. 18.—The pressure of the social problem continues and threatens to cast all others into the shade. The comparatively trifling "improvement in trade" of which so much more is made than is at all warranted by the actual facts of the case, is probably due to the maintenance of peace, but whatever be the case it is quite certain that the persistence of strikes is not due merely to the improvement in trade, but as I have said before, to a very widespread and daily growing discontent on the part of the workers in the conditions under which they are condemned to live. For my part I take leave to doubt whether this much vaunted improvement in trade is a very serious affair. In the poor law district in which I reside, and which is regarded generally as one of the most prosperous communities of working people in England, we are confronted with a like fact, such as this—that in 1888 there was in Hyde one pauper in every 110 of the population, while in 1889, the year of improved trade, we had one pauper in every 102 of the population. And this district was not singular in this respect. Neighboring districts were affected in an exactly similar way.

But after all, the best test of the real condition of things is not the test of figures, but the appreciation of the position of affairs by men like Lord Derby and Lord Dunraven. Lord Dunraven knows perfectly well that there is social problem, and he has a remedy. Lord Derby knows also that there is a social problem, though he pretends that it is not serious, and he has no remedy. Lord Dunraven declared his belief the other day that labor had not received its share of the wealth it had helped to produce. Men and women struggled from the cradle to the grave, helpless and hopeless, unrelieved by human wisdom; and this was the result of trying to govern the country upon the doctrine that it was wrong to interfere with the natural results of natural laws. He believed that this state of things was curable in three ways—by the action of the state, by organization, and by public opinion. The state could also deal with foreign immigration. For centuries it had been their boast that the soil of England was free to every man, but he thought they would have to make a sacrifice of sentiment in this respect. It was a good thing that the soil of England should be free to all men, but it was still better that it should be free to all Englishmen. But it was of no use talking about emigration whilst they allowed this constant stream of immigration. They could not eradicate the evils from which the lowest

paid laborers suffered so long as they permitted foreign labor to come into this country.

Talk of this kind coming from a nob'e lord is surely an indication of the ripening of the social problem and a sufficient proof that Mr. George is perfectly right in affirming that "modern society has but the choice between the single tax and socialism." For my part I do not war with socialism. I simply preach the power of the single tax. Men of the stamp of Lord Dunraven may postpone the day when society will discover that landlordism is its only real foe, but wealth producers hampered by restrictive laws will wreak a yet more terrible vengeance when they learn that they have allowed themselves to be deluded by the perhaps well meant but certainly fallacious "remedies" for the present discontents propounded by men like Lord Dunraven.

A recent utterance of Lord Derby is also significant. His lordship was entertained at a dinner at the Liverpool reform club the other day, and spoke of Ireland. He said, among other things: "Now we understand that the Irish measure of the year is to be a land bill; and of course that bill cannot be discussed until we know its terms, but I have no hesitation in saying that some measure of the kind is wanted, and that in the actual circumstances of the country we are bound to choose the less of two evils, and to overlook objections which at other times might be serious. . . . There is one advantage about the plan of selling to the tenants which, in the actual state of the country, I think important. Its adoption on a large scale is a heavy blow to all those fantastic schemes of what is called land nationalization, which, in plain English, means robbery. You may trust the owner of 10 or 20, 50 or 100 acres to defend the rights of property as effectually as if he owned 1,000 or 10,000; and no force is to be despised as things are now in Ireland which is likely to be exerted in the cause of honesty and law."

As to Irish discontent, it will be here seen that Lord Derby has a remedy. It is to multiply the number of landlords and so strengthen landlordism.

But while these representatives of the great monopoly are thus testifying to their recognition of the social problem by drawing the red herrings of sham remedies across the path of the true remedy, the evidence accumulates that the more intelligent among the toiling masses are recognizing the true remedy. They are being assisted by men like Mr. Bentley of Bury, to whom I referred last week. The controversy still proceeds in the Manchester Guardian. Mr. Bentley had a valuable letter upon the subject only the other day. I give part of it in order to show you how the work is proceeding:

Sir—The controversy as to the policy and practicability of rating ground rents and of taxing land values for local purposes does not grow less interesting as it proceeds, and aldermen, councillors, and city magnates take part in the discussion. The proposals of those who advocate the taxation of land values have been subjected to much adverse criticism, and at this stage of the discussion it may perhaps be not deemed an unreasonable request to make that the committee of the Manchester law society, Alderman King, and the many writers, anonymous and otherwise, who oppose the rating of ground rents, should define their position and let the public know upon what platform they stand. Reform in the incidence of local taxation has been long called for, and without danger to the state may not be much longer delayed. . . .

There is need, then, to argue that rating reform is required, or that there is a great wrong to be remedied. By the reports of two select committees specially appointed to take evidence upon this question, by the opinion of the house of commons expressed in resolution, by general demand of the rate payers, the advocates of the taxation of land values contend that, in the words of the Right Hon. John Morley, "this monstrous iniquity" can no longer be permitted to continue. The extent of the injustice will be understood when it is remembered that the revenues derived from ground rents now amount to over 200 millions per annum, and this income entirely escapes local taxation. There is, then, a problem to solve, and it may be also conceded that it is a difficult one, made more difficult by years of short-sighted, bad, unjust legislation. The taxation of land values has been put forward as one solution of the problem, not as an absolutely perfect plan. In an old country like ours, with many varying customs in different parts of the country in the tenures of land, it is impossible to devise any scheme of reform which will quite exactly meet the special requirements of every case. It is very possible that cases of individual hardship will for a time be found to be inflicted by the proposed reform in the manner of raising the revenue for local purposes. There, however, is the problem, and there is one attempt at solution. The principles contended for by the society for the taxation of ground values—(1) That in towns the land and buildings should be assessed separately, according to their respective annual values; (2) that the rates levied upon the land and buildings respectively, in accordance with these assessments, should be separate and distinct; (3) that the rate levied upon the land should be borne by the owners of the ground values, each such owner paying personally the rate upon the ground values owned by him, and that to effect this in cases where the rate is collected from the occupier each occupier or lessee should be entitled to deduct it from the rent payable to the landlord, and that all arrangements to the contrary should be illegal; (4) unoccupied land to bear its full tax—say rated at four per cent on the selling value when the rate is laid. This is one plan. What have the opponents to put in its place? It is not sufficient to point out defects, to complain of little discrepancies, and generally to grumble and find fault. Have they something better—some more equitable plan? The problem is to tax a revenue of 200 millions per annum for local purposes which now escapes, and so to tax it that the receivers of the revenue shall not in future be able to escape the tax by contracting themselves out and transferring their share to some other party. There is therefore need that the opponents of the rating of ground rents should define their position, because the public at present do not know whether or not it is the opinion of these eminent and highly respected authorities that the taxation of land value proposals go too far, or that they do not go far enough. . . . . The city council of Manchester have done well to bestir themselves at last upon this important question. Perhaps no other body after the London county council is in so exceptionally favorable a position for making its influence felt. They have passed one resolution almost unanimously, that ground rents should be taxed. Their next resolution should be, in the words of the London county council, "That this council do postpone all such improvements which can be postponed without grave inconvenience until parliament has so provided." Let Manchester pass this, and we shall not have long to wait for parliament to provide.

The above letter is but a sample of many written by Mr. Bentley and others like him in different parts of the country. Of course, some replies are made. There is a reply to this letter in to-day's Manchester Guardian, but it only takes exception to the amount of 200,000,000. As to the principle contended for, there is no objection.

Then, as showing the way the wind is blowing, it may be observed that quite recently a general meeting of the Tenant tradesmen's national union, recently formed to resist the raising of rents by landlords on tenants' improvements, was held in Exeter hall, London. Mr. James Haysman presided, and alluding to the difficulty of getting root in London for a movement of this kind, rejoiced that they had support as far north as Newcastle, as far south as Southampton, as far west as Wales.

Tradesmen were, he maintained, entitled to the benefit of the business they had created. They had as much right to it as the agricultural tenant had to his improvements. Rates should be equitably divided between landlord and tenant. He warned them against returning rack-renting landlords to the house of commons, and he particularly urged the necessity of securing the co-operation of customers, who, he believed, were perfectly well aware that too large a proportion of what they paid for goods went into the pockets of the landlords, who did nothing for it. Rack-rented tradesmen should go side by side with rack-rented consumers.

The resolutions passed were:

(1) That this meeting condemns the system by which the arbitrary exactions of unjust landlords are legalized.

(2) That this meeting pledges itself to support the Tenant tradesmen's national union in its efforts to secure to tenants the value of the good will which they have created, and of all permanent improvements that they have made at their own cost.

In Ireland Mr. Davitt is taking up the social question with fresh vigor. He goes to Cork this week to inaugurate a labor league. He will combine the artisans of the town with the laborers of the country. The movement is, of course, exciting the animosity of certain of the parliamentarians. Mr. Davitt has also consented to deliver a number of addresses in England toward the end of this month and the beginning of next. He will show the effect of the single tax in remedying the condition of the poorer workers as well as of the skilled artisans of tradesmen.

Since my settlement in these parts many communications have been made to me by friends, and there appears to be a good prospect of excellent work being done before the next election. McGhee was here in the early part of the week. He is very busy. He has organized the dock laborers of most of the northern ports, and is president of the National dock laborers' union. All this is good work. The toilers want to be organized, for in that condition they can be taught better, and they can fight better.

There is to be an election in Glasgow very shortly, but at the moment of dispatching this letter I cannot give any particulars. My hope is that the liberal candidate will be committed to the Manchester programme, i. e., the tax on land values.

By the way, talking of election reminds me that after the lapse of eight and a half years I am to-night to meet on the same platform in this constituency, my old opponent in County Tyrone, viz., Mr. Thos. Dickson, now M. P. for one of the divisions of Dublin and a supporter of Mr. Parnell. At the time we contested Tyrone, Mr. Dickson was a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, and he is still a supporter of the right honorable gentleman; but then Mr. Gladstone was a coercionist, now he is a conciliationist. It is interesting to consider how great a change can take place in eight short years. The two men who fought each other to the death in Tyrone in 1881 meet on an English platform to-night to do battle together in the cause of the common people alike of Ireland and England or against the common foe—landlordism.

HAROLD RYLETT.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Rev. Minot J. Savage, a Bostonian "of light and leading," recently declared in a lecture under the auspices of the Free religious association, that communism, industrial co-operation, Count Tolstoi's ideal country, were all "no thoroughfares." The fundamental idea in Henry George's "Progress and Poverty" was erroneous. No experiment in the direction of state socialism or nationalism had been sufficiently successful to promise any general hope. Something, and he believed much, was possible if only the people would stop merely dreaming and in the light of established principles would go to work. But then Mr. Savage should remember that people can't "go to work" because the opportunities to work are closed against them. Mr. Savage had better try his hand at showing wherein the fundamental idea of "Progress and Poverty" is erroneous.

* * *

"Why doesn't somebody improve that lot?" is a question asked over and over every day by the throngs that parade up and down Broadway and Fifth avenue. The question rises to their lips, says the New York World, when they look at the insignificant old brick building on the famous tongue that separates Broadway and Fifth avenue at Twenty-third street. The tip of the tongue has for years been used by the Erie railroad company. A fashionable flower store occupies another section, and Low's uptown steamship offices run through overhead from street to street. The entire building is owned by John C. Eno, and the reason he doesn't improve it, real estate men say, by building a magnificent office building there, is the fact that he receives, as the building stands to-day, in rent, $10,000 more each year than the lot and building together cost him originally. The original cost of the building, etc., is said to have been $30,000, while the rentals Mr. Eno receives are now $40,000. When property pays that way, and the owner is rich besides and advanced in years, what's the use of improving it?

* * *

Minneapolis, Minn.—Is there any foundation in justice for the existence of the electoral college? What are the principal arguments in its favor? Are there any valid objections to electing our presidents by popular vote?

D. D. JOHNSON.

There is no sense whatever in the continuance of the electoral college. There is no argument in favor of such continuance, except that it would be troublesome to make a change. The original theory was that the electoral college would actually choose the president. It has never done anything of the kind, and would not now dare do so. Every purpose of its existence would be fully met by transmitting to the president of the senate the official certificate that the thirty-six electoral votes of New York are cast for whoever the candidate receiving the majority of votes in this state might be, and so with all other stotes.

The chief objection to electing the president by popular vote is that it would overthrow the system of electing the president by the states. An objection frequently made by those who would otherwise prefer to see the president elected directly by the whole people, is that in such a tremendous contest there would be an irresistible temptation to commit frauds in out of the way places, since they would be effective all over the country. At present, if a fraud is committed in one state, it only affects the electoral vote of that state, and may not affect the general result. Moreover, the field of inquiry is limited and the state authorities are now empowered to adjust the dispute by legal action before the vote is transmitted to congress. Whether these are valid objections or not, is a question about which men naturally differ.

* * *

Now there is to be a cracker and biscuit trust controlled by that powerful corporation known as the Diamond match company, which enjoys a monopoly of the friction match business in this country. The new concern is to be called the New York biscuit company, and it is organized under the laws of Illinois, because that state has not yet developed a strong sentiment against trusts. The company's capital stock is $5,000,000. Every large cracker bakery in New York city save one has been bought by the new company, and $3,500,000 has been spent in the purchase.

* * *

The Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of Boston, secretary of the Society of the Christian socialists, and editor of the society's organ, the Dawn, had a discussion recently at All Souls' church, in this city, with Professor George Gunton, lecturer of the Social economic society. Mr. Bliss advocated not nationalization but "municipalization" of industries. Professor Gunton failed to see the difference between Christian socialism and German state socialism, and seemed to believe that the social problem was to be solved by making people moral. While Professor Gunton was contrasting the condition of the agricultural laborer in the fourteenth century and now, a woman in the audience cried out, "How about rents?" and to this Professor Gunton responded that the accommodations the laborer paid for in the fifteenth century were not worth any rental at all, and that if beef was cheaper he never got any of it. Mr. Bliss finally closed the debate, but after adjournment it was renewed in little knots all around the room and the janitor had to turn out the lights to clear it.

* * *

Henry Hentz, organizer of the sugar trust, has brought suit against the trust to recover $500,000 as commission. The interesting feature of the trial will be the opening of the trust's books in court. It is said that the books will show that the properties put into the trust were worth $15,000,000, and that on this sum $50,000,000 of stock was issued—the refiners taking, to divide among themselves, $15,000,000 (on a three-for-one basis), and leaving $5,000,000 to be divided among the long list of bonuses.

* * *

Two national conventions of coal miners began sessions in Columbus, Ohio, on January 23. The reason they met in two conventions was that no basis could be agreed upon by which they could meet in one convention. The representatives of each convention have been trying for over a year to reach a common ground without avail, until now the logic of events has made it possible. The protracted strikes in Indiana and Illinois have convinced the officers of both bodies that it is ruinous to the interests of the miners to continue the fight, and therefore they will try to unite, not that they love each other more, but the coal land owners less. It is to be hoped that they will unite; and then it is also to be hoped—or is it asking too much?—that they will take into consideration these questions:

Why have wages been steadily falling for many years while the price of coal has been as steadily rising?

Why have the strikers of late years, for more wages or against reductions of wages, been invariably unsuccessful?

* * *

Mr. Harrison's administration has learned at last that Brazil is no longer an empire, and has received with the usual diplomatic formalities the new republic's minister, thus recognizing the changed conditions.

* * *

The American caucus system has reached France, and two hundred republican deputies have just caucused upon party policy. The caucus declared that the essential basis of the republican programme was the maintenance of the military system that made every Frenchman a defender of the country, respect for the laws, the development of popular education, and the defence of the sovereignty of the people, which is the essence of the republic, against the schemes and projects of all pretenders and other conspirators who propose the restoration of the monarchy or the empire or the rule of any dictator. It was agreed that there should be monthly reunions of the deputies of the party to consider from the party point of view all questions pending in the chamber of deputies.

* * *

The manufacturers of cordage and binding twine in the United States, thirty-five in all, have formed a combination to restrict competition. Production will be shortened, and of course prices will rise.

* * *

The Mitchell-Vance company of this city has withdrawn from the Gas and electric light fixture manufacturers' association because the concern threatens to develop into a trust for the control of the business in this country.

* * *

The Christian Advocate takes issue with the New York Sun's "principles of true democracy," and proposes these: Universal free education, furnishing every citizen adequate equipment for self supporting industry and good citizenship; a ballot box so shielded

that the humblest may cast a free and unbought ballot; civil service reform; apportionment of taxes according to the individual's wealth in need of police protection; organization of labor, protected as much as organization of capital; control, not of the government by corporations, but of the corporations by the government.

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Fears of adverse state and national legislation have determined the distillers' trust, commonly known as the whisky trust, to change its present organization into that of a corporation under the laws of Illinois. The decision is significant, not so much because of this single trust's importance, but because this move may point the way to other combinations.

* * *

President Gompers of the American federation of labor has issued a proclamation to workingmen calling upon them to assemble in convenient places adjacent to their homes "on the natal day of the revered founder of this republic, and give expression to your firm determination to emulate his great deed and found the eight-hour work day—'eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will.'" As if in answer to the proclamation, the Pittsburg builders exchange, composed of master buildings, lumbermen, planing mill owners, and the like, met and took action in opposition to it. Also, the National builders' association, at their convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, last week, listened approvingly to a fulmination against trades unions, shorter hours and everything else in the labor line; and a day or two after, when a delegate offered an eight hour resolution, it was put aside, and one adopted leaving each locality to settle the matter for itself, but urging upon all members of the association to adopt the system of payment by the hour.

* * *

Assessor Plummer of Minneapolis, Minn., has submitted his report, containing certain recommendations, to the state board of assessors. Some of the local papers, in commenting on his report, said he shows signs of being tainted with "single taxism." Mr. Plummer took the earliest opportunity to emphatically deny this accusation, and declared that "far from recommending anything that might squint toward such a heresy, he did not even know what it was all about." But he complains in his report of irregularity and difficulty in securing the proper assessment of various sorts of personal property, of injustice on the part of the state board in equalizing the taxes on household goods, on merchandise and bank capital. He goes so far as to say that "it is true beyond a cavil that (apart from bank capital and one or two other items where 'dodging' is impossible) more than nine-tenths of the personal property in Minneapolis evades taxation." He does not see how this state of affairs can be remedied. An examination of the single tax "heresy" might clear his vision; meantime, despite his ignorance of the doctrine, if he will continue on the same line as that outlined in his report he will do good work for the single tax cause.

* * *

Baltimore is waking up to the importance of making municipal franchises pay something for their privileges. The gas supply is the specific subject under consideration. One bill to be introdnced into the legislature provides that the Consolidated gas company shall for twenty-five years have the exclusive right to furnish gas in the city. After paying six per cent to the stockholders and retaining one per cent of the profits exceeding six per cent for a sinking fund to pay off the bonded indebtedness, the remainder of the net earnings shall be paid to the mayor and city council. After the bonded indebtedness has been liquidated all over six per cent shall be paid to the city, the company, however, being permitted to retain ten per cent of the city's share of the profits, when actually necessary for the extension of the plant and manufacturing facilities. Another bill embodies part of these provisions and proposes to let the gas company waive its claim to exemption of plant from taxation; to supply the city with gas at $1 per 1,000 feet; pay to the city a bonus of $10,000 during 1890, and increase the amount $10,000 each year for twenty-five years, such bonus to be considered a part of the expenses of the company in ascertaining profits to be paid to the city. A third bill will require the company to pay annually to the city $10,000, and also three per cent of the dividend as paid to stockholders, and the company to have the exclusive franchise to furnish gas in Baltimore at $1.25 per 1,000 feet.

* * *

John Howry, secretary of union No. 308 (Lancaster, Pa.), of the United brotherhood of carpenters and joiners of America, has written a letter to the leading paper of each phase of the labor movement in this country, asking them for a clear, brief statement of the principles they espouse and how they propose to bring them about. He proposes to place these statements side by side on the bulletin board in the rooms of the union where the members can compare them and draw their own inferences. The single tax men were up to a recent date of the opinion that their doctrine was a "phase of the labor movement;" but since the adoption by the Yonkers carpenters of a resolution that it was not, THE STANDARD hesitates to offer its remedy. However, if Mr. Howry's union of carpenters are not committed by the Yonkers resolution, THE STANDARD respectfully offers its "statement," which will be found, in each issue, in the "Single Tax News" department.

* * *

Judge C. F. Perry of Quincy, Ill., writes: "While in my office lately, Mr. Joseph Hanks, one of the wealthiest farmers in this (Adams) county, showed that without having read anything on the subject, he is a tolerably good single tax man. He referred to the practice of assessing improved farm land higher than unimproved land, and to the injustice of one's having to continue paying over and over for a house or implements, etc., after buying them. He is reading some now."

* * *

He also speaks of a prominent farmer of the same name as himself, but no relation, who resides in Kane county, Ill., who was visiting Quincy a few weeks ago. His host, from whom the judge got the information, mentioned the single tax, expecting the farmer to oppose it. Instead of that the farmer said he understood and believed in it.

* * *

The annual report of the immigration commissioners says, among other things, that a noticeable feature of the immigration from Great Britain and Ireland is that about half of them are women, a large majority of whom are between seventeen and twenty-five years old, and unmarried. Under the protective idea our native born spinsters ought to agitate for a higher tariff tax on these European pauper products.

* * *

John Morley, speaking at Liverpool, said the marquis of Hartington's programme was a poor one. He was sorry for it, as he would like to imagine all liberals, intent upon measures tending to make the lot of the toilers equal to the lot of the wealthy. The marquis of Salisbury had threatened them with the stubborn resistance of the peers in case Mr. Gladstone should be returned to power. Well, they were prepared for that, and he thought it would have been better for the tories if they had kept that sinister force in the background.

* * *

Mr. Martin Battle, general secretary of the Order of the Triangle, has issued his first annual report, and sends a copy of it to THE STANDARD. This order is intended to accomplish many of the objects sought by ordinary secret societies in the way of providing for social intercourse, sick and death benefits, etc.; but it has also a distinct educational purpose, the object being to promote the study of political economy. It also has a building, loan and tontine arrangement, which are in the hands of competent men, and promise advantages of great value to the members. The educational idea is kept up throughout the whole organization, and Vice Principal Magnus Gross, jr., has undertaken to plan and organize a course of readings on social and economic subjects, somewhat on the plan of the Chautauqua literary and scientific circle. This is to be an adjunct of the order, and will be called the College of the new political economy. Mr. Gross in the prospectus says it is proposed to submit a course of reading upon political economy and kindred subjects, viewed by the light of history and by the aid of the best thoughts of the best writers upon such topics. "Political economy as a collection of dry statistics and still drier deductions therefrom, is not the aim of this college, but the science of the welfare of society, of the just distribution of wealth, of the true theory of taxation." Such progress as the Order of the Triangle has made has been largely due to the persistent work of Mr. Battle. Recognizing the tendency that causes the formation of beneficial societies as a natural one, Mr. Battle conceived the idea of starting an order that should be educational and make the study of political economy and social problems the attraction that would draw its members together, while giving them the full benefit derivable from organizations similar in general character, but devoted, so far as educational work goes, to the mere inculcation to platitudes. He has worked hard to get the order started, and has begun to meet with success. Mr. Battle's address is 1719 Lexington avenue.

GEORGE IN THE WEST.

A GREAT AND ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT DENVER.

WELCOMED TO THE CITY BY THE SINGLE TAX AND GLENARM CLUBS—RECEPTION AFTER THE MEETING—THE PRINTERS SHOW HIM THE CITY—A PLEASANT JOURNEY THUS FAR.

Mr. George arrived in Denver, Col., at noon on Monday, January 27, where he stopped to deliver two lectures under the auspices of the Glenarm club, an association connected with the Congregational church of which Rev. Myron Reed is pastor. He was met at the station by members of the Glenarm and single tax clubs and escorted to the Albany hotel. The first of his lectures was delivered at the Coloseum, the largest hall in Denver, on that evening, to an immense audience that crowded the building. There appeared on the platform with him Judges Hallock, Allen, Decker and Balford, Secretary of State Rice, Rev. Myron Reed, Rev. Dean Harte, Rev. Dr. Broadhead, Hon. C. S. Thomas, Professor Alfred Elder and others. Rev. Myron Reed came upon the platform followed by Mr. George, who was at once recognized by the audience, and they gave him a notable ovation. A German choral society opened the proceedings with Johann Helms's Song for Liberty, "Fuer die Freiheit."

After the singing Rev. Myron Reed came forward, saying that ten years ago he had read in the London News a notice of the new book that was pronounced dangerous. Having a liking for dangerous publications, he had purchased a copy of "Progress and Poverty," and read it carefully; and he would say that to this day the theories advanced in it remained unanswered. He thereupon introduced Mr. George, who was received with prolonged applause.

Mr. George opened his address by referring to the recent formation of the Colorado state single tax league, and an expression of his gratification that those forming it had given so prominent a place to ballot reform in their declaration of principles. He then went on to explain the theory of single tax, and his declaration that it would do away with all existing taxes and utterly sweep away the tariff was received with enthusiastic applause. After his explanation of the single tax, Mr. George talked of the impression created upon him by Denver, and highly complimented its schools. He was listened to intently during the whole speech, and constantly interrupted by applause.

After the lecture was over he was tendered an informal reception by the Graystone club; no speeches were made, but many prominent citizens, including public officials, pressed forward to shake him by the hand. The newspapers give good reports of the meeting and unite in declaring that Mr. George's reception was really remarkable for the enthusiasm displayed. The News, however, editorially intimates that his theories are dangerous to property, and its reporter queerly enough refers to Mr. George as "the little Englishman."

The Denver Republican editorially makes the following amusing comment on the probable results of the lecture:

One result of Henry George's lectures in favor of the single tax theory will be to convince all who hear him that until that remote period, when his plan may possibly be adopted, the very best way to acquire wealth will be to buy real estate in a growing city like Denver. Look out for an immediate advance in the price of corner lots.

On Tuesday, January 28, Mr. George was driven around the city by members of the typographical union of Denver, and made a second address under the auspices of the Glenarm club that evening. The popular interest and enthusiasm surprised as much as it gratified the single tax men of Denver.

Mr. George left for California by the southern route, and in a hasty note, written on the train while passing through New Mexico, he says: "We have had a very good trip so far," and that he is much pleased with his visit to Denver.

IN KANSAS CITY.

MET AT THE DEPOT AND ESCORTED TO THE MIDLAND HOTEL, WHERE HE IS GREETED BY MANY SINGLE TAX FRIENDS—HIS RESPONSE TO AN ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Mr. George reached Kansas City at 10 o'clock Sunday morning, January 26, and notwithstanding the short notice that heralded his coming and the shorter duration of his stay, he met with a reception at the Midland hotel, where parlor S had been set aside for that purpose. He was met at the train by President Julian of the single tax club and a committee, and with his wife, who accompanied him, was driven in carriages to the hotel, where breakfast was served in a private dining apartment. The party then repaired to parlor S, which was crowded with ladies and gentlemen who had gathered to welcome him. He was greeted with loud applause as he entered the room. Captain H. S. Julian, president of the Kansas City single tax club, introduced Mr. George by saying:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Single Tax Cause: Let us all rejoice, for the author and finisher of our faith is in our midst this morning. 'Tis said that Pallas Athene sprang from the head of Jupiter fully armored and equipped for battle. So with this great reform in which we are enlisted. It fell from the head of our guest completely equipped with arguments and facts to do battle for the poor and down-trodden of this world. There have been three great democrats who have preached and taught equality, fraternity and justice pure and simple. About 1,890 years ago that great teacher promised to the world "peace on earth and good will between men," and he erected a grand edifice; but oh! how it has slipped its foundations. And I often wonder what would be the reflections of the meek and lowly Jesus if he were to return to this earth and see the pomp, pageantry and crime that has been practiced and labeled as done in His name. But I imagine that if He was to return, He would be compelled to retain the Almighty himself as special counsel and the devil as an expert witness to establish the boundaries of the original grant. In 1776 Mr. Jefferson appears and gives to the world the Declaration of Independence. In 1879 Mr. George gave to the world "Progress and Poverty." I take pleasure in introducing to you Henry George of New York.

Mr. George then came forward and said:

I cannot claim the honor of discovering the truth. Truth is never new and is never hid from those who seek it. There have been democrats and democrats. It is not liberty that is modern. Liberty is as ancient as the first man. Before Christ there was democracy and all men were equal. The truth is growing. Prejudice always blinds against the truth, but the day in which we were spoken of as cranks and communists has passed away. The Christian church has fallen away from some of its grand beliefs, but in all its branches there is an indication of new life and the clergymen have discovered that this is a world in which there is no need for poverty. The fog is clearing away and the brighter stars of hope are again appearing to our longing eyes. From all parts of the earth come messages that the grand work is going on, and in England the line is clearly drawn in politics.

One thing has enormously encouraged me. I speak of the ballot reform. Four years ago when I ran for mayor of New York the subject was first mentioned. Now it has been adopted in many states and will in time spread to all. This is the reform that makes all others possible and has been accomplished. I am not an optimist, but I now see that all currents bear us onward and all winds fill our sails and bear us on to victory. Our work will not pass away, and others will live after us to call us blessed. We are the pioneers of a great reform. In one generation the shackles were stricken from the slaves and slavery abolished; so will we move until industrial slavery is abolished. (Applause).

On motion of the secretary a vote of thanks was tendered Mr. George for his splendid address.

As Mr. George and his wife were about taking their carriage for the depot, Mrs. George asked the members of the club to assemble on the side of the hotel near her, so she could take a Kodac picture. This was done and the club photographed.

MR. GEORGE'S ST. LOUIS SPEECH.

In the last issue of THE STANDARD we printed a report of the dinner given to Henry George at the rooms of the Merchants' club, but we were then unable to print his speech. Hon. N. O. Nelson, the chairman, in introducing Mr. George, said:

In behalf of the gentlemen who have had the management of this banquet I thank you for joining so heartily in receiving so distinguished a citizen as Mr. George. No question is to-day so all-absorbing as the industrial question. We are about through with questions of state and questions of church. The question to-day is, How shall we tax? Shall we do as Mr. George says, levy all the taxes upon the land and make it bear the whole burden, or shall we levy duties on all goods imported from other countries? This is a vital question and is being discussed everywhere—in the magazines, in the newspapers, and wherever two or three men are gathered together. So at such a time it is eminently proper that we should be glad to hear from one who is thoroughly familiar with the matter and who has something of value to say upon the subject. Not with us alone is the name of George a familiar and a household word. His fame is world wide. He is now on his way to lend aid to those people in Australian colonies who are struggling to obtain for municipalities the right to levy all taxes upon the land without regard to improvements on it, and has stopped with us for a

few hours. I am glad that we shall have the honor of listening to him now.

The applause with which Mr. George was greeted as he rose to his feet was very hearty. He waited for it to subside and then spoke as follows:

And I on my part feel greatly pleased and honored to be greeted by such an assemblage of merchants, manufacturers, educators and professional men as is here to-night. When I came to know what a gathering this is, how representative of all shades of opinion and so many occupations, I felt a keen regret that I could not stay longer with you. What I have learned of you—gleaning a little about this man and that in the short conversations I have had since I came into the club—has made me feel that this is an assemblage of individuals with whom I would be glad to glad to come closer in contact—men who do things, men who manage affairs, manufacturers, and men who build bridges. And I find here to-night that apostle of education whose name and labors in behalf of manual training are known all over the civilized world. This is the sort of man I would like to know more about. There are here represented all varieties of opinion in politics and religion. It is good that it should be so. Why should the questions divide us? If we could come closer together we would see that our differences have been very small. Prejudice is always the child of ignorance. The wise man as he goes through life will learn the oneness of human nature, the essential goodness of all men. There is more good than evil in men. Most follies and crimes result from ignorance, prejudice and improper conditions. And another thing pleases me. Here you come together, you members of this catholic mercantile club that unites the men of affairs in St. Louis without distinction, and I find, if I can catch the tone of the undercurrent, that the question that you are most thinking about is the question of taxation. I am glad of that, because I regard it as the most important of all practical questions, and I am glad that the practical men, the men of business, the men who manage affairs, the men who have been sagacious enough in the conduct of their own affairs to get ahead and to accumulate wealth, are beginning to bring to this great question that practical common sense that is sufficient to settle it, and it is on that question that, by the invitation of your president, I will speak to you a little while to-night.

Two shades of opinion are here, and yet between myself and them there are points of contact. Here are republicans of the blackest kind, I am told. Very well; I was a republican of the most ardent and blackest kind. There are here democrats of the most ultra type. Very well; I believe in the great philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. I, too, have at times acted with the democratic party and voted its ticket, or pretty much of its ticket. (Laughter and cheers.) And it seems to me that for practical men to allow themselves to be separated by party divisions—to say: "I am a democrat," or "I am a republican," in the party sense; to vote one ticket because it is a party ticket, would be just as stupid as if one of your merchants were always to insist on sending his goods over the same railroad, no matter whether they were bound east or south or north or west. (Laughter.) The office of a political party, necessary as parties are under our present organization, is, so far as the individual is concerned, very much like that of a railroad company. I go on the Missouri Pacific or on the Ohio and Mississippi, as it accord with my aims, and I vote the democratic ticket or the republican ticket with perfect indifference, which ever one comes closest to the way I want to go. (Applause.)

We have here, to-night, I am told, protectionists of the most ultra kind, and free traders, even to those who would abolish all custom houses, and we have also revenue reformers. Very well; I can sympathize with the protectionists. I was once a protectionist of the most ultra kind, a thoroughgoing and conscientious protectionist, as far as my lights could reach. Born in the well-protected state of Pennsylvania (laughter), educated to look on a free trader as a bought-and-paid-for emissary of the Cobden club, and as one of those fellows who wanted to destroy and overturn all sorts of things, I can understand the feeling of protectionists, and I think if my protectionist friends will really look into the matter, they will find they are protectionists for precisely the same reason that I was a protectionist. Other people who I thought, knew more about it, told me that protection was a good thing, and I believed them, just as we believe all things we are told until we think for ourselves. (Applause.)

With the free traders I can also sympathize. I am a free trader, even to the extent of abolishing every custom house and making trade between this nation and every other nation as absolutely free as it is between our independent states. (Cries of "Good!" and cheers). I am a free trader even farther than that. I believe in carrying free trade to its logical conclusion. There is one of our friends with whom I have no point of contact. I feel very much honored by the kind things the governor was pleased to say of me in his letter, but he made one mistake. I am not advocating tariff reform. (Applause). With the tariff reformers I have no point of contact. (Cheers). That half-way thing—that thing of merely reducing an evil—I have no sympathy with. Either free trade is right and protection is wrong, or protection is right and free trade is wrong.

"I used to think as a citizen of California, that the Florida and the Alabama in sinking ships and so raising the freight rates between us and the east were doing us a great service. They were protecting us from the pauper labor and cheap capital of the east. I want to hear a tariff speech one night. It was a long speech and a good one, and at the end of that speech I suddenly discovered that I was a protectionist no longer, but that I was a free trader. I think our tariff reform friends will agree that this was right, and if they do I want to ask them why don't they have the courage of their convictions?

If protection is a good thing, why not, for heaven's sake, give us more protection? (Laughter.) If protection is a good thing, why don't we want a still higher barrier along our coasts and frontiers? If protection is a good thing, what a bad thing then is this American Union, insuring free trade over the temperate zone of a vast continent—free trade between states equal in area and before long to be equal in population to the monarchies of Europe. For, consider, when a man says that a protective tariff will promote the prosperity of a country that levies it will increase wages, will make the condition of the masses better, he is predicating a universal law, a law of God. Now, the laws of nature do not differ in different places. Go where you choose over this round world and they are everywhere the same. Neither can the social laws differ. There must be in social affairs laws which have the same universality, the same immutability, as the physical laws. If protection be a thing that advances the prosperity of a country, then it must be a good thing for all countries and and for all parts of the same country. And yet I have no doubt of it, when asked the question, that your St. Louis protectionists are just as glad to see that new bridge going across the Mississippi as are the free traders. (Applause.) The gentleman who promoted it, Major Rainwater, told me he expected it to reduce the cost of transportation forty per cent. Now, suppose that bridge was across the Atlantic. (Applause.) What would our protectionist friends say? That we must put up on it toll gates on this side.

If, as it might have been, this Mississippi, instead of flowing between the states of one union, had flowed between the two independent political divisions, you would have had your protectionists here demanding protection against those people on the other side of the Mississippi river.

Why, look at it; a consistent protectionist—there never was one in this world. (Laughter and cheers.) I tried to be one, but I was not. If it be a good thing to shut out and hamper commerce with other countries, if it be a good thing to protect our own industries, then all the inventions that cheapen transportation are bad things. By an impulse of our common human nature, whatever may be our political opinions, we all rejoice in any advance of human inventions. Here are these great steamers, English through our protective laws, English now, not American, racing each other across the Atlantic, bringing down the time to six days. Every time we hear of a passage that lowers the record an hour or two, there is a universal feeling of rejoicing—we are glad of it, we would like to see it reduced to twenty-four hours.

Well, now, consider. What is this tariff of ours? Why we should get as much protection and of just as effectual a kind, if we ordained that every vessel that came to American ports should sail ten or twelve times round the world before she landed her goods here. (Applause.) There have been various ways proposed to reduce the surplus, and although I have not kept track of it, I believe there was a bill introduced into congress to appropriate $150,000 for the invention of a flying machine. I don't know whether it passed. I hope it has. There is no man who would not rejoice if such an invention were successful. But what would be the result as far as protection is concerned? When flying machines become possible, the only way to protect a great country like this will be to roof it in. (Cries of "Good," and great applause.) It is this to which our advance tends. The effort of man, the irresistible, the natural impulse, is to promote intercourse. Why do we trade with each other? We do so for our own advantage always. On a fair and honest and free trade both parties are enriched. People tell us that is all right when you trade with your own countrymen. It is all right here in America, because we are all Americans, but it is a very bad thing to trade with Britishers because they are Britishers, or with Mexicans because they are Mexicans, or with Canadians because they live on the other side of that imaginary boundary line. Does any practical business man act on that principal in carrying on his business? With whom do you individually trade? With the man from you can get the most of the things you want for the least of what you have to give, and you don't like any better to be swindled by your own countrymen than by any foreigner. You don't reject a good trade with a foreigner because he happens to be a foreigner. Why, then, should we do it as a nation? I say it advisedly, I never met a consistent protectionist. I was a pretty good protectionist myself, but even at that time I do not think I would have had the slightest scruple about smuggling, if I could have got away with it. (Laughter and cheers.) And I have observed that the average protectionist feels the same way. He generally thinks that the tariff is for other people.

In marshy countries we hang nets about our beds to protect us from mosquitoes. We have police and jails and locks and bars to protect us from thieves. We want to be protected from things we do not want. Now, I would ask my protectionist friends what does a protective tariff protect us from. Every thing that we do want. From lumber, wool and the incoming of wealth. You all know what "goods" means. It is just the same as the child's word "goodies." It means good things. The country which has the most goods is the wealthiest. We say of this country that it has grown wealthy. There is no more land here than there was when Columbus first caught sight of the Indians on the shore. The fact is we have increased our goods. Protectionists talk about foreigners deluging us with their goods. Is there any man who does not want more goods? I do. You can just pile them all over me.

If, gentleman, you will bring to this question the same common sense you have put into your business you will solve it. Trade has always been the enricher, the peace maker, the civilizer. Why should we hamper or restrain it? There is no sound reason. After a thing gets into existence, after restraints are imposed, there are always interests clustering around these restraints. If you will look into protection you will find that it affords some men an opportunity to get an advantage over their fellowmen; enables some men to get a higher price for their goods than others. Such a duty is iniquitous.

All of our social difficulties, all those social questions that hang like a dark cloud over every civilized country, may be traced to our disrespect for rights—to our want of respect, of what the great French convention called "the sacred rights of property." It is only as we truly respect the rights of property, that civilization advances and grows. We do not respect them sufficiently. That which properly belongs to a man ought to be his against all the world; that which I got by purchase, whether as a gift from him who produced it, or who had the title from the producer, ought to be mine against all the world. Our laws, however, are a persistent violation of my rights. A man goes down into an Arizona silver mine, or he may go to the gulf of California, where he will find salt as free as the air of nature. He employs a man to gather it up, pays the man who built the railroad to transport it, and when he reaches the line a custom house officer steps in and demands $28 a ton of him. I may go to Canada and buy a horse, or I go to Europe and buy silks and satins for my wife. I bring them over here and the very moment I get here a customs officer makes me take an oath that I have no silks or satins in my trunk (laughter), and then he demands about 60 per cent of the original cost as a duty. (Laughter). That is legalized piracy, and what is the difference whether you have the pirate on the shore or on the water? (Applause). Respect those rights of property which permit a man to enjoy all he can buy and that permit him to be free to do everything that will advance his own interest and will not offend against the rights of all his friends to do the same thing. (Applause).

I am glad to see a servant of the gospel on the platform pleading for free trade. The essence of Christianity is to do good to all mankind. We send men to Christianize the heathen, and we do it, but when the same heathen tries to trade with us we instantly set up our custom houses. (Applause.)

I am going to Australia. How many realize that Australia is the nearest country on the earth to us? While separated by a continent, yet we see there the Anglo-Saxon, a people who are building up a great nation, a people who are in sympathy with our traditional ties and speak our language. They can learn of us and we can learn of them. Already we have learned one good thing of them—the Australian ballot system. (Applause.) It is one of the most important pieces of the election machinery of the age. (Applause.) What is it that separates us from these people? It is not the 1,000 miles of ocean. It is this great American protective tariff. (Applause and cries of "That's so.") Look at the great countries of South America. St. Louis ought to be the great trade center leading to this great country south of us. What shuts you out? The tariff. It coops you up on pretense of protecting you. Oh, it is pitiful to see a great nation like this pleading the baby act. (Laughter.) I am an American citizen and I am proud of my country. Here are 65,000,000 of people, and taking them small and large, big and little, they are the most progressive people on earth, the most inventive and energetic people, and yet there must be a paternal tariff to protect them from making a bad trade. (Applause.) The Yankee nation unable to do business on an equal plane with other nations for fear that it would be worsted in the trading! (Applause.)

We have got to have these custom house officers to prevent them from running us out. (Applause.) If we cannot hold our own in a free field against the whole world, why we had better retire. (Applause.) Now, a true respect for the rights of property would abolish all our custom houses and a true respect for the rights of property would put its heel on this communistic doctrine that a man ought to be taxed because he is rich. (Applause.) Among those for whom I speak to-night there is but one mind on this question, and that is that the man who works and saves and therefore accumulates wealth does not thereby furnish a reason for taxing him. If a man builds a bridge, a railroad or erects a house or does anything that adds to his own wealth, he ought not to be taxed for it. All these taxes, by which we send men nosing around to see how much you are worth and upon that statement tax you, are opposed to the rights of property.

Public revenues are needed—yes, more needed now with the advance of civilization than when people did not live so near together, when each family lived for itself. I would like to ask the men who believe as I believe—that all that we know exists comes from a primary intelligence—must there not be some natural and appointed way for the raising of the public revenues made necessary by the growth of civilization? I say that there is such a way. There is a fund created by this same civilization, by the gathering of people closer together, by the building of bridges, the laying of railroads, the increase of manufactories, and that fund is in the value of land. That value is not created by the independent exertion of the possessor, but by the community, and to the community should increase go."

A TOUCHING INCIDENT.

The St. Louis Chronicle says that the most touching incident connected with Henry George's visit to that city occurred immediately after Mr. George's address to the single tax league. The venerable Dr. Henry S. Chase stepped forward and said: "This is a good day for me, for I meet one who has made the last years of my life happier than before I had read 'Progress and Poverty.' And when I say this I only echo the sentiments of thousands of hearts the civilized world over, who now rejoice that the day is not far distant when the great truths you advocate will be embodied in practical law, which will abolish industrial slavery." "Pa" Chase, as they call him out in St. Louis, was filled with emotion. Mr. George said: "You need not have mentioned your name. I readily recognized whom you were as your address proceeded. God bless you, my dear old friend!"

PERSONAL.

Sol Levy, a well-known single tax man of this city, is in the tobacco trade. He differs with many tobacco men, in that he believes in absolute free trade. He makes this apparent in a letter in the Baldwinsville, N. Y., Gazette and Farmers' Journal, where, after going over considerable ground in discussing the tariff and its relation to farmers, he declares: "The farmer has nothing to gain and everything to lose from a continuance of the protection policy. All the farmer need to insure his well being and prosperity is a fair field and no favors."

H. S. Julian of Kansas City is president of both the Kansas City democratic club and the single tax league.

Inquiries received from time to time at THE STANDARD office indicate that some of our readers are perplexed as to the several reverend gentlemen named Huntington, who have been mentioned from time to time in THE STANDARD. Father Huntington of this city is an Episcopal minister, or, as he prefers to call it, a priest. He is the son of Bishop Huntington, of the diocese of western New York. Father Huntington is a single tax man. Bishop Huntington is deeply interested in the labor problem, and kindly disposed toward our movement, though not fully committed to it. Dr. Huntington, the rector of Grace church, is not nearly, if at all, related to the other Huntingtons, and differs from them widely in his attitude toward social problems and the labor movement.

Albert Morehead, late recording secretary of the Gem City single tax club of Quincy, Ill., has removed to St. Louis. The Quincy club gave him a vote of thanks for his faithful work and expressed their regret at losing him.

W. E. Brokaw is an indefatigable worker in the single tax cause. Never a week passes but articles on the single tax from his pen are found in three or four of THE STANDARD'S northwestern and western exchanges. And he does not confine himself to writing by any means; he is the most active missionary worker in the west.

T. V. Powderly publishes a letter in the Scranton Truth of January 30, denying the interview on his reported candidacy for governor on the democratic ticket, wherein he is made to say that he would not under any circumstances stand for the office. Mr. Powderly says he has not denied being a candidate, and did not intend to say anything on the subject just yet.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

THE GOSPEL OF MUGWUMPERY.

The Rev. Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon writes in the February Forum on what he calls "A Political Paradox." Dr. Bacon accepts the common assertion that the republican party of the north includes a great majority of the virtuous and intelligent northern citizens. At the same time he believes that the republican party stands for many political principles and practices at which northern intelligence and virtue revolt. In the co-existence of these two facts lies Dr. Bacon's paradox.

The republican attitudes and practices at which Dr. Bacon believes the party's intelligence to revolt are: First, on the related but not identical questions of reduction of revenue, and reduction of exorbitant imposts upon trade; second, on pension robberies; third, on civil service reform; fourth, in the nomination of candidates.

With regard to all these matters Dr. Bacon thinks the democratic party is more nearly in accord with the views of northern intelligence and virtue. In discussing them he strikes some resounding blows for free trade, civil service reform, governmental economy and decent political methods. Mr. Cleveland's administration at its worst state he conceives to have been as driven snow in comparison with the shameful corruption with which the post office patronage has been handled by "those two eminent Presbyterian elders, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Wanamaker, from the moment that they gripped the reins."

The piling up of fat surpluses, the maintenance of artificial and arbitrary hinderances to one man's business and favors to another man's—this is a policy which commends itself to political "bummers" and treasury thieves; to men who, producing nothing themselves, speculate on the fluctuations of other people's industry; to betters on elections and "operators" in the lobby; in short, to Senator Hoar's typical democrat; and yet this is the policy which the democratic party seems to be opposing with an honorable constancy.

In Dr. Bacon's view, Mr. Blaine's nomination was made impossible in 1888 from fear of conscience and virtue, as represented by the recalcitrant mugwump. The mugwump was disregarded by the republicans in 1884, when the democratic party triumphed by nominating a man whose sole distinction was that of being "an inflexibly incorrupt executive officer." In 1888, "brave men's hearts flowed together in the nomination of a man who had opposed the pension thieves from his place in the senate, who had called God to witness his heart's devotion to the principles of civil service reform, and whose position as a Presbyterian elder forbade the suspicion that he could be false to such an attestation."

Dr. Bacon's explanation of his paradox is that political parties are ruled by leaders, not by the masses; that a party made up of leaders bent on mere success; a respectable body of earnest partisans and a small contingent of corrupt heelers will pander to the last named element.

Dr. Bacon's remedy is mugwumpery. If a respectable citizen would influence his party let him get out of it. A body of independents can hold under bond for good behavior, not one great party, but two.

GENERAL FISK TO MR. GEORGE.

General Clinton B. Fisk, the prohibitionist leader, replies in the February Arena to Mr. George's article, "To Destroy the Rum Power," in the January issue of the same publication. Mr. George's remedy was to remove all restrictions from the sale of strong drink. General Fisk, of course, dissents from this. He insists that a license tax is not restrictive but permissive. It is the men permitted to sell liquor that pack conventions and in other ways corrupt politics. If there is a rum power in prohibition states it is exercised by men who are not under the ban, but who have made corrupt bargains with the party in power, and been released from the ban. Where prohibition bans most completely there the rum power is weakest.

General Fisk attacks the idea that prohibition does not prohibit, and affirms that in Kansas, Iowa and Maine it has been practically successful. The 2,718 persons in Iowa holding federal liquor licenses do not all ply their trade continuously, and many of them are druggists.

To Mr. George's assertion that the cheapness of liquor would lessen its consumption General Fisk returns a denial. He says, that in the days when liquor was so cheap in England that London abounded with signs announcing "a drink for a penny, dead drunk for two pence, clean straw for nothing," drunkenness was shockingly prevalent among Britons. Only an approach to governmental prohibition rescued the nation. General Fisk asserts that in the cheap wine countries drunkenness is common and on the increase. California has cheap wines and a powerful rum party and much drunkenness. Out of cheap liquor conditions with no license grew the Washington movement in the United States. Dr. J. G. Holland went to Europe a believer in free rum and returned a prohibitionist.

General Fisk insists that the presence of a prohibitory law begets a total abstinence sentiment. He argues that the danger from Philadelphia's high license law lies in its "permissive" feature, and seems to agree with Mr. George that by imposing upon judges the duty of licensing drinking saloons, Philadelphia has exposed her judges to the assaults of the rum power.

Finally General Fisk argues that to make rum free would be to intrench it in society, and that from being a social power it must inevitably be a political power. "The rum power in politics is wielded through the drinker's love for rum," and this will always make the most degraded open to political bribery through their desire for drink.

The prohibition leader traces the seat of the rum power to Washington, and finds in national prohibition the only remedy. He agrees with Mr. George that intemperance is the vice of the very poor and the very rich, but says that the great middle class constantly swells the ranks of the poor. No conceivable remedy for present economic conditions could be permanent if strong drink remain to debauch a part of the people. No tax is so oppressive as the tax that strong drink lays upon industry.

WHAT IS MORALS?

W. H. Van Ornum answers in the December Statesman the question, "What is morals?" His paper is a plea for a more human church, for the recognition of the morality in economics and politics. He analyses the Ten Commandments thus:

The first four may fairly be said to relate to religious observances, while the fifth, sixth and seventh are strictly social. They relate only to men's relations one with another. The eighth is purely economic. In fact it is all there is of economics, "Thou shall not steal." There is not a principle on which men found their right to anything which is not contained in that one precept What is it to steal? What is it but the taking from another what is his without giving him a satisfactory equivalent? Then analyze the right of property; find out its origin, its extent and limitations, and you have the whole of political economy. The ninth commandment, too, is social, while the tenth is both social and economic, and in so far as it is economic, it is simply an amplification of the eighth.

Then take that new commandment which Jesus gave to men, that they love one another. Purely social and economic! Love is the fulfilling of the law, whether the object of that love is God or man.

Mr. Van Ornum then briefly but effectively sets forth the morality of the single tax, argues that the church should preach the emancipation of the landless, and sharply differentiates the single tax individualist from the socialist.

A BISHOP ON STATE SOCIALISM.

The bishop of Peterborough talks of the state and the Sermon on the Mount in the January issue of the Fortnightly Review. He opens with the assertion quoted from his own recent address on christian socialism, that the state could not carry out literally the precepts of Christ, and that if it could the result would be an intolerable tyranny. To those who have assailed him for these sayings he answers that screaming proves only that the screamer is in a passion, but by way of replying reasonably to unreasonable accusations, he reexamines Christian socialism. He believes that the proper place for him who holds that the state can enforce the altruism of Christ's teachings is in a lunatic asylum. Other assailants say that individuals obey the spirit of Christ's teachings, if not the letter; why should not the state do likewise? To this also the bishop answers nay.

He then defines a state as that part of the nation authorized to speak and act for the rest. To be a faithful trustee it must first preserve its own existence and, second, restrain, or, if need be, destroy whoever or whatever attacks its authority or assails the interests committed to its charge. These are the state's moral obligations, but such duties are not contemplated in the Sermon on the Mount. Its spirit is directly opposed to them. The trustee is not morally justified in permitting any one to take away the possession of his wards, whatever he may do as to his own coat and cloak. In short, "the laws in this sermon are, like all positive laws, to be applied with due regard to the circumstances and conditions to which they relate." A state is not morally justified in refusing to resist invasion, whatever the moral obligations of the individual. In fact the state not only can not but ought not to carry out in all its relations all the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount.

At the same time the state has its moral obligations. It may not lie or steal. It must be just in dealing with its own subjects and with other states. Yet this is a natural and not a distinctively Christian obligation. Morality and justice existed before the Sermon on the Mount was given forth.

The bishop then takes up the question of individual obligation to obey the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount, and thinks it not impossible for him to obey them literally. But if the individual undertakes to obey them literally then the state must not, for in that case the state would leave the obedient Christian at the mercy of evil men. It is not lawful in England to assassinate or even assault a Quaker, and the Quaker is able to live his life of literal obedience, because the state will resist on his behalf, and will not forgive the assailant. As to the individual obligation to literal obedience, the bishop says that Christ laid down principles rather than precepts, and conduct in particular cases must depend upon a consideration of all the duties and obligations.

The state's right to require of the subject obedience to Christ's precepts is then discussed. As the state has no power to kindle in men's hearts the consuming fire of divine love which prompts to altruism, it has no right to attempt the enforcement of altruistic conduct. It may not even require those sacrifices which natural affection delights to make. It was noble of Father Damien to give his life for the lepers, but it would have been tyrannous for the state to require the sacrifice. Such a tyranny, furthermore, would never attain its object. Christianity is neither socialistic nor communistic, since it does not require as a condition of Chistian membership either the abolition of private property or any form of compulsory redistribution. Besides, Christianity knows nothing of force, and only by force could these ends be attained. Finally the church is not and cannot become the state. The state is the guardian of men's bodies, but not of their souls. The brief reign of the saints in England was a sour, sullen and dreary tyranny.

To the socialist the bishop says, do as you will in the matter of bringing about the social state you think right, but do not do it in the name of Christ. Christianity says merely be just alike to the rich and poor, employer and employed. But the laws of the church can not safely or justly be turned into laws of the state, the Acts of the Apostles into acts of parliament.

The bishop closes by referring to the effect of Christianity in mitigating the horrors of the war and slavery; in softening the hearts of the legislator toward the poor; but he repeats his warning against the attempt to enact the Sermon on the Mount into statutes.

ANOTHER REMEDY.

"Industrial Partnership" is the title of a long article by Nicholas P. Gilman in the February Arena. Mr. Gilman apparently regards some form of profit sharing as a solution of the social problem. He insists that it is not the capitalist, but the employer as such who contracts with the employe; even when the two functions are united, as they often are in the same person, they should be kept logically distinct. Profit sharing, as thus defined, he regards as a natural and necessary step forward in the evolution of the wages system.

Mr. Gilman boldly meets the argument that if employes share profits they should also share losses. The managing partner, he declares, when an industrial concern meets with loss on the year's business, does not give up part of his salary, but forgoes the accustomed dividend on his share of the capital stock. But "no party to an industrial undertaking can rightly be expected to lose what he did not put in." The employe "contributes hand labor, qualified by a varying amount of intelligence, to the joint undertaking, to which the capitalist has given money and the employer industrial and commercial skill. For this hand labor he receives, under the common wages system, a fixed return by the day or week. He can expect nothing beyond this in the shape of a share, however small, in the net profits after all expenses for interest, salaries, wages, reserve, depreciation and repairs have been met. Let us suppose that his employer admits him to a share in the profits, determined in all its aspects by the employer, and moderate in size especially because based on a calculation of the probabilities of a series of years. Under the stimulus of this additional return the workman is expected to increase the efficiency of his labor, as regards quantity and quality of product, economy, carefulness and good order. He does so, and thus makes an extra contribution to the business, as compared with the common workman. At the end of the year, if it is prosperous he receives a bonus. This is not a sheer gift from the employer; it is a fair return, warranted by the nature of the industrial contract and by the state of trade, for his increased contribution to the joint undertaking.

"But if the year has brought no profit to the concern, and no loss, the employe who has put forth this extra effort receives no return for it in the shape of a bonus. He obtains his wages as the manager takes his salary, both sums being the return which, it is desirable, for many reasons, shall suffer from no retroactive demands."

Mr. Gilman admits that this might not be a fair argument against the laborer's sharing loss if his share of the profits were always all to which he is entitled. But no firm begins profit sharing until it has laid aside a surplus to meet the demands of unprofitable years, and this surplus in effect is the laborer's contribution to the loss.

Mr. Gilman prefers the term "industrial partnership" to "profit sharing," as more inclusive and accurate. He thinks it unfortunate that employer and employe have drifted so far apart with the development of modern industry. "The central difficulty in the existing labor situation is the loss of the feeling of association in a common cause which characterized the relation of master and man in the simple and limited industries of former times." He thinks the best sort of socialism would be industrial partnership. By this he does not mean commercial partnership. "Profit sharing rests for its justification upon the fact that in the industrial department of a business the workman increase the quantity of the product, improve its quality, take better care of implements, economize materials, diminish the cost of superintendence, and put an end to labor troubles, in view of a promised bonus. The existing evidence going to prove this fact is now accessible to every employer, and need only be here alluded to. No one claims that profit sharing gives the workmen skill in buying raw material or in selling the finished product."

Mr. Gilman would confine the partnership to the industrial department, and give the laborer no voice in management, no inspection of accounts, and hold him to no accountability for losses. Gain sharing, in which the laborer gets his bonus without regard to losses in the commercial department, Mr. Gilman regards as too logical for the mass of employers. The workman depends for wages on his employer's shrewdness and perseverance, and it is best on the whole that he should depend for his bonus of profits on the same things.

According to Mr. Gilman's statistics, there are in the world about 220 business houses conducted on the plan of industrial partnership. He believes that it will be one among several methods generally recognized as more equitable than the unmodified time-wages system. "Profit sharing is to be the great factor in solving the labor problem."

SAVE HIM FROM HIS FRIENDS.

Kansas City Star.

The Galveston News, which was formerly an enthusiastic admirer of Governor Hill, now declares that "if New York really desires to have ballot reform the first step must be toward kicking Mr. Hill out of office. So long as he remains, New York will have neither ballot reform nor any other kind of reform." By his attitude on the question of ballot reform Governor Hill has greatly accelerated his presidential boom—in the republican party. He is the man whom the protectionists want the democrats to nominate in 1892.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED TO THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

San Francisco Star.

The single tax in every civilized country would mean the abolition of war, and all the cost of armies and navies, for nobody, to speak of, would care to fight when insured a comfortable subsistence by reason of equal access to natural resources.

WORKINGMEN ARE LEARNING, HOWEVER.

Chicago Sentinel.

We often hear laboring men congratulate themselves that they pay no taxes. The poor fools don't know enough to comprehend the fact that labor pays all taxes.

ENTIRELY A DIFFERENT MATTER

St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Cal. Brice has been praised highly for going to college on money that he made by his own exertions. He has not been praised, however, for going to the senate in the same way.

YES; KEEP OUT FOREIGN PAUPER EPIDEMICS.

Newark Evening News.

The high tariff tinkers should put a prohibitive import duty on foreign epidemics; the strictly domestic malaria ought to be "protected."

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.*

MAKING READY IN JERSEY.

THE HUDSON COUNTY BALLOT REFORM ASSOCIATION SAYS ITS SAY—A COMMITTEE APPOINTED.

The Hudson county ballot reform association of Jersey City has issued an address to Governor Abbett and the legislature, thanking the former for his ballot reform recommendations and urging that the legislature act in accordance with the governor's advice. The address names eleven essentials of ballot reform, says that no bill not containing all the principles will receive the support of earnest voters of either party, and opposes Governor Abbett's idea that the official ballot might be distributed before election.

KNIGHTS FOR BALLOT REFORM.

The state convention of the Knights of Labor now setting at Troy is practically unanimous for ballot reform. Twenty-six resolutions in favor of the reform were sent to the secretary's desk in the first day's session. Representatives of the Farmers' alliance and the Farmers' club were on hand. A special dispatch to THE STANDARD says resolutions in favor of the reform were passed unanimously, and all local assemblies were directed to take similar action.

THREE REPORTS AT ALBANY.

The senate committee on general laws has decided to make a favorable report on the Saxton ballot reform bill, and the democratic members of the committee will present two minority reports. One is signed by Mr. Cantor and Mr. Brown, and advocates the passage of the Linson bill. The other, signed by Norton Chase of Albany, objects to both bills.

Mr. Chase objects to the Saxton bill because it is simply a ballot reform and not a broad electoral reform act.

INDIANA'S NEW LAW ATTACKED.

Republicans of Indiana will seek to prove the new Australian ballot law of that state unconstitutional. The clause that will be attacked, it is said, disfranchises Indianians employed in government departments at Washington hitherto voting in Indiana.

Objection to another clause of the law will be raised on the ground that it requires a poll clerk to prepare the ballot of an elector who cannot read.

The republicans fear the effects of the law upon their party strength.

GOVERNOR CAMPBELL IS SANGUINE.

Governor Campbell of Ohio said to a reporter in New York the other day that the ballot reform bill to be introduced into the leislature in accordance with his recommendation is now being prepared by Guy Matton, a young democratic member from Cincinnati, who will have charge of the measure. The ballot will probably be similar to that used in Massachusetts, but with additional protection for illiterate voters. Governor Campbell is certain that the legislature will pass the bill.

FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS SYSTEM.

The State federation of labor, in session at Albany, declared for ballot reform. The subject came up on a divided report from the committee on resolutions on a resolution favoring the Australian system. The majority of the committee reported in favor of eliminating the words "Australian system," leaving the resolution simply in favor of ballot reform, while the minority report favored the resolution as it stood in its original form. A substitute was offered favoring ballot reform with an official ballot only.

In the discussion that followed, the advocates of the Australian system, who were in the majority, contended that the Linson bill opened the way for bribing the voter with its unofficial ballot, and that the Saxton bill was imperfect, because it failed to provide for a general registration. The Australian system, as operated in Massachusetts, was the only true remedy for existing evils. The whole matter eventually was sent back to the committee. And later the substitute indorsing the Massachusetts system and general registration was adopted by the convention, the vote being 20 to 8.

The Nineteenth assembly district committee, at its first meeting of the year, adopted resolutions favoring the "tariff reform measures of Grover Cleveland," ballot reform as the burning question of the hour, and civil service reform. The committee will recommend the county democracy organization of the district to adopt these principles and form clubs for their promotion.

Eight county democracy district organizations, those of the Fifth, Tenth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Eighteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-third, declared for ballot reform on Monday night.

The New Jersey legislature unanimously passed a joint resolution for the appointment of a joint committee made up of four members of each party in the senate and six of each party in the house to prepare a ballot reform bill. The committee is to give hearings to citizens upon the subject matter of the bill.

The committee is as follows: House—Marsh, Mullone, Kerr, Voorhees, Erwin and Cole. Senate—Martin, Carter, Werts and McDonald.

The joint committee organized by electing Senator Martin chairman and Marsh secretary. Voorhees, McDonald and Werts were appointed committee on rules. It was decided to give the first public hearing on Wednesday next.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

AMUSING PROPAGANDA WORK.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: Here is an incident which convinces me that there is no limit to the diversity of methods for propaganda work on the part of converts to the single cause:

I had occasion a couple of weeks ago to spend a few hours in the neighboring city of Hillsdale in this state. In company with two friends—a traveling salesman and a member of one of the leading wholesale houses in this city—I took supper at Smith's hotel, the leading hostelry on the line of the Lake Shore road between Toledo and Chicago. While in the wash room of the hotel a scrawl on the wall attracted my attention, and I proceeded to decipher it. It was in three different hand writings, in as many paragraphs, as follows:

Henry George's land tax is a good thing—for d——n fools. Ha! ha!

"In the vain laughter of folly wisdom hears half its applause."

If you have sense enough, read "Progress and Poverty."

I could not restrain a hearty laugh, and my friends were at my side in a moment to know what it was all about. But as they know very little of Henry George, and absolutely nothing of "Progress and Poverty," they failed to enjoy the situation with me in the least. So I promised to elucidate matters after supper. The result was that for more than two hours, and up to within eight minutes of train time, there was nothing else talked of in the waiting room of that hotel except free trade, tariff reform, high protection and the single tax, and no less than half a dozen promised me they would read "Progress and Poverty" before making any more arguments in favor of high protection. And as we left the hotel, one of the attendants remarked: "Why, that's the darndest thing I ever saw. About once a week some fellow like you drops in and makes a fuss about that scribbling, until I swear we hear more tariff and tax than we did last fall."

If this reaches the eyes of the "scribblers," they may know their work is bearing fruit.

L. W. HOCH.

Adrian, Mich., Jan. 28, 1890.

AN EPISCOPAL MINISTER SEES A LIGHT.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: There is an impression abroad, I am sorry to say, that the clergy has generally been found indifferent or hostile to the great question of the single tax. I cannot say that I am surprised to hear it. If I had not had an attack of the grip I would be indifferent myself—not from any lack of interest in the truth, but from sheer ignorance. I *thought* I knew what Mr. George's theory was, though I had never read his books, and I did not think anything of it. But my conversion was due to reading his books during an enforced idleness not long since. So don't despair of the clergy, or lose confidence in the churches. They simply don't know what you are doing, or trying to do. It is *their* work in which you are engaged; and they ought to be in it; and they will come into it before long. So don't let the firing slacken. I shall do what I can to arouse the clergy of the Episcopal church in this part of the country. What we have to fight is ignorance; and that can be fought by literature and public speaking. If we could get "Social Problems" and "Social Aspects of Christianity" (by Professor Ely of Johns Hopkins) into the hands of the clergy in this country, or in any one diocese or state, you would hear a rattling among the dry bones. These books would constitute the thin edge of the wedge.

You can count on me as a hearty sympathizer and supporter of the single tax doctrine, and I will push it for all it is worth. D.

Winchester, Va.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

GOOD WORK AT MONTCLAIR.

Montclair, N. J., Feb 3.—We have in Montclair a tariff reform club of about fifty members, nearly all of whom were at the period of their enrolment into the club, of a very mild type of reformer. The dozen of us who have had from the first a lively interest in the welfare of the cause, have had a long and weary time of it in keeping up a sufficient interest among the bulk of the membership to hold them together. We are at last, however, progressing finely. We have adopted the plan of taking a book and reading it aloud at our meetings, with opportunity to any one to interrupt and discuss. After some opposition the committee selected for the first book so to be read, "Protection or Free Trade?" The result has been most encouraging. The prejudice against the book because it was by Mr. George has entirely faded away, and a great many minds have been prepared for the reception of all the truths he teaches. Then all who hear are visibly emerging from the chrysalis state of tariff reform and becoming free traders, and the meetings run themselves.

W. S. McDuff of Atchinson, Kan., regrets that he can no longer take a Chicago paper, but says that the election of Benjamin Harrison and a republican congress has made times hard for the western farmers and he must economize. Manufacturers have reduced wages and the price of corn has dropped to 20 cents a bushel, while the price of grinding a bushel of corn into meal is 30 cents. Sorghum brings $2 a ton to the farmer, while the manufacturer clears on the same article $3.85 per ton. If Mr. McDuff made the mistake of casting a vote for protection in 1888, perhaps he will be wise enough to set himself right and help to set the country right in 1892.

MR. CLEVELAND AGAIN HEARD FROM.

Ex-President Cleveland tells the editor of the Nashville American that he is more confident than ever as to the triumph of tariff reform. The republicans would have trouble with the revolt against protection in New England and the northwest.

These people, said Mr. Cleveland, are already beginning to realize that the party which persists in a course hostile to their interests is their enemy, and that the party which is fighting to give them what they want is their friend, no matter if it does contain confederate brigadiers.

He spoke of ballot reform as one of the most important measures that have come up for years.

ONE DISGUSTED FARMER.

A farmer of Breckenridge, Mich., writes to the New York Weekly Witness, protesting against the results of protection. He says that he works thirteen hours a day in summer and he realizes about twenty-five cents for each day's work. "Talk about cheap pauper labor in Europe! Show me a country in the civilized world where they pay such starvation wages as is paid to those poor deluded dupes of the monopolists—the farmers."

He declares that a majority of the farmers in 1888 voted to shut out competition in the necessaries of life. "We had 'protected wool' pulled over our eyes, and as the wintry blasts now whistle through our cotton and shoddy garments, the woolen clothes we would like to protect us from the cold are entirely beyond our reach. We have raised the wool, but cannot afford to wear it. I hope farmers who voted for the present state of affairs are well pleased. If they are not, perhaps they will be at the close of this administration. The price of grain and stock have gone down; but the price of some goods has gone up, interest has advanced, trusts have multiplied, the men who duped the farmers are holding good, fat offices—and the end is not yet.

The Witness quotes editorially part of its correspondent's paragraph on wool and says that it contains sound common sense and practical political economy.

SOCIETY NOTES.

The second series of subscription balls was inaugurated at Sherry's. The first series under the patronage of Mrs. W. W. Astor, Mrs. Frederick Bronson and Mrs. August Belmont, jr., currently known as the "Howling Swells," was started early in the month and two others will be given. The second series, which was started with the entertainment last week, was under the care and guidance of Mrs. Van Rensselaer Cruger, Mrs. Elliott Roosevelt, Mrs. Coleman Drayton and Mrs. Adolf Ladenburg, whose subscribers are simply known as "The Swells," the difference in characterization denoting somewhat different ideas held by the two groups regarding the necessity for exclusiveness in society. The affair was quite pretty and very successful, the only drawback being of course, that it was Saturday night and the dancing ceased at 12 o'clock. Nothing but the cotillion was danced, and as New York women are firmly established in the habit of reaching such entertainments at a pretty late hour, it goes without saying that there was very little cotillion. The supper was as a matter of course eaten after midnight, which indicates that the festive palate may be catered to on Sunday morning without any danger of breaking the Sabbath, although the fantastic toe may not be indulged.—[New York World.

"Judge, my family was starving. I had begged for something to eat for them in vain. I got desperate and crazy, and I stole the flour."

This was the story told to Justice Stilsing this morning by George Gannon, thirty nine years old, of Provost and Twelfth streets. He had at half-past 9 o'clock Saturday night stolen a bag of flour from in front of William Kerr's grocery at Grove and Fourth streets. Officer Donovan saw him take the flour, and arrested him. On the way to the station house the prisoner struck the officer in the face.

"I am a blacksmith, sir," Gannon said this morning to his honor, "but I am unable to find work. I have walked all over this city and New York with no success at getting employment. I had been two days without anything to eat on Saturday, and the temptation to steal the flour was too great for me to overcome. My wife has pawned everything to procure food for our children. She even pawned the shoes from her feet." He said his wife had procured tickets for seventy-five cents' worth of groceries from Overseer of the Poor Hewitt, and was told she could get no more. He was remanded until the police shall investigate his story.—[Jersey City Journal, Jan. 20.

One of the most notable and expensive bouquets ever got up in New York was carried at a Patriarch ball last winter by Mrs. Frederick Neilson, a sister of Mr. Frederick Gebhard. The affair was made up of mignonette, ivy and greenly tinted orchids, and was what is known among the florists as a green bouquet. The notable and unusual thing about the bouquet, however, was the fact of its being fitted up with tiny electric lights. The lights were furnished with electricity from a small battery which the fair wearer had disposed somewhere about her costume, and she could turn the illumination on or off at pleasure.—[New York World.

It is curious how the most dangerous trades are overrun by applicants for work. The electric light companies never find difficulty in securing all the linemen that they want in spite of the fact that the dangers of their business have so thoroughly exploited by the newspapers and by recent events. Workmen in the wall paper factories frequently joke over the tradition of their trade that a man's life is usually shortened at least ten years by his work. The same thing is true of the men who handle leather papers and whose lungs become coated with the dust arising from them. In certain factories the air is laden with tiny brass filings, which also hasten the approach of death. But probably the most peculiar advertisement ever printed in a newspaper appeared in a Connecticut paper recently. It was signed by a firm of tower builders. It called for a man to work on scaffolding, and wound up in this manner: "Applicants must be young and strong and courageous. We warn all seekers for this job that it is of a most dangerous nature and that few men continue in it more than a few years. In fact, it is almost sure death to the workman who follows this occupation." The fact that the advertisement was withdrawn in a few days would indicate either that applicants were not frightened away by its prediction or that they were.—[New York Sun.

The reason that we hear so much about fashionable bouquets nowadays costing all the way from $25 to $50, and even $75, is that exquisitely tinted and bewilderingly shaped orchids are now used in their composition, and these flowers are more expensive than the rarest roses have ever been. They do not equal the costliness of the tulips during the tulip craze in Holland, but a bold stride is made in this direction. A few years ago orchids were comparatively unknown, and bouquets made up as they were, of red, white or pink roses, were comparatively inexpensive. Orchids are not only known now but they are very popular, and as they are high-priced they are very fashionable.—[New York World.

IT WILL SAY, "I AM A DEMOCRAT."

Boston Globe.

The New York Sun is owned body and breeches by the republican party.—[Albany Argus.

The Sun is not a democratic newspaper.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

What has our luminous New York contemporary to say to these charges?

LAND WAS TOO DEAR TO GIVE HIM ROOM ENOUGH TO WAG HIS TAIL.

Puck.

Miss Kennelworth—He's a very pretty collie; but I don't see why he wags his tail up and down, instead of sideways.

Mrs. Morris Parke—The poor thing has always lived with us in our Harlem flat, and that's the only way he could wag it.

MARCHING ON, NOTWITHSTANDING.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

Notwithstanding Halstead, and Dana, and Quay, and Ben Butler, and Gorman, the cause of ballot reform is marching on.

A WARNING FOR OUR GOVERNOR.

Boston Globe.

No opponent of ballot reform will get a presidential nomination in 1892.

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 insituted 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, bnt 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 when land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.

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

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

4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corruptions which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on 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.

NEW BRIGHTON'S ASSESSMENT.

A SYSTEM THAT DISCRIMINATES MOST UNJUSTLY IN FAVOR OF LAND SPECULATORS.

Staten island, like all other suburbs of New York, needs for its healthful development an application of the single tax. Perhaps the town of New Brighton suffers as much as any other part of the island from an evil system of taxation. The assessment in New Brighton is low and the tax rate correspondingly high. There is much vacant land within the town limits, and often this is assessed at less than half the rate of improved land no better situated. Those who are acquainted with the system of assessments have before them a constant object lesson in favor of the single tax.

Acres upon acres of vacant land are assessed at little or nothing, yet held for sale as building lots at high rates. The moment one of these lots is sold and built upon, the town authorities note the fact, and when the next assessment is made, the purchaser is fined for his enterprise in improving the property. Here are a few examples picked haphazard from the assessment book of New Brighton:

Two houses and twenty-three and one-half acres of land on Bard evenue, being part of the John C. Henderson estate, were sold not many days ago to Narman Henderson, one of the heirs, for $35,000. This is very much below the value of the property, but the parcel included the homestead, which the deceased wished to have kept in the family, and the bidding was not lively, because it was known that the son would not willingly let the property go out of his hands. The property is assessed for $22,500.

The American dock and trust company owns five houses and 135 building lots on Arietta street. The buildings include large cotton and tobacco warehouses. The land has a valuable water front and is suitable for business purposes but not for dwellings. The whole property is worth at least $250,000. The assessment is $65,000, which is less than the value of the buildings.

Jersey street is in a quarter of the town chiefly occupied by working people. The houses are small. Richard Trinder has a house and lot assessed at $225, while Louis De Jonge has seventeen vacant lots, as well situated, which are assessed at $900, or about $53 per lot. Now, unimproved lots in Jersey street sell at from $900 to $1,000 each.

J. B. and G. R. King have on Bank street one unimproved water front lot worth at least $5,000. It is assessed at $300. George Wooster has in the same street one house and six lots assessed at $7,000. Mr. Wooster is heavily fined for his improvements.

The Sailors' Snug Harbor has 166 acres and twenty-five building lots. Its property is delightfully situated and most of it is highly improved. The corporation has been judicially declared not to be a charity. The property is worth between $4,000,000 and $5,000,000. It is assesssed at $457,500.

Mrs. John C. Green owns well on to $500,000 of property in New Brighton from which she receives little return in rent, but she is able to hold it by reason of an extremely low assessment. A Staten islander who talked with a representative of THE STANDARD about this property promptly admitted that a fair assessment would force the owner to sell or improve.

On the average, New Brighton property is assessed at one-fifth of its value when improved, and about one-tenth when unimproved. In this way the holders of vacant lots almost escape taxation, while every owner of improved property is fined for making his improvements. There is much dissatisfaction among owners of improved property, because while the assessment seems low the tax rate for all purposes amounts to about seven per cent. Choice building lots are held at high rates, and in some instances land speculators have been able to prevent a manifestly just increase of their assessments. It is generally recognized that a fair assessment would bring a great deal of property into the market and greatly spur the town's improvement.

EQUALIZING ASSESSMENTS.

Something has roused the assessors of this city to the inadequacy of current assessments on unimproved property, as the appended comparison of assessments in 1888 and 1889 will show. These properties were sold during the week ending February 1.

UNIMPROVED.

North side 133d street, 550 feet west of Tenth avenue, 50x99, two lots. Sold for $6,100; assessed at $3,000, 1889, or 49 per cent of their value; assessed at $1,600, 1888, or 26 per cent of their value.

South side Ninety-first street, 200 feet east of Second avenue, 50x100, two lots. Sold for $7,900; assessed at $4,000, 1889, or 50⅝ per cent of their value; assessed at $4,000, 1888, or 50⅝ per cent of their value.

North side Ninety-third street, 225 feet east of First avenue, 25x100, one lot. Sold for $3,450; assessed at $1,700, 1889, or 49¼ per cent of its value; assessed at $1,700, 1888, or 49¼ per cent of its value.

South side Ninety-second street, 300 feet east of Second avenue, 25x100.8, one lot. Sold for $4,700; assessed at $2,300, 1889, or 48¾ per cent of its value; assessed at $2,300, 1888, or 48¾ per cent of its value.

North side 133d street, 450 feet west of Tenth avenue, 100x99.11, four lots. Sold for $12,120; assessed at $6,000, 1889, or 49½ per cent of their value; assessed at $3,200 1888 or 26½ per cent of their value.

North side 122d street, 125 feet west of Tenth avenue, 25x90.11, one lot. Sold for $4,800; assessed at $2,000, 1889, or 41¾ per cent of its value; assessed at $1,500, 1888, or 31¼ per cent of its value.

South side Ninety-second street, 275 feet east of Second avenue, 25x100.8, one lot. Sold for $4,700; assessed at $2,300 1889, or 48¾ per cent of its value; assessed at $2,300 1888, or 48¾ per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above seven parcels of land is for 1889, 48 1-7 per cent; for 1888, 40 per cent, which was above the average throughout the year.

IMPROVED.

No. 314 East 114th street, four story brick tenement. Sold for $9,500; assessed at $5,000, 1889, or 52⅝ per cent of its value; assessed at $5,000, 1888, or 52½ per cent of its value.

No. 156 East 117th street, three story brick dwelling. Sold for $8,400; assessed at $4,500, 1889, or 53½ per cent of its value; assessed at $4,500, 1888, or 58½ per cent of its value.

No. 118 East 120th street, three story brick dwelling. Sold for $6,500; assessed at $4,000, 1889, or 61½ per cent of its value; assessed at $4,000, 1888, or 61½ per cent of its value.

No. 45 West Fifty-fifth street, four story stone front dwelling. Sold for $31,000; assessed at $18,000, 1889, or 58 per cent of its value; assessed at $18,000, 1888, or 50 per cent of its value.

No. 144 East Sixtieth street, four story stone front dwelling. Sold for $18,250; assessed at $10,000, 1889, or 54¾ per cent of its value; assessed at $10,000, 1888, or 54¾ per cent of its value.

No. 211 West Sixty-second street, five story brick tenement. Sold for $20,000; assessed at $10,000, 1889, or 50 per cent of its value; assessed at $10,000, 1888, or 50 per cent of its value.

No. 425 East Seventy-ninth street, four story stone front tenement. Sold for $16,000; assessed at $9,000, 1889, or 56¼ per cent of its value; assessed at $9,000, 1888, or 56¼ per cent of its value.

The average assessment on the above seven buildings for 1889 is 55 per cent; for 1888, 55 per cent.

THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,
36 CLINTON PLACE,
NEW YORK, Feb. 4, 1890.

The committee is about to re-arrange and correct its enrolment of "workers" and it asks the readers of THE STANDARD who are thoroughgoing single taxers, to send in their names and addresses, and also the name and address of any person whom they know to be thoroughly in sympathy with our reform. A postal card with simply the name and address plainly written is all that is necessary.

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work for the week ending February 4, are as follows:

G. E. Hubbard, El Paso, Tex.	6 00
James R. Carrett (add.) Boston, Mass.	2 00
	$8 00
Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	2,734 70
Total	$2,742 70

Cash contributions for the week ending February 4 are as follows:

B. F. Snyder, Tecumseh, Mich.	1 00
William Gaston " "	60
Sundry contributions in postage stamps	1 99
	$3 49
Cash contributions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD	478 54
Total	$482 03

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	73,343
Received during the week ending Feb. 4	663
Total	74,006

WM. T. CROASDALE, Chairman.

THE ROLL OF STATES.

NEW YORK CITY.

"MY LORD, THE PLAYERS ARE COME"—THEY LISTEN TO SINGLE TAX SPEECHES—ITEMS.

By invitation of the Actors' order of friendship, James A. Herne and Hamlin Garland addressed a representative audience of actors in their lodge room in the Broadway theater building, on Sunday last. Mr. Herne made a powerful and moving appeal, and every thoughtful man and woman who listened to him felt the sincerity and single-mindedness of the speaker.

Mr. Garland, on rising to speak, said: "A few days ago I heard William Lloyd Garrison say to Mr. Herne, 'Mr. Herne, I look at you in amazement. To see you take this stand is surprising and gratifying beyond measure. In all the abolition movement I don't remember that a single actor took a leading part, and therefore I regard your bold stand upon such a moral question, hardly out of the stage of ridicule, as something pure and strong.'" Mr. Garland also spoke of Mrs. Herne as perhaps the first American actress to see and understand to its full the great land reform. "But if she is now alone," said the speaker significantly, "she will not be alone long, judging by the faces and the close attention of the women of this audience." Going into the causes of depression of labor and art, and specifically the actors' profession, Mr. Garland said: "To raise the standard of art in America you must raise the stand of living of the common man." Mr. Garland then went into detail in the single tax, and followed out carefully the results of the application of the tax upon cities and upon the country.

At the close of the address Mr. Aldrich, the president, rose and thanked the speakers, and announced that Mr. Garland would answer questions. A few were asked and answered.

Mr. F. F. Mackey, rising to move a vote of thanks, surprised and gratified Mr. Herne and many of the actors present by announcing himself as a single tax man. He moved the vote of thanks in words of sincere gratification, and it was carried with a hearty shout.

After the meeting the president and most of the actors crowded about Mr. Herne to congratulate him on his address. Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Mackey and others most deeply interested, said the actors in general must hear these speeches. There is immediate prospect, therefore, of a mass meeting of actors to which Mr. Herne and Mr. Garland will present the single tax in detail, with all its bearings upon the theatrical profession. Mr. Herne was delighted with the results of the meeting.

The regular monthly meeting of the Manhattan single tax club will be held to-morrow (Thursday) evening, at 36 Clinton place. All the members are asked to be present, as the matter of increasing the dues will be acted upon.

A letter has been prepared by the club to be sent to the clergy of this city, asking them to read a sermon preached by Mr. George in the city hall of Glasgow, Scotland, on Sunday, April 28, 1889, entitled "Thy Kingdom Come," a copy of which will be sent with each letter. The club commends the sermon to the thoughtful attention of the ministry, and says it will be deeply gratified if they can find in Mr. George's utterances anything worthy of discussion in their pulpits.

The concert at the club rooms last Thursday evening afforded a pleasant time to the friends who attended. The programme consisted of three selections by the Union quartet club, recitations by Morris Van Veen and Henry Doblin, piano solos by Miss Agnes Carlotta Sims, readings by A. J. Wolf and Benjamin Doblin, a familiar talk by Joseph McDonough and a duet by C. Mulligan and George Simon.

BROOKLYN.

Emily A. Deverall, Brooklyn, E. D.—A most enjoyable and successful meeting of the Eastern district single tax club took place Wednesday, January 29, at the new meeting place, Woman's Christian temperance hall, corner Bedford avenue and South Third street. Messrs. Jakeway, McGregor and Joseph Dana Miller of Jersey City gave short addresses that were much applauded. Several members of L. A. 1260, K. of L. were present, and invited single taxers to their meetings. Our club meets every Wednesday night, and visitors are heartily welcomed, particularly women, who certainly should take an interest in this question, which is of the first importance to them and their children.

The Eighteenth ward single tax club of Brooklyn will have a mass meeting to-morrow evening (Thursday) at Washington hall, Broadway, near Park avenue, when Thomas G. Shearman will deliver the address. Other speakers will be present and vocal and instrumental entertainment will be given by Miss Fannie and Master Albert C. Weston.

NEW YORK STATE.

MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF PROPERTY ASSESSMENTS—MR. KIRSCH TO SPEAK AT TROY.

George B. Rousevell, S. T., Speedsville.—I am getting signers to the petition this winter that one year ago would not have touched it. The farmers here are fast finding that protection does not protect them.

B. B. Martis, Troy.—Matthew Kirsch of Bath-on-Hudson, will speak to us about the single tax on the evening of February 27, at Star hall, corner of Fourth and Fulton streets. A quartette has volunteered for the occasion.

S. T., Yonkers.—On the evening of the 30th, Louis F. Post of New York, addressed a good-sized audience, composed chiefly of Knights of Labor, at the rooms of the K. of L., on the subject of the single tax. Nearly the whole audience expressed their sympathy with the sentiments expressed. The

single tax men of Yonkers are greatly encouraged by the growth of the movement in their town.

MASSACHUSETTS.

ADVOCATING THE SINGLE TAX BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE—A CONVENTION CALLED FOR FEBRUARY 16.

Levi H. Turner, Charleston.—The Massachusetts legislature appointed a committee to take testimony regarding improved methods of taxation. Exceedingly short notice was given, as the resolution was adopted about the 15th of January, and they were instructed to begin their sessions on the 31st. A single tax conference was hurriedly called for the 19th, and a committee of twenty-five was appointed to prepare a petition and have it printed and mailed to a large number of individuals and to each state industrial organization, requesting an immediate response and the appointment of a delegate to represent them at the hearing. The work was so thoroughly done that on the morning of the 31st a large representative delegation, headed by William Lloyd Garrison, appeared before the legislative committee at the state house. Mr. Garrison opened the argument for our side, and showed that there was but one just tax—that upon land values. Then, in evidence, came James R. Carrett, a well known conveyancer of Boston, in favor of the single tax; then ex-Senator Thomas J. Hastings of Worcester, who was attacked by a farmer member of the legislative committee, who accused the senator of being a party to a scheme "that should be called a plan to confiscate every farm in Massachusetts;" then came S. H. Howes of Southboro, a farmer, who rather disconcerted the farmer legislator by favoring the single tax from a farmer's standpoint, making a deep impression. George W. Cox, president of the single tax league of Malden, and E M. White, secretary of the Boston single tax league, closed the argument for the petitioners, and the remonstrants were invited to step forward and present their objections; but no remonstrants appearing on the horizon, Mr. Quincy of the legislative committee invited our committee to present more evidence if we had it, whereupon Andrew Garbrett, representing the single tax committee of Beachmont; William F. Morrill, president of the Cambridge single tax league, and Professor Hamlin Garland, president of the Boston league, fired some more basic truths on taxation at the committee for the remainder of the session.

All persons interested in the advance of the single tax reform in Massachusetts are requested to meet in convention for the purpose of forming a permanent organization at 987 Washington street, Boston, Sunday, February 16, at 3 p. m.

LEVI H. TURNER,
Secretary of single tax legislative committee, 272 Bunker Hill street, Charlestown, Mass.

John Lavis, Dorchester.—Last week in this congressional district, represented by John F. Andrew, we had three meetings on the "single tax question;" the 24th in Roxbury, 27th in Dorchester and the 30th in Mt. Bowdoin. The leaven is working well in this district. At our meeting in Dorchester there were five ministers present, and each of them, after the meeting, were desirous of learning more about the single tax, and so expressed themselves. We distributed to each person some literature. There were a dozen ladies in the audience. And we must have made a good impression, for every one present at the close of the meeting signed our petition to the legislature. There were over one hundred present.

CONNECTICUT.

A SINGLE TAX MEETING IN A CHURCH—A LECTURE BY W. J. GORSUCH.

S. T., New Haven.—The best single tax meeting we ever had here was held last Sunday evening, Feb. 2. The pastor of the church of the Messiah (Unitarian) gave up his pulpit to Professor Hamlin Garland and James A. Herne, the first gentleman talking on the single tax and the latter reading "Under the Lion's Paw." Mr. Squires, one of our best known citizens, presided, and an audience of over four hundred were present, composed mainly of prominent people. This meeting has done good.

W. J. Gorsuch lectured at Madison on the 21st inst., to an enthusiastic audience.

OHIO.

INTERESTING NEWS ITEMS—THE MEETING OF THE STATE CONVENTION.

A. R. Wynn, Toledo.—I arrived at Tecumseh, Mich., January 20, and found our single tax men there becoming more and more active as time rolls on. Mr. George's article on the temperance question in the Arena promises to run through the prohibition camp in that locality, and will do much good. At Clinton, Mich., about six months ago, one of our petitions was signed by Mr. Downs, an honest, industrious shoemaker and a strong believer in "protection." He told me last Monday that he had been receiving some literature from the single tax committee, had read it and found many things he could indorse. He further stated that he did not care how soon the single tax was the law of the land. At Ridgeway, Mich., two farmers signed the petition, and seemed glad to have the opportunity. David Sears at Saline, Mich., is also doing good work for free trade.

Dr. David DeBeck, Cincinnati.—Our club has just moved into its commodious and elegantly furnished new club room in Bradford's block (Palace hotel building), northwest corner of Sixth and Vine streets. The room is 17x45 feet, on the second floor. Nearly its whole front is of plate glass. It is heated by steam. On Saturday, February 8, the club will inaugurate the new headquarters by an informal reception from 3 to 11 p. m. All friends, sympathizers, and even opponents, are invited to be present.

Cliff S. Walker, Cincinnati.—Our state committee had a successful meeting at Columbus, Sunday, January 20. Mr. Breton of Cleveland, a most active and energetic man, was elected as chairman for the ensuing year.

INDIANA.

THE INDIANAPOLIS SINGLE TAX LEAGUE IN THE PROCESSION, THOUGH NOT MAKING MUCH NOISE.

L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.—The single tax league of Indianapolis is steadily keeping pace with the march of events, although not making much noise. We have opened our reading and club room. It is located in Mansur block, corner Washington and Alabama streets, on second floor, facing Washington street. It will seat fifty persons, and is altogether a splendid room for the purpose intended. We will be thankful for books, pictures, etc., that our friends may wish to donate to the club. They can be sent to the rooms, or to me at the postal telegraph office, No. 11 South Meridian street.

Henry Sdrakel, Indianapolis.—The people here are ready for a big dose of tariff reduction if given by absolute single tax free trade doctors.

ILLINOIS.

THE "CAT" APPEARS TO A LEARNED JUDGE—JUDGE BROWN'S LECTURE — INTERESTING NEWS.

Warren W. Bailey, Chicago.—Our meeting last night (January 30) was one of the most successful in the history of the club, many members of the legal profession gracing the occasion with their presence in response to a special invitation.

Mr. Brown's address on "The legal aspects of the single tax" was a powerful presentation of the question. He held the floor for an hour and a half. Long and enthusiastic applause followed as Mr. Brown took his seat, and at the conclusion of the meeting the gentleman was warmly congratulated on his really telling effort.

Mr. Marshall Beck, who has been absent for nearly two years, followed Mr. Brown in a five-minute speech that was gracefully complimentary to the orator of the evening.

But the surprise of the evening was the response of Jonathan Taylor to a hearty call for a speech. In terms as clean cut as a cameo and as clear as a crystal he avowed his belief in the fundamental doctrines of "Progress and Poverty." The audience was quick to see and appreciate the significance of the declaration, for Mr. Taylor is one of the leading democrats of Chicago and a man of unimpeachable integrity, and his accession to our ranks is a gain of the very first importance.

Another and a still more significant event was taking place at about the same moment that Mr. Taylor was declaring his belief in the single tax. In the magnificent tenth story dining hall of the new Auditorium hotel a notable assemblage of solid citizens—bankers, merchants, board of trade operators, politicians and preachers, were enjoying the hospitalities of the Chicago real estate exchange, whose annual banquet was in progress. Many able speakers were present, but none attracted more attention or received quicker applause, than the Hon. George Driggs, of the Circuit bench, who responded to the toast proposed by the chairman, "The Single Tax." As a sign of the times Judge Driggs's speech is worth reprinting in full in THE STANDARD:

You ask me to speak on "Single Tax," or rather your committee has compelled me to do so. Whoever becomes interested in this matter, to the extent of reading even a slight portion of the fundamental literature pertaining to it, will be at once impressed with the foundation sentiment which underlies and is represented in the arguments of those who assume the affirmative of the question, viz., to prevent the strong or the wealthy from oppressing the weak and the poor. It cannot be seriously charged, I take it, that the men who are most prominent in the discussion in favor of single tax have any base or ultra-selfish motives in their championship. That they are in earnest in their endeavor to proclaim a new plan of salvation for thousands who are suffering and who cannot rise above a level, which to them is obnoxious, I for one firmly believe. To realize that in this country the only one thing which a man without land can of right use, without the let or hinderance of any other man, is the air he breathse, is somewhat startling, when we at the same instant appreciate what is practically a fact—that the face of the earth, or an undivided interest therein, which may belong to him as a child of nature in the same proportion as the air he breaths, is fenced against him by custom or law, whichever way he may turn. It is said that he may without restraint enjoy the freedom of the air necessary for his very existence, but that he may not in perfect freedom and of inherent right stand and breathe the breath of life on any spot of earth.

It has been tersely suggested that if the selfish ingenuity of man could rise to the occasion, or descend to it, the very air would be bottled and sold for gain, and he who could not buy the necessary amount to sustain life would perish as the insatiate vender shouted "Next!" Such statements shock the sensibilities of men and cause them to search for answers in the practical necessities of government, and some are satisfied with the response that in order to enjoy the benefits of government and of liberty each must surrender some portion of that which he may believe to be his inherent rights; and until a practically recent period in this country it has been thought by the majority of men that it was best to surrender a little of almost everything belonging to them by reason of inherent right to the end that all might be benefited. As I understand the proposition, single tax is this: That the state should tax the soil, and the soil only; that in doing so it should consider the soil as it came from the hand of the Creator, without anything that man has put upon it; that all other property—in short, everything that man has got—is to be acquired, enjoyed and transmitted as at present; that the rate of annual taxation should equal the rate of annual rental, and that the proceeds of the tax should not only be applied to the purposes of government, but to any other purposes that the legislature from time to time may think desirable, and even to dividing them among the people.

It is suggested that land, as at present held, cannot be rented at fair values considering the rights of all parties therein. This proposition has been, to some degree, met by the inquiry, "Does any farmer now hesitate to let the land standing in his name at a fair rental as fixed by surrounding values?" And what shall we say of land which does not pay to operate, or of land that is operated at a loss? Again how shall rental values be fixed? By auction? Will it be begging the question to further inquire what will the state do that is not favored with bids sufficiently large to meet the expenses of the yearly necessities? And, perchance, there should be found a man who could pay no tax even if he contracted with the state to do so. Should he be told to "move on"? Where would he move to? Where would he, under this new order of things, find the spot on earth upon which he might stand and say: "This is mine; no further will I go." The reply may be that under the new dispensation he will not fail to pay his tax and will not have to "move on." Heaven grant it may be so if the proposed change shall be consummated.

WARREN W. BAILEY.

C. F. Perry, Quincy.—At the last two meetings of our club the subject was "Special taxation for school improvements, with special reference to Quincy," and being a very practical question here now, we are arousing considerable interest. On motion of Alderman Gillespie (a member of our club), a motion was unanimously adopted instructing our secretary to invite the city council to be present at the meeting on the 24th, when it had been decided to renew the discussion. The invitation was accepted by a unanimous vote, but when the day came a majority of the aldermen had forgotten all about it. Several came, however, and having an unusual attendance of other citizens, the meeting proved highly interesting and exceedingly satisfactory to us. One-fourth of the aldermen and a number of private citizens have admitted publicly that our suggestion is the most equitable that has been proposed.

Rev. S. H. Dana was unable, on account of the grip, to deliver his promised address on the 31st ult., but will do so later on. The Rev. R. V. Atkinson will speak to us on February 7 and Lyman McCarl on February 14.

MISSOURI.

THE CAUSE IN ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY BENEFITED BY MR. GEORGE'S VISIT.

Percy Pepoon, St. Louis.—Henry George's visit has doubled the impetus of our movement. We now expect to have no difficulty in raising the money to pay for Music hall, which seats 3,500 people, for Father Huntington's single tax address the latter part of this month.

Robert Cumming, the noted single tax coal miner of Duquoin, Ill., spoke at the single tax league last Sunday afternoon, and after his address a mock congress was organized.

Thursday evening the league was addressed by Hamlin Russell.

MINNESOTA.

THE SINGLE TAX LEAGUE ORGANIZES A LARGE COMMITTEE TO ASSIST THE LEGISLATURE TO REVISE THE TAX LAWS

C. J. Buell, Minneapolis.—We have moved into our new quarters in the West hotel, where we held our first meeting on January 21. It was a tremendous success. Governor A. R. McGill spoke on "The abolition of the law imposing a tax on real estate mortgages."

We are going to take a hand in the law-making of Minnesota, to the extent of recommending such amendments to the constitution and laws of the state as will remove the irregularities of our present system of taxation. At a late meeting Messrs. C. A. Pillsbury, A. R. McGill, J. C. Haynes and myself were appointed a committee to suggest one hundred names of gentlemen who would serve on a committee to carry out the recommendation above. The club committee has reported. The large committee is a representative one in every sense of the word, among them being J. C. Haynes, a well known lawyer, president of A. D. T. company and president of the state association of democratic societies; F. B. Long, Fred Kees and L. S. Buffington, leading architects; O. C. Wyman, T. B. Janney, Hugh Harrison and J. C. Ehlel, heavy jobbers; W. M. Tenney, W. L. Bassett and O. C. Merriam, lumbermen; twenty newspaper editors; and many representatives of labor organizations. Single tax men, outside the league, are so thick here that you run across them everywhere.

WISCONSIN.

SUGGESTING A METHOD BY WHICH FARMERS WILL BECOME INTERESTED IN THE SINGLE TAX.

Henry Brown, Amy.—For several months past I have placed THE STANDARD in the Free library in Eau Claire, and after being read there I leave them at the co-operative store (owned mostly by Knights of Labor) for distribution. The single tax idea is spreading in Eau Claire.

Farmers here are slow to see the benefit of placing all taxes on land. They can more easily see the advantage of free trade and of exempting their improvements and farming utensils, household furniture and stock from taxes. If the single tax doctrine were presented to them in that way I think they would soon fall into line like old soldiers.

MARYLAND.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN ADDRESSES THE BALTIMORE CLUB ON "THE MENACE OF PLUTOCRACY."

S. T., Baltimore.—Thomas G. Shearman lectured here on Thursday evening, January 30, on "The menace of plutocracy." Mr. J. Ogden, president of the local single tax club, presided, and there was a large audience, made up of ladies, single taxers, Knights of Labor, students of Johns Hopkins university, and persons in various other walks of life. Mr. Shearman referred to his recent widely quoted article in the Forum, which included a long list of persons with over $20,000,000. He declared that his figures had been successfully assailed in but two instances, and that the list as corrected showed sixty-seven persons whose wealth aggregates $2,500,000,000, or an average of $37,000,000 each. After making allowance for possible errors, Mr. Shearman believed he was understating the case in asserting that 100,000, constituting less than one per cent of the population, own very much more of the wealth of this country than the other ninety-nine per cent. If the Boston tax list be accepted as a fair average of the country, 50,000 families own one-half of all the assessed wealth in the United States. This greatly underestimates the truth.

From this point Mr. Shearman preached the familiar remedy of free trade and the single tax.

The Sun, which published nearly three columns of Mr. Shearman's speech, declares that though "the reader may differ from the lecturer, yet he cannot help conceding that the subject is handled in an unusually interesting style."

The single tax men here work chiefly through the public press, and the attention given by the newspapers to Mr. Shearman's lecture will greatly help the movement. The single tax league will meet hereafter every Monday night at the northeast corner of Baltimore and Gray streets.

TEXAS.

A LEADING DEMOCRAT GIVES HIS UNBIASED OPINION OF GEORGE A MASTER WORKMAN'S WORK.

J. L. Caldwell, Mart.—The single tax is moving very quietly here, but I think remarkably fast. Information it seems, is all that is needed. Five lawyers and as many doctors have lately been discovered to be on "our side" in Waco. A leading democrat stopped me in the street "just to say"—he emphasizes sometimes—"that your Henry George has got more sense than any d——d man in the United States." "What, you too, Judge?" "No, I do not indorse all Mr. George says, but I have nothing to retract." "All right, Judge; just keep on reading him, and consider if the smartest man in the United States is likely to write foolishness." Our newspapers are quite friendly to us. The Day has tendered us a column in the daily and Sunday editions for "Questions and Answers," under our control. We will accept, and shortly have a man at the helm.

James Fitzgerald, Dallas.—At our labor meeting, January 25, we were treated to a speech by a republican politican, who warned us not to have anything to do with the democrats. He was especially hard on the Australian system, which the republicans here seem to fear as much as the democratic governor of New York state; but the master workman of our assembly of the K. of L. explained the working of the system to the meeting, and that ended our republican friend.

Our master workman has been instrumental in having a number of wise pro-

visions inserted in our new city charter, which have been specially commended by working people.

The single tax is getting increased support among the K. of L. in this town.

W. J. Morrison, San Antonio.—For a time it was a struggle to keep up our organization, nearly all our funds going for rent; but now we are on a good footing and interesting other organizations in single tax measures.

KANSAS.

A PREACHER HUNTS FOR WORK, BUT FAILS TO FIND IT.

Topeka (Cincinnati Post, Jan. 22).—Rev. C. M. Sheldon, popular pastor of the Central Congregational church of this city, has caused a sensation by attiring himself in rough clothing and seeking common labor to ascertain for himself the difficulties of making a living by hard work. He says he did it simply to demonstrate to his own satisfaction whether one with only his muscular powers to depend upon could find employment. Sheldon applied at coal yards, railway yards, flour mills, feed stores and other places, and the only work which he got was an hour's shoveling of coal, at which he made a good hand, found the laborers uniformly kind, and one offered to secure him a supper and lodging at his boarding house if he should fail to find employment.

"I tried my best for several hours," he says, "but without avail. I do not believe I could have felt worse if my supper had actually depended on my success. I had to confess that I, an able bodied man, in good health, willing to do anything that a man can do with his hands, actually couldn't get any paying job after walking a matter of ten miles and applying at over a dozen places where day laborers are hired. I think its worth something to know even partially how the struggle for existence is kept up. The fact that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives, is, perhaps, the best reason why it does not care how it lives."

MAINE.

W. E. Jackson, Auburn.—At our annual meeting we elected the following officers: President, Thos. Marsden; vice-presidents, A. S. Robinson and S. K. Ballard; secretary, W. E. Jackson; treasurer, F. D. Lyford.

The single tax is steadily gaining ground here. The commission we appointed to find some way of equalizing taxes have asked for the opinion of the people at large, and the *Journal*, a daily paper of Lewiston, has opened its columns to letters upon this subject. I hope that every single tax man in the state will embrace the opportunity thus presented to advance the cause.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Louis Klein, Bryn Mawr.—About one out of five that I approach signs the petition. That doesn't look like much, but I congratulate myself even for this, in a neighborhood where protection asses grow on chestnut trees.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Chas. A. Dennis, Grafton.—We have never seen any communication in THE STANDARD from this place, and so those of us who have seen the "cat" in all its beauty have decided to make our existence known to the outside single tax world. We labor under the same disadvantages that people living elsewhere do; land is assessed way below its value; the grabbers and politicians hold large slices of land and the producers pay the taxes.

ALABAMA.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile.—There are fully 500 people here who favor the single tax, but not twenty-five of them will come out and advocate the measure.

The Mobile Register has in the past been an advocate of a small form of tariff, but it is beginning to see that the drift of public opinion is toward absolute free trade.

The local members of the K. of L., since the adoption of the single tax resolution by the last general assembly, look on it more kindly than they once did. The free trade idea is also losing its terrors for them.

COLORADO.

A. B. Clark, Silver Plume.—The petition finds ready signers here, and men are listening to what we have to say.

NORTH DAKOTA.

S. W. Bredford, Ayr.—The single tax men here have found that we can do better work for the present by talking on tariff reform, and to be able to do that effectively we, on January 25, organized the Tariff reform league of Buffalo, North Dakota, by electing Captain Aldrid, an old and gallant soldier, president, myself secretary and H. E. Brown treasurer. The meeting was well attended, and thirty-nine of those present joined. We thank Mr. Baldwin of the New York reform club for the literature he has sent us; also for his offer to send us more. We will make good use of whatever comes to us. We are poor, but will do all we can to forward the good cause, hoping not to stop until the single tax is ours.

MONTANA.

W. McKendrick, Marysville.—Every man I have approached has signed the petition willingly. This is a good section for propaganda.

CANADA.

WHAT A CANVASS OF TWO CONVENTIONS SHOWED.

S. T., Toronto.—A canvass of the members of the municipal convention which met in this city three weeks ago showed that one-third of them were single tax men. A Baptist convention was held here about the same time and a canvass of its members disclosed the fact that a great majority of the delegates, ministers and laymen as well, were strong believers in the single tax doctrine.

FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGLAND.

The London Christian Commonwealth.—It is a significant sign of the times that the archbishop of Canterbury should recommend the clergy to study such books as Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," Dr. Alfred Russell Wallace's "Land Nationalization," and Edward Bellamy's socialist novel, "Looking Backward."

The air is full of rumors as to the intentions of the government with regard to the buying-out of Irish landlords. Although nothing is definitely known as yet of the form which these proposals are likely to take, it seems tolerably certain that another raid is to be made upon the pockets or upon the credit of the British taxpayers. The English land restoration league, which has all along opposed the idea of land purchase, even when the liberal party was supporting it, naturally comes to the front at such a crisis. The executive of the league have under consideration a proposal for a campaign against land purchase, with a view to enlightening the electors upon the true bearings of the question. Mr. Michael Davitt has consented, we understand, to address a series of meetings on the subject, including probably a big gathering in London about the end of January.

Liverpool.—The Financial reform association has issued a circular to its members congratulating them upon the abolition, in the programme of the liberal party, of the breakfast table duties and the substitution of a tax on land values.

IRELAND.

Cork.—The conference of labor leaders, held here January 26, has decided to form an Irish federated trade association, the programme of which was enunciated by Mr. Davitt in a lecture. This is an alliance of English and Irish workingmen to favor the taxation of land values so that labor and industry may be relieved from the burdens inflicted by privileged landed classes, and the payment of salaries to members of the house of commons.

WALES.

The London Christian Commonwealth.—On Christmas day Rev. Dr. E. Pan Jones of Mostyn (editor of Y Celt), one of the pioneers of land restoration among Welsh speaking people, lectured on "The Land for the People," at Cilcenin, Cardiganshire, to a very large and enthusiastic audience, composed almost entirely of farmers and laborers, many of whom were bending under the weight of rent and tithes. Mr. Morgan Evans, J. P., C. C., presided, and although admittance was by ticket, at a charge of from 6d. to 2s., the hall was crammed. The meeting was successful in every way, and the general cry was "We will hear thee again on this matter."

On the 30th, Dr. Jones lectured at Bethesda, Carnarvonshire, at the British school, to a large audience of quarrymen, under the auspices of the Liberal club. In the absence of County Councilor Brymer, the chair was taken by the Rev. D. Adams, B. A. Many of the "big" people in this place, though liberal in name are tories in practice, and hardly any of them put in an appearance. The chairman, however, seemed to understand the question, and it is to be hoped that he will bring over the quarrymen to his way of thinking in spite of the would-be leaders who only mislead.

Another lecture on the same subject will be delivered on January 28, by Dr. Jones, at Salem, Bowstreet, Cardiganshire, when the Rev. J. H. Thomas will take the chair. Several other places were anxious to hear the gospel of the land for the people expounded.

The English land restoration league contemplates publishing Welsh editions of some of their best leaflets. This will be a great help to local friends.

Consumption Cured.

An old physician, retired from practice, having had placed in his hands by an East India missionary the formula of a simple vegetable remedy for the speedy and permanent cure of Consumption, Bronchitis, Catarrh, Asthma and all throat and lung affections, also a positive and radical cure for Nervous Debility and all nervous complaints, after having tested its wonderful curative powers in thousands of cases, has felt it his duty to make it known to his suffering fellows. Actuated by this motive and a desire to relieve human suffering, I will send free of charge to all who desire it this recipe, in German, French or English, with full directions for preparing and using. Sent by mail by addressing with stamp, naming this paper, W. A. Noyes, 820 Powers' Block, Rochester, N. Y.

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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.

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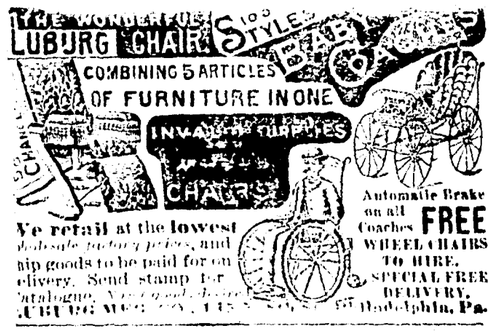

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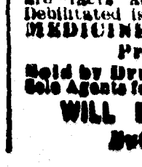

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THE SINGLE TAX BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Ministers of all denominations are earnestly and cordially invited to join the brotherhood.

The headquarters of the brotherhood are at 27 Clinton place, New York city.

All meetings and receptions of the brotherhood will be held (unless otherwise announced) at the headquarters.

The monthly business meetings will be held on the first Monday of each month at 2.30 p. m.

The publications of the brotherhood and "books recommended" can be obtained from the secretary. Specimen copies can be seen in the library of the brotherhood at headquarters.

Please address all communications (including those containing donations, subscriptions and dues) to the secretary, the REV. DR. THACKERAY, Newtown, L. I., N. Y.

THE CONSTITUTION.

I. Title.

The name of this society shall be "The Single Tax Brotherhood of Religious Teachers."

II. Membership.

The membership shall be confined in general to ministers of recognized standing in any religious denomination.

Any such minister of religion who is in favor of the adoption of the "single tax on land values" may be proposed for admission to the brotherhood, and if elected by the executive committee he thereupon becomes a member.

III. Principles of the Brotherhood.

1. The ownership of the land is and must ever remain in the hands of the Creator alone.

2. The Creator gives to every generation in succession (during its lifetime only) the right of possession in order that it may enjoy the usufruct (i. e., the use and benefit) of the land.

3. Every individual of each generation has an equal right to share in the usufruct of the land.

4. The conditions on which the possession of land is permitted to individuals should be such as to ensure impartially to all a share in the Creator's bounty.

IV. Declaration.

We believe that these principles find their legal and economic expression in the single tax on land values, and we therefore earnestly hope and labor for its speedy adoption.

V. Work and Aims of the Brotherhood.

1. To direct the attention of ministers of religion to the distinctively religious aspects of the single tax movement.

2. To encourage ministers of religion in presenting these aspects of the single tax movement to their congregations.

3. To promote the furtherance of the movement by any other means in their power.

VI. Methods of Work.

The means adopted and recommended for the prosecution of this work are:

1. The circulation and recommendation of books, leaflets, tracts and other literature relating to the single tax and kindred subjects.

2. The delivery and publication of sermons and addresses relating to single tax subjects.

3. Work through the public press.

4. Personal influence and social intercourse whenever opportunity offers.

VII. Organization.

The brotherhood will extend its operations chiefly (but not exclusively) throughout the United States and Canada, and will have its headquarters in New York city.

Local branches may be affiliated with it.

A printed list of all the brethren shall be issued annually, or at convenient intervals, and a copy sent to every brother in good standing.

Dues, one dollar per annum.

VIII. Meetings.

The brethren will meet for business usually once a month.

At these meetings the order of business shall be as follows:

Agenda. Part I.

1. Silent prayer.
2. Reading of minutes.
3. Reading of communications by the secretary.
4. Reports of officers and special committees.
5. Notices and announcements of future meetings and arrangements.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.

Agenda. Part II.

The business of Part I being concluded, then may follow, either:

(a.) A paper to be read.

(b.) An address by an invited speaker. Or

(c.) A discussion initiated on some subject connected with the single tax or cognate matters.

IX. Receptions.

Occasional meetings or receptions will be held by the brethren to welcome ministers and others; and opportunity will be afforded to those who may desire to obtain information or to state difficulties and discuss objections to the single tax in friendly conversation or informal discussion with the brethren.

Invitations for a like purpose from ministers and others will also be cordially welcomed by the brethren.

BY-LAWS.

I. The regulation and management of the affairs of the brotherhood shall be in accordance with the constitution and by-laws which are now or may hereafter be enacted for that purpose.

II. The officers shall include an executive committee of not less than seven members, a secretary and treasurer. The secretary and treasurer shall be ex-officio members of the executive committee. The government of the brotherhood shall be in the hands of the executive committee subject to the constitution and by-laws. A quorum of the committee shall consist of not less than three members, not counting members ex-officio.

III. The executive committee, the secretary, the treasurer and any other officers shall be elected by the brethren annually for each year. Their term of office shall expire on December 31 or as soon thereafter as their successors shall be elected.

IV. Whenever any office of the brotherhood shall become vacant (otherwise than by expiration of term) notice of the vacancy shall be given at the ensuing monthly meeting and a member shall be elected by the brethren to fill the vacancy at the monthly meeting next after.

V. No alteration or addition shall be made to the constitution and by-laws except by a two-thirds vote of the brethren present at two consecutive monthly meetings.

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SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

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

ARKANSAS.

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

CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO.—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

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

OAKLAND.—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1056½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., W. H. Messenger.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., A. J. Gray; sec., Clarence A. Gray, rooms 24-25 Bryson-Bonebrake block.

SAN DIEGO.—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, box 1088.

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

COLORADO.

DENVER.—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, 1448 Lawrence st. Pres,, G. H. Phelps; sec., F. H. Monroe, 2951 Marion st.

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

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

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

HAWKXHURST.—Plateau Valley single tax club. Pres., John W. Hawkxhurst; sec., E. H. Parkenson.

CONNECTICUT.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day st.

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

DAKOTA.

STATE.—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box 146, Bristol.

RAPID CITY.—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

MADISON.—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

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

FLORIDA.

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

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

GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

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

ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec. T. W. Wittler, 426 Milwaukee ave.

SPRINGFIELD.—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

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

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

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

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FORT WAYNE.—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermutt; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

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RICHMOND.—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 913 South A st.

IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 313 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 920 Hedge ave.

DES MOINES.—Single tax club. Pres., H B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballangee.

COUNCIL BLUFFS.—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and fourth Sunday of each month, 8.30 p.m.; 734 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., L. Kinnehan, 336 W Broadway

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

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

KANSAS.

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

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

LOUISIANA.

NEW ORLEANS.—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Watters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

MAINE.

AUBURN.—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phœnix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Wm. G. Andrews; sec., H. G. Casey.

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

MARYLAND.

BALTIMORE.—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, 415 N. Eutaw st. Pres., Wm. J Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

MASSACHUSETTS.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

Neponset single tax league. Every Thursday evening, 389½ Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

Dorchester single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Lavis, 13 Leonard st.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Ruggles st.

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

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Sibby st.; sec., John McCarty, 14 South Common st.

WORCESTER. — Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Friday evenings, Swedish hall, 32 Front st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

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

HYDE PARK.—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

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

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

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

MICHIGAN.

STURGIS.—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

SAGINAW.—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggener; sec., Jas. Duffy, 803 State st.

MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS. — Minneapolis single tax league, 502 First ave. s. Pres., C. J. Buell; sec., J. A. Sawyer.

ST. PAUL.—Pres., H. C. McCartey; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

MISSOURI.

ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening Rooms open every evening. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2213 Eugenia street.

"Benton School of Social Science." Saturday, 8 p. m., 6839 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

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WYMORE.—Henry George single tax club. Pres., H. C. Jaynes; sec., J. A. Hamn.

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JERSEY CITY.—Standard single tax club. Public meeting every Sunday night at Humboldt hall, 186 Newark av.; business meetings every other Friday evening at the Avenue house, "Five Corners." Pres., E. N. Jackson, 23 Magnolia av.; sec., Joseph Dana Miller, 267 Grove st.

NEWARK.—Newark single tax club. Pres., Herbert Boggs, 82 Broad st; sec., M. G. Gaffney 43 Warren place.

PATERSON.—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 160 Market street.

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

WASHINGTON.—Washington land and tax club. Pres., John Morrison; sec., W. H, Christine.

BAYONNE.—Single tax committee. Chairman, Wm. B. DuBois.

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

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Harlem single tax club, room 3, 247 West 125th st. Business meeting every Tuesday, 8.30 p. m. Whist and social evening every Thursday. Pres., Eugene G. Muret; sec., Chas. H. Mitchell.

The West Side single tax club. Every Thursday evening, 490 Eighth ave. Pres., Dr. David Wark; sec., Daniel Cavanago, 387 8th ave.

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The Eastern District single tax club. Wednesday evening, Oriental hall, 316 Bedford ave. Pres., John Britton; sec., Joseph McGuinness, 215 Ross st.

BUFFALO.—Tax reform club. Every Wednesday evening, Yox hall, cor. Watson and Howard sts. Pres., S. C. Rogers; sec., H. B. Buddenburg, 824 Clinton st.

ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynold's Arcade. Pres., J. H. Bluntach; sec., J. M. Campbell, 30 Charlotte st.

ALBANY.—Single tax club. Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., 68 Washington ave. Rooms open every evening. Pres., Alexander Gregory; cor. sec., James J. Mahoney, 2 Division st.

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

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

OWEGO.—Single tax committee. Sec., Perry Hyde.

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

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YONKERS.—The Jefferson club, 85 Main st. Always open. Business meeting every Tuesday evening at 7.45.

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

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PITTSBURG.—Pittsburg single tax club. 1st, 3d and 5th Sundays at 2:30 p.m., 102 Fourth av. Pres., Edmund Yardley; sec., Mark F. Roberts, 140 24th st., S. S.

BRADFORD.—Single tax club, St. James place. Open every evening. Meetings Wednesday evening and Sunday afternoon at 3 p. m. Pres., Phil. D. Tangney; sec., J. C De Forist.

READING.—Reading single tax society Monday evenings, 402½ Penn st. Pres., C. S Prizer; cor. sec., Grant Nagle, 208 S. Third st.

ERIE.—Erie tax reform league. Pres., W G. McKean; sec., J. L. Babcock.

EDWARDSVILLE.—Jefferson ballot reform and single tax club. First Friday of each month. Pres., J. J. Smythe, M. D.; sec., J P. Hammond.

LEBANON.—Lebanon single tax and land club. Pres., Adam Behny; sec., J. G. Zimmerman, 111 N. Fourteenth st.

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MEMPHIS.—Memphis single tax association Sundays, 4.30 p. m., Luchrman's hotel. Pres. Dr. T. J. Crofford; sec., M. H. McDowell care of Townsend, Cowie & Co.

TEXAS.

STATE.—Texas tax reform association, Pres., H. F. Ring, Houston; sec., J. B. Cochran.

EL PASO.—El Paso tariff reform club. 1st and 3d Saturdays of each month, county court room, court house. Pres., G. E. Hubbard, sec., A. W. Thomas.

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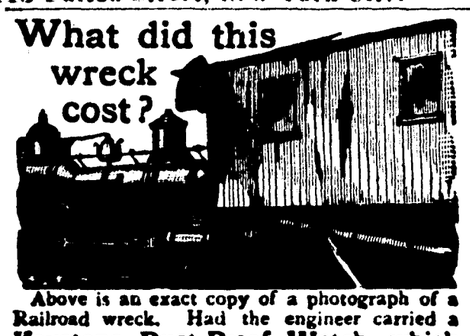

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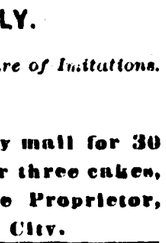

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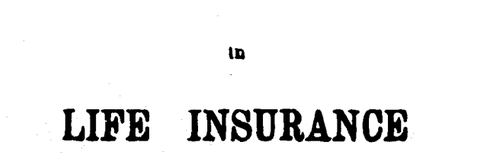

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