THE STANDARD

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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THE STANDARD FOR 1891.

In accordance with the announcement made by Henry George in the issue of December 10, I shall, on January 1, become editor and proprietor of THE STANDARD. I shall at once change its form and increase the number of its pages, and I shall endeavor to otherwise improve the paper by carrying out plans that experience has suggested to me during the year or more that I have practically been its editor.

Of course THE STANDARD will continue to be the organ and exponent of the single tax. It will give the news of the movement and keep a sharp lookout for everything related to it. On the other hand, it will be a weekly review of public affairs and an exponent of current thought on social and economic problems from the standpoint of "The New Political Economy."

In order that this may be accomplished, and, in fact, in order that anything worth doing may be done, the paper must pay its way, and it cannot be profitably produced at the present price. The existing subscription price might have proven satisfactory if it were not for the fact that the readers of the paper distinctly prefer to buy it at the newsstands instead of subscribing directly for it. More than half of the edition is thus disposed of, and that portion of the circulation has never yielded any profit worth considering.

This could not be otherwise. The mere cost of handling and distributing the paper in this way absorbs a large proportion of the money received for it, leaving a narrow margin of profit to publisher, news company and newsdealer. Hereafter, then, the price of THE STANDARD per single copy will be TEN CENTS. This change necessitates an increase in the subscription price to THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, since newsdealers will not consent to handle a paper which is mailed to subscribers at about five cents a copy and offered on the stands at twice that price.

This change will not take effect, however, until January 1, 1891, and until that date subscriptions will be received at the old rate of $2.50 per year or $1.25 for six months, in advance. As I am forced to increase the subscription price because of the necessary change in the price of single copies, I shall be glad to have as many of the old readers of the paper as possible take advantage of this offer. Make all checks payable to THE STANDARD.

I fully anticipate that the action thus announced will call forth much criticism, and in some cases work hardship. It cannot be helped, however. If the single tax men of America wish an organ and exponent of their principles maintained on the high level on which THE STANDARD has been conducted, they must make such an organ not only self-sustaining, but sufficiently profitable to enable its editor to command the services of a wider circle of writers, and thus, through its general merit, reach a larger constituency. I believe that our friends are ready, even at some sacrifice, to sustain such an effort, now that the responsibility is on them. I promise them, if they do so, to give to the paper new attractions from week to week, and thus assure it a more general circulation that will greatly broaden its influence in propaganda work.

I have had several offers of money to "help the paper." I do not desire that kind of help. Let these kind friends subscribe for the paper for themselves and others. Such help counts both for the paper and the cause.

W. T. CROASDALE.

EDITORIAL.

The sudden breakdown, a touch of what the doctors call aphasia, which came to me on the 5th ult., has made it impossible for me to write for THE STANDARD at a time when I much wished to do so. My physician still warns me that I must not attempt any literary exertion for some time yet. But in ceasing my connection with THE STANDARD, I must at least, if only in the briefest way, express to its readers my deep sense of the faith and fellowship and love they have given me. Mixed, as all human life is, are my memories of the four years that close with this issue of THE STANDARD. But although there has been something of pain and strain and of the sense of short-coming, my feeling in saying this last word as its editor is that of profound gratitude for what has been accomplished. Under Mr. Croasdale's management I trust that the paper may have even greater usefulness. And for myself, I hope that a short interval of rest will again bring me the power to devote myself to work I have long been anxious to do.

HENRY GEORGE.

It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. George has not been able to carry out his intention of contributing largely to the last issues of THE STANDARD in its present form. This has been impossible, however, and he has wisely refrained from attempting anything beyond the few words of farewell above printed. He has promised his physicians and friends to refrain from literary work entirely for two months—that is, until March 1. This is a hardship to a man accustomed to mental activity, and it becomes all the harder in view of the fact that Mr. George is rapidly recovering his health and strength, and is naturally eager to resume work. He recognizes fully, however, the wisdom of the advice that rest is the one cure for a breakdown caused by overwork, and he will probably soon seek more perfect leisure, with opportunity for outdoor exercise, in some gentler climate than that of New York. Wherever he goes the affection and good wishes of the readers of THE STANDARD will follow him, and they will look with eagerness to its columns for the good news that he has entirely recovered and entered on the work he has marked out for himself.

This is the last issue of THE STANDARD in its present form. The first number of the new volume will be a twenty-four page paper and it will appear on Wednesday, January 7, 1891. It will be printed in larger type and made somewhat more general in its scope, though it will continue to view current events and public affairs from the standpoint of the single tax, and its new proprietor can safely promise that it will be a more interesting and varied paper than it has been for the past year, during which it has been practically, though not nominally, under his management.

Queerly enough, the present issue is the fifty-third during the year, January of last year having come in on a Wednesday, while December 31 of this year falls on a Wednesday. Subscribers get one copy more than the usual number through this accident, which cannot occur again for a number of years. This issue is sent to press one day earlier than usual, though bearing the ordinary date, in order to enable us to move the office to more satisfactory quarters, at No. 42 University place, which, for the benefit of out of town readers, we will mention is at Eleventh street and University place, but one block from Broadway and but three blocks below Union square.

A very large number of our old subscribers, and many of those who have heretofore been purchasers of the paper, have taken advantage of the offer to send the paper for next year at the old price of $2.50 to all who subscribe before the 1st of January. As the change does not actually go into effect until January 7 this offer will be continued until that date, when it must cease, in accordance with our contract with the companies handling the paper. There will be no club rates. Those making remittances will confer a favor if they will make all checks and money orders for subscriptions and tracts payable to THE STANDARD.

The firm of Henry George & Co., which has always carried on the book publishing business separately from THE STANDARD, has taken quarters in the same building and will continue the book publishing business. It is, however, an entirely separate concern, and its correspondents will confer a favor and prevent confusion by addressing all orders and making all checks and money orders for books payable to that firm instead of to THE STANDARD. All mail matter intended for Henry George & Co. should be properly addressed to that firm at 42 University place. Of course where blunders are made every effort will be made to avoid any inconvenience to persons making remittances, but correspondents ought to make an effort to keep the two concerns separate in their minds.

The latest manifesto of the German socialists is addressed to the agricultural laborers, whose life it says is scarcely human, and who are serfs in all but name. "The bright dawning of the new era," says the manifesto, "shall bring rejoicing to the peasant as well as to the toilers in the cities, and they shall learn that they have a right to the beautiful earth, the fruits of which they may [now] not stretch forth their hands and enjoy." The manifesto is to be followed up by lectures, the circulation of leaflets and other propaganda work. It was submitted to the emperor before it was issued, and he directed that no attempt should be made to prevent its circulation. If the socialists can teach themselves as well as the peasant all that is meant by their declaration of the people's "right to the beautiful earth" they will discover that much machinery that they now think is necessary to their liberty and prosperity will never be needed. Let the peasants who do the work once enjoy the full fruits of their toil and the artisans of the towns will never lack effective and profitable demand for the product of their labor.

At a recent meeting in Washington, participated in by nationalists and other socialists, Mr. Lawrence Gronlund said that the real difficulty in considering the question of the persistence of competition under changed social methods lies in

the fact that in English the word covers two ideas for which the continental languages have two separate words, equivalent in the one case to "struggle for life" and in the other to "emulation." The first, Mr. Gronlund said, is "the bad kind of competition—cutthroat competition—and consists in elbowing others aside, and, by grasping the prize, starving these others. The second consists in making two or more run a race side by side, and, though only one may gain the prize, the others are also advanced and retain the benefits consequent thereon." If Mr. Gronlnnd could only clear his mind of preconceived notions long enough to understand that the opening of nature's storehouse to all willing to work will of itself abolish the struggle for life, he would probably be willing to leave to nature the maintenance of the spirit of emulation without asking the government either to preserve or stimulate it.

The secretary of a corporation dealing in real estate, in a private letter to a gentleman invited to become a stockholder, says: "If the Utopia of Henry George is ever to be established, land taxes won't be a very serious matter on improved properties." Manifestly the people who expect to make money by improving real estate are beginning to see that the single tax will not be a bar to their success.

LET THE SENATE DEBATE THE SILVER QUESTION.

There is in many quarters a strong suspicion that the force bill is kept before the senate, and that the proposed gag law is to be brought before that body for the express purpose of preventing silver legislation. If this be true, the authors of the trick deserve a double condemnation, and they might find, were they able to enact it, that their proposed gag law would prove the instrument of their own undoing, since it is more than probable that a majority of the senators are still in favor of the free coinage of silver, and they might use the gag law for their own ends, if they could once get a bill embodying their views before the senate.

There is entirely too much of this maneuvering and finesse in the proceedings of congress. Some group of men seems nearly always able to antagonize one measure with another so that neither of the two is ever fully considered and debated. Nobody outside of a few purblind and discredited old malignants of a past era wants the force bill passed, and it is only these same old bourbons who urge the passage of a gag law. Both measures could safely be brought to a vote, and swept into the limbo where Hoar, Edmunds, Aldrich and other relics belong, were it not that so many senators are abject cowards in the presence of political heelers and partisan editors, for whom in their hearts such senators have no other feeling than one of contempt. It is a pity that the existing right of debate has to be perverted into long drawn out denunciations of measures that the people have already condemned.

As to the siver question, however, the case is very different. It ought to come before both houses of congress for debate, and that debate ought to be well reported. The people of the west and southwest are apparently determined on free coinage. The people of the east, as a rule, have no pronounced convictions on the question, and their feeling is one of wonder that the western people are so excited about the matter. The notion so common in the west that the mass of the people of the east take their financial opinions from Wall street is a delusion. Our daily newspapers may reflect Wall street views, but the vast majority of the readers of such papers "skip" the financial reports, and have no very definite views on questions of finance, coinage, etc. They are workers and producers who probably have a general idea that men gamble down in Wall street, but who know more of base ball than they do of the details of management "on the street."

There is no conflict of interest between such people and the people of the west. The mass of eastern people are not opposed to free coinage; they simply care nothing about it. They are open to conviction, just as they were open to conviction on the tariff question, concerning which at one time they were equally indifferent. They would follow with interest a debate on the silver question, and accept without prejudice or reluctance any view of the subject which, after full and fair argument, appears to them best for the whole people. The right thing to do is not to prevent by intrigue the consideration of the silver bill, but to get it before the senate for debate. Surely the senators on both sides are prepared to debate it! Then why not set about it? Are they afraid to trust the people? If they are they do not honestly believe in the views they profess to hold. Let the debate go on.

LET US STICK TO THE WORK WE HAVE BEGUN.

We agree with Uncle Tom that the best course for the friends of the single tax is to carry out work that they have already undertaken, and to give to it all the time and energy that they can spare. The rapid spread of our doctrines during the past few years, the overcoming of the prejudice that once stood in the way of their consideration and the close relations that the single tax men have formed with workers for other, though minor, reforms, have, it seems to us, justified the wisdom of the policy on which our campaign of education has been based, but, even if this be doubted, there is still every reason for completing the task we have undertaken before diverting our energies to new plans of work.

Up to last November there was certainly some vagueness as to the time when the great petition to congress should be presented. It was manifestly useless to ask such a house of representatives as that which is now in session to make any honest inquiry into systems of taxation. The people, however, have swept the party dominant in that house almost out of existence and have given us a house of representatives in which there are scores of absolute free traders and a large number of members committed to no party and chiefly anxious about questions of taxation and finance. There probably never has been a congress more likely to give careful and unprejudiced attention to any and every plan of proposed taxation than that which will assemble next December, unless called together earlier in March. To that house our petition will be presented by friendly hands, and there is no reason to doubt that it will be referred to a committee willing to make honest inquiry concerning the questions raised by it. Our present business then is to see to it that the signatures are so numerous that the petition itself shall be impressive, and the workers who try to accomplish this are, for the time being, far more useful than those who devote their energies to devising new and untried schemes.

The same is true as to the other work of the national committee of the Single tax league. There can be no doubt that, in course of time, effective work will be done by state organizations and that there will be a necessity for them. At present, however, the number of open advocates of our cause is comparatively so small that it is with difficulty that the money can be raised for the maintenance of the existing machinery. Any prop[illegible] time to attempt elaborate stat[illegible] tion can have no other effect than to divert energy from the practical to the impracticable. In nearly every state, now, there is a body of workers accustomed to communicate with and report to the national committee. These workers now have opportunity to consult with the national committeeman of their own state. If this consultation shall result in increased activity in any state that will warrant the formation of an effective state organization, such an organization will spring up naturally. But it would be unwise to attempt to force such organization prematurely at a time when it could only be built up through starving the existing machinery for propaganda work out of existence.

In course of time we shall doubtless have another national conference. It will probably be held in some central location where the attendance can be more general and more representative even than it was at the first conference. Meanwhile, our petition will have been presented to congress, and the committee to which it shall have been referred will probably have made its report. New workers will have been added, the national committeemen in the various states will have come to know the workers in those states, and the time will be ripe, if our reasonable hopes are realized, for the next step forward, whatever that may be. Meanwhile, let us work on the lines already laid down and not waste time in idle dreams about what we would do were our strength greater and the conditions different.

PARNELL CONVICTED OUT OF HIS OWN MOUTH.

Many Americans who have given no other attention to the situation of affairs in Great Britain than is involved in the casual reading of the haphazard dispatches that appear in the daily papers have formed an opinion that Mr. Parnell is simply making a plucky fight against an attempt to destroy him, politically, because of the exposure of his relations with Mrs. O'Shea. Such people do not appear to have any conception of the fact that the late leader of the Irish parliamentary party has been guilty of offences, purely political, that involve treachery to the cause he professes to represent. His own passionate assertions of consistency are accepted by a few Americans, and he is represented as reluctantly exposing a course of double-dealing on the part of the liberals concerning which he had too long prudently maintained silence.

There is not a particle of warrant for Mr. Parnell's claim to consistency in this matter. After the interview described by him in his recent manifesto, in which Mr. Gladstone laid before him the new home rule scheme to which he believed the liberal party could be committed, Mr. Parnell, in the course of a speech at Liverpool, spoke as follows:

> They will intrust to that great statesman who will then be called to power—the only man of distinguished genius before the public—as his great, final, and crowning work, the task of finding some method in which might be intrusted to Ireland her own destinies, while she also is privileged to take a share in the greater interests of the empire. I am confident that Mr. Gladstone's genius will be equal to the task: that he will be powerful enough to reconcile and assuage the prejudices which still unhappily prevail to some extent: that he will be able to show his countrymen how the true interests of the nation and of imperial safety may be reconciled to the self-government of Ireland by her people: and that a great measure of home rule for our country will be the result—a measure which will be practically accepted by the great majority of the English people as a settlement of the Irish question—a measure which will be accepted by our own people as a sufficient solution.

Bear it in mind that the very plan thus commended is the scheme that Mr. Parnell recently denounced as one intended [illegible]ve and mislead the Irish people; we find him alluding to it as a "great measure of home rule," which "would be accepted by our own people as a sufficient solution" of the great problem of Ireland's relations to the British empire. Further on, in the same speech, he declared that the great liberal party had come to the help and rescue of Ireland, and he said:

> My countrymen recognize and join with you in recognizing that we are on the safe path to our legitimate freedom and future prosperity—they will accompany me and accompany you on that path till you have helped our great leader to win this battle, which, I trust, we are on the eve of entering on.

Later on he added:

> That not only in Liverpool, but in the great county of Lancashire, we shall be able materially to assist in increasing the forces of liberalism, which will rally at the next general election to the assistance of our grand old leader.

Here we have not merely a frank recognition of the actual alliance between the Irish nationalists and the English liberals, but we find Mr. Parnell himself alluding to Mr. Gladstone again as his "leader." In fact, he made it perfectly clear to all who heard him that his only hope of home rule was found in the good will and favor of the liberal party, of which the Irish party was the faithful ally. In a subsequent speech at Westminster palace Mr. Parnell discussed this question of alliance. He alluded to the fact that he had pledged himself to hold aloof from all English party combinations "until an English party rose which would concede to Ireland the just rights of the Irish people, and enable her to obtain for herself those just rights in an Irish assembly in Dublin." And he declared that that time had come and that "an English party—a great English party—under the distinguished leadership of Mr. Gladstone, has conceded to Ireland those rights, and has enabled us to enter into an honorable alliance—honorable and hopeful for our country, honorable for the great English party—an alliance which I venture to believe will last and will yield permanent fruit, and result in a knitting together of Great Britain and Ireland in a true and real union."

These are Mr. Parnell's own words. He was then not merely the accepted leader but the undisputed master of the Irish parliamentary party. He saw clearly that the only hope that Ireland could entertain of acquiring the rights claimed by her people was through the rising of an English party that would concede such rights. He rejoiced that such a party had at last arisen, and his declared reason for rejoicing was his knowledge of that party's plans. He went so far as to specifically renounce his earlier pledge to hold aloof from all English party combinations, and he definitely declared that Ireland's only hope lay in alliance between the English liberal party and the Irish national party. All of this was spoken after the private conversation with Mr. Gladstone on which Mr. Parnell based his recent denunciations of the liberal leader. What has happened since? Simply this. Mr. Parnell's wretched intrigue with Mrs. O'Shea was made public in a divorce court. A decent regard for the recognized proprieties of life would have suggested at least a temporary retirement of Mr. Parnell from the leadership of his party. He showed no disposition to take such a course, and Mr. Gladstone was compelled to tell the obvious truth that a continued alliance with a party led by Mr. Parnell would drive off a large portion of the liberal party. This was done privately and with the utmost delicacy. Mr. Parnell concealed from his supporters the fact that such a letter had been written and procured his re-election to the leadership of the Irish party, partly through such concealment, and largely through an impression, created by the utterances of his own private secretary,

that if re-elected he would decline. Then, and not till then, was the letter published. Mr. Parnell began at once to denounce Mr. Gladstone and to insult the liberal party. The Irish members, who thereupon deposed him, and whom he is now fighting, see now as plainly as Mr. Parnell saw a few months ago, that the only hope for the cause of Ireland lies in cooperation with the English liberal party. They are true to their country and to themselves in refusing to destroy that hope through blind adhesion to a man who is ready to destroy it to gratify his personal hatred and revenge. The facts show that they are consistent and sincere, and that Parnell has absolutely abandoned the position he took in his speeches at Westminster and Liverpool. Either he was lying when he made those speeches, or he is now seeking to strike down the only reasonable hope of justice that the Irish people have ever had.

For the leader whose leadership united the Irish people and caused their representatives to work in harmony toward a settlement that Mr. Parnell declared would be accepted by his own people as a solution of the Irish question we had the highest respect. For the furious mad man, who, rather than sacrifice anything, has already rent the Irish delegation in parliament into two hostile factions, and who is seeking to divide the Irish people into two hostile camps, no true and unprejudiced friend of Ireland can entertain any respect. Either he is insane, or else his own utterances condemn his recent conduct as treason to the Irish cause. In either event it is madness for Irishmen to follow him, and no one who takes the trouble to learn the facts, and who is capable of drawing a logical deduction, can fail to see that the hope of Ireland lies in the immediate ending of the craze that enables Parnell to divide them and ruin their cause.

PROFESSOR ADAMS ON CORPORATE ABUSES.

So far as one can judge from the brief reports in the daily papers one of the most timely papers read before the American economic association was that on "Statistics as a means of correcting corporate abuses" by Professor H. C. Adams of Johns Hopkins university. Mr. Adams held that one serious cause of existing social evils is the failure to legally recognize the essential difference between a business organized as a corporation and one organized as a partnership. He asserted that the principle of competition, which is a safeguard of public interest in case of business organizations organized as partnerships, does not apply to businesses organized as corporations, "because in the latter case the personality of the manager is merged in the personality of the corporation." We take the liberty of doubting if the sentence quoted correctly represents Professor Adams, since it does not seem consistent with his proposed remedy.

Professor Adams urged that the law of corporate organization as applied to industries be radically changed, and that such industries be classified as subject to the law of competition or not thus subject, and that all industries of the latter class be required to be carried on by corporations bound to make frequent reports to public officials. No corporations should be permitted, he thought, to conduct any competitive business. Professor Adams's proposition is thus summed up in a newspaper report, but whether in his own language or that of the reporter does not appear:

First—The granting of corporate privileges should be limited to those businesses in which the interests of the public predominate over the interests of the individual corporators.

Second—All businesses in which the interests of the public predominate over the interests of the individual incorporators should be obliged to assume corporate form.

Third—All corporations should be required to make such reports as will enable the government, acting under rules prescribed by law, to direct their policy and control their administration.

Fourth—All businesses other than those organized as corporations should be subjected to inquiry, though not to control, the purpose of the inquiry being to determine whether or not a business in any case should be required to assume corporate form.

It seems to us that the last clause describes the essential error in Professor Adams's scheme. The paternal hand of a socialistic government must be stretched forth in order that success may be achieved. We shall not attempt any thorough criticism until we have seen the full text, but the indications are, that like Professor Ely, of the same university, Professor Adams has failed to draw the line between that which belongs of right to organized society, or government, and that which belongs to the individual. If that line were once drawn there would be no necessity for such espionage as is suggested in the fourth clause of his proposition. If the state will refuse under any circumstances or conditions to grant any portion of its sovereign power to individuals to be used for their private profit and advantage, or for any other purpose, and meet the obligations thus incurred by it, it can safely leave to private initiative and control the conduct of all business that capital and labor can find any incentive to attempt. The perversion of the right of eminent domain and the granting of franchises that make possible the private ownership of public highways and deliver over public streets to the control of private individuals, is a violation of the rights of the people as a whole, and so long as this is permitted we shall never clearly draw the line between public rights and possessions and private rights and property, and the resultant evils will promote the growth of the socialistic sentiment that recognizes nothing but public rights and denies the equally important and equally sacred rights of individuals.

EVIL ADVICE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE TAX DEPARTMENT.

President Coleman of the tax department of New York city has written a letter to the deputy tax commissioners remonstrating against the increased valuations they have been putting on real estate. Owing to the recent shrinkage of values in personal securities, Mr. Coleman says, this increase will make the taxes for 1891 more than usually burdensome, and he insists that in most cases it would be better for the present to allow the old values to remain. Of course, some of the daily papers commend Mr. Coleman's course, and insist on it that he is the one man in New York most capable of forming a correct judgment of land values.

We say land values, since Mr. Coleman's letter shows that it is to the increase in such values that it refers. When a building is once complete it, as a building, ceases to increase in value, and after a time it gradually begins to deteriorate. Any increase, therefore, in the value of the property of which it forms a part must necessarily be in the land. Again, Mr. Coleman confesses this when he advises the deputy commissioners to permit existing valuations to stand, "except where land is improved by new buildings or sections improved by special causes."

Now THE STANDARD is not prepared to say who is the man most competent to form an accurate estimate of land values in New York, nor to attempt to pass judgment on the fitness of the deputy commissioners for their work. It is prepared to maintain, however, that the one man who has, by his own sworn testimony, demonstrated that he has a deliberate intent to prevent the correct valuation of real estate for purposes of taxation is the same Michael Coleman, president of the tax department. If the daily papers had presented an intelligent synopsis of Mr. Coleman's testimony before the Fassett committee their readers would know this. Mr. Coleman at that time confessed that the law required him and his deputies to assess real estate at its actual selling value, and he almost defiantly declared it ought not to be obeyed, and so far as he had power in the premises, that it should not be obeyed. This letter now under consideration is merely a new exhibition of the same lawless spirit. He does not charge that the deputy commissioners have assessed property beyond its real value, nor that property is generally so assessed in this city, but merely that in his judgment "the counties of New York and Kings are assessed nearer the market value than any other counties in the state." This is probably true, but the law requires that real estate in all counties shall be assessed *at* its market value, not at *nearly* its market value; and if the rural assessors violate their official oaths for the purpose of dodging state taxation, the remedy is not to be found in officially advising the deputy commissioners of this city to adopt similar criminal tactics.

Instead of calling forth commendation, Mr. Coleman's letter deserves rebuke as an attempt by a sworn official to coerce his subordinates into a wilful defiance of law and violation of their sworn obligations.

"ECONOMISTS" LEARNING A LITTLE.

The very brief report given in the daily press of the proceedings at the fourth annual meeting of the American economic association, which began last Friday in Washington, does not offer opportunity for safe comment. It appears, however, that Professor Francis A. Walker, the president of the association, found in the nationalist movement gratifying evidence that the attention of the people is rapidly turning to the study of economic questions, even though the first move in that direction is a mistaken one. In this we think Professor Walker is right, though the tendency towards socialism among people who for the first time recognize that there is a social problem was not first exhibited in the nationalist movement. The prohibition movement has as its purpose and inspiration the improvement of the social condition of humanity, and it is socialistic in tendency and aims at the accomplishment of its purposes through the baldest exercise of paternalism by government.

Speaking of the growth of the single tax movement, Mr. Walker is represented as saying that economists are coming to take the view that something more of economic rent than the state has been accustomed to take can advantageously be brought into the treasury. This admission by Professor Walker is probably as good an evidence as has been offered lately of the progress and influence of the single tax propaganda. If the professor will permit his thought to run along these lines he may come in course of time to understand the proposal so thoroughly that he will cease to anticipate any continued and persistent opposition to the single tax by working farmers and the owners of improved lots in villages. He is not represented as speaking of these classes, as such, but he manifestly had them in mind when he assumed that those instinctively opposed to the movement are numerous enough to permanently obstruct the application of the principles that the economists are at last coming to appreciate in part.

Of course, Professor Walker could not miss an opportunity to sneer at the lack of education of all those outside college chairs who presume to discuss economic questions. We can forgive this, however, since without it we should not be sure that the professor was the author of the speech. He unconsciously acknowledges the error born of this professorial conceit when he practically admits the slight advance in thought forced upon those whom he calls the "economists" by the propagandists whose ignorance he deplores.

THE REFORM CLUB DINNER.

The great dinner of the Reform club on Tuesday of last week was a notable event. The speech of ex-President Cleveland was of course the chief feature of the banquet, and it was the most aggressive utterance that Mr. Cleveland has yet made. No better evidence of this could be found than in the wrathful and sneering comments of the papers that have been foolish enough to tie themselves to the waning fortunes of David B. Hill. Mr. Carlisle's speech was of course an excellent one, while Governor Boies of Iowa gave satisfactory assurances that the change in the northwest is not temporary and spasmodic. Governor-elect W. E. Russell of Massachusetts captivated the audience, not merely by the excellence of his oratory but by his vigor and originality of thought, and confirmed in the minds of all present the growing suspicion that he is himself one of the coming leaders of national politics in the not distant future. The youthful face of this vigorous and aggressive Yankee gave to New York the first promise that we have had of awakening life and conscience in Massachusetts politics since her people fell from the high ground of Sumner's ideals into the oozy pool of Hoar's pitiful politics. There is life in the old Bay state yet.

Mr. W. U. Hensel was frank enough to admit that the victory for Pattison was not won on the tariff issue, though he gave gratifying assurances that the democratic party in his state may be looked to in the future to march with the national democracy in opposition to the protective delusion instead of acting as a clog on the wheels of all true progress. Congressman Wilson was as usual brilliant and sound, though the sentiment attached to his toast seemed to compel him to suggestions about the need of going along that are really foreign to his own nature and habits of thought and action. The fitting reply came promptly, however, in the next succeeding speech by Tom L. Johnson, which has already been printed in THE STANDARD, in which those present were shown that "free trade" calls forth heartier applause than the phrase "tariff reform." Mr. Johnson warned his hearers that leaders must lead, under penalty of being run over by the people, if they undertake to hang back at this era in our history. Take it all in all, it was probably the most interesting and best managed banquet that New York had ever seen in the whole course of its history. Such is the universal testimony of all who participated in it. It will add greatly to the reputation of the Reform club and give a new impetus to the fight against protection.

THE TRUE GOSPEL.

"I preach the gospel, but when people are hungry all the time it is difficult for them to listen."—Rev. Charles E. Garst, in THE STANDARD of December 10.

This leads me to ask, What is "the gospel?" Much depends upon the answer. When John the Baptist sent word to Jesus to know if he was the Christ the reply sent back was this: "The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." Of the things mentioned, all but one are of good done to the bodies of men, and that one relates to the "gospel." In Mark (chap. vii, v. 37) we find it stated that "the

common people heard him gladly." Can it be that the common people of to-day are so much beneath those of that day that they will not hear the gospel? Or is it possible that the gospel is not often preached in our day? One would think that after eighteen centuries of preaching, "the common people" ought certainly be as susceptible to divine truth as they were before. Yet it is a fact that "the common people" of to-day do not hear "gladly" what is commonly spoken of as "the gospel."

In Romans, tenth chapter and fifteenth verse, I find this beautiful quotation from the Old testament: "How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things!" Ah, there we have a definition: "Gospel of peace;" "glad tidings of good things." Who will not listen to such gladly? I have not the least doubt that the people of to-day, the great common people, would listen as gladly to the gospel as any people ever did if it were only preached. I have no doubt that some do preach it, but the more they preach it the more uncongenial their relations to "the church" become.

What a wonderful gospel that was which the lowly carpenter from Nazareth preached! As never before in the history of the world, he taught the brotherhood of man. "For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother." And what is the will of God? Is it not expressed in His laws? "For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."—Galatians v. 14. "Love worketh no ill to his neighbor; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law." —Romans xiii, 10. Says John Ruskin: "Do justice to your brother (you can do that whether you love him or not), and you will come to love him. But do injustice to him, because you don't love him, and you will come to hate him."

Here we have a plain gospel, one which "wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein." It is not a gospel of theology, a gospel of dogma, a gospel of church extension, but a gospel of peace; peace that results from love; love that comes from the exercise of justice. Are not all who preach justice preaching the gospel? Who, I would like to know, are more earnest preachers of "the gospel of peace" and love—the love that "worketh no ill to his neighbor"—than we who preach the single tax? Do not our "hearts burn within us" as we think or talk over these things? As Paul said: "Who is offended, and I burn not?" Is not our gospel in accord with that which Christ preached in the sermon on the mount? Are we not striving "to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free?" (See Isaiah lviii., 6.) Are we not seeking to "do justice to the afflicted and needy," to "deliver the poor and needy," to "rid them out of the hand of the wicked?" (See Psalms lxxxii., 3 and 4.) Are we workers of inequity (iniquity) or of righteousness (justice)?

So do I "preach the gospel." And the common people "hear me gladly," although I am far from eloquent. But it is a glorious gospel, and when once soundly converted by it you become a missionary perforce. I preach it "in season and out of season," by the wayside, everywhere. I only wish that more of those who profess to preach the gospel could be converted from the error of their ways and brought to seek to save men from sinning (transgressing God's law) instead of turning their eyes toward salvation from consequences. The eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel would be a good one for them to begin on. Let me quote a thought that is oft repeated in that chapter: "When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Because he considereth, and turneth away from all his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die." This leads me to think that "saving faith" is that kind which causes us to cease doing evil—it saves us from sinful habits and from the love of injustice. If less stress were laid upon theological dogmas and more upon the practice of justice the result would be better.

Since my "lay sermon to preachers" I have come to the conclusion that the long years of training in theological schools, which most of our "preachers" get now-a-days, so thoroughly deadens them that nothing short of a miracle can arouse them to an appreciation of the saving quality of the single tax gospel. Now and then one is converted, but the exception only proves the rule. Those who have been so fortunate as not to have had a college education are more liberal, more progressive, and more apt to succumb to the effects of our amunition. The Master went about doing good and telling men that they were brothers with equal rights, but he was only a tramp, with not where to lay his head. Where are his followers to-day? Those who do as he did—tell their brothers of their rights and duties. He who proclaims truth preaches the gospel.

W. E. BROKAW.

AN OPEN LETTER TO CONSTITUTIONAL LAWYERS WHO ADVOCATE DIRECT TAXATION TO RAISE THE PUBLIC REVENUES.

From constitution of the United States:

Article 1, section II, clause III. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included in this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined, etc.

Article 1, section VIII, clause I. The congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Article 1, section IX, clause IV. No capitation or other direct tax shall be paid unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration, hereinbefore direct to be taken.

Gentlemen: As I am addressing only those who believe in direct taxation as a means of raising the public revenues, it is entirely needless to enter into any argument in support of the superiority of such a method. It is, however, a fact that direct taxers are by no means unanimous in favor of any particular scheme, but all seem agreed on general principles that almost any direct tax, whereby a party may know why, how, when or what, and by whom he is taxed, is preferable to any indirect tax in which some of these qualities may be missing.

The subject of free trade has been in this country so long a matter of pure philosophic idealism, that many even now, while unable to refute its logical basis, while admitting that if in operation it would accomplish all claimed for it, hesitate to advocate it as a matter of immediate consideration, believing the times yet unripe for it.

To those, however, accustomed to study the march of progressive thought, as evinced in the phenomena of political evolution, and in the great interest displayed to-day in economic subjects by the masses of men of all nations, it must be apparent that movements over which ruling classes and parties at present in power exercise a constantly lessening influence, are taking shape and indicating the trend of thought and the aspirations of men to greater freedom, and are gaining strength in almost geometrical ratio as they progress.

The student of American political history can trace the oscillations of the economic pendulum, in its efforts to become stable, and the perturbating influences affecting it, by reference to standard authorities, and I do not intend to pose as a political historian; but in the wonderful nobility of the American political sentiment as evidenced from the foundation of the republic, but more especially in recent years and particularly in the congressional revolution that has just taken place, it seems to me one cannot fail to see that the people as a mass are undergoing a mental fermentation, that cannot end until either their liberties are entirely lost or greater freedom is attained. Let us hope the time may not be far distant when the right of man to freely exchange the product of his industry with his fellows, within or without the gates, may become as universally undisputed as it is logically indisputable. The kindergarten system of object lessons that has been so prevalent in the country during the past few years has brought forth rich fruit, and proves the receptivity to practical ideas and eager readiness of the people to order a new last when they find where the shoe pinches.

The dogma of protection has received a blow between the eyes; it is staggering, and we hope to its fall, and there is small doubt that its death stroke will soon follow. The question of revenue for governmental support, however, remains, and must receive consideration. The next congress must face a deficit. The present tariff having placed a few items of large revenue on the free list, and by way of protection offered a bounty on sugar, and having raised other items to a point of relative prohibition, the loss to revenue must be recouped somewhere, and that quickly, or the old time experiences of excessive paper and shinplaster currency will be repeated with its concomitant unsettling of values and subsequent shrinkage and liquidation.

> What goes up must come down,
> On the head or on the ground.

Many are still living who are victims of the last "drop." To be sure, there is a point, which Secretary of the Treasury Walker very ably elucidated and championed, where a maximum of revenue can be obtained from a minimum of tariff. Both absolute free trade in, and absolute prohibition of, foreign products will produce the same result—no revenue. The nearer to each the tariff remained the smaller the revenue, while the further from the two extremes it was placed the greater the income from it would be, until the point between was reached where a movement either way would lessen the revenue.

This method, however, takes a long time and much "tinkering" to effect, and can only be very approximately attained, and will not be applicable in the near future to extricate us from our difficulty. Were it possible of attainment, however, how long could it last in the face of the experience of the people that a tariff of any kind is a tax on consumption and falls with unequal force in its diffusion.

To my mind, therefore, it is now the fullness of time, wherein the people, their legislators and their legal advisers should be studying the fundamental law of the land on the subject of direct taxation, and the forms of direct taxation with especial reference to its incidence, and in its relation not only to the production of wealth but to its distribution also.

For this reason I have given the text at the top of this article for direct taxers to digest, being all I can find in the constitution bearing on the subject, and believe that there are those, who in the near future will be called upon to frame laws, or to advocate measures, who are competent to enlarge upon the subject instructively and interestingly. I note among the congressmen-elect of the Fifty-second congress, the names of Simpson of Kansas, Mills of Texas, Johnson and Harter of Ohio, and Warner of New York, who are open and professed free traders, while the unofficial hosts of free traders contain men equally qualified to voice their sentiments.

A short time since the Commercial Advertiser of New York city invited replies to questions and letters from members of the Reform club on the subject of tariff taxation and its substitutes, and received more than two hundred responses from parties, a majority of whom were direct taxers. The subject was liberally treated from the standpoint of preference for, or advisability of, certain forms of taxation, but in only two was the matter of constitutionality touched upon, and in only one as a matter of prime importance. I think if some of the eminent gentlemen who contributed to those exceedingly valuable "postscript extras" such as Deming, Post, Shearman, Holt, Logan, and numerous others, would honor us with their opinions on this matter, THE STANDARD readers would consider themselves under obligations, and the paper itself gladly open its columns to them.

I would therefore suggest that special consideration be given as follows, it being granted that the constitution provides a manner for levying direct taxes:

1. Is it advisable to have the tax collected by the states themselves or by the general government?

2. If the states collect, is it advisable to leave the kind of tax and the manner of levying and collecting to the states, or for the general government to prescribe a uniform tax and methods?

3. If collected by the United States, should it be done by contract, or by salaried officials, and should it be collected in one yearly payment or in installments?

4. If believed that no tax can be justly imposed upon the states in proportion to population, how should the constitution be amended to make some other desired tax possible?

In addressing constitutional lawyers I do not wish to limit the discussion to members of the legal profession, but merely use the term to include all who have made a study of or given thought to the matter, or are willing to do so. I am gratified to see that Mr. C. J. Buell of Minneapolis has grazed the subject in an interestingly prophetic manner.

For myself I am prepared to answer the questions and defend my answers if need be, but firmly believe thas if the ball is once fairly set in motion it will not require any help of mine to accelerate its speed. I will therefore conclude with stating that I believe:

1. That the constitution provides the best and simplest rule for apportionment of the tax, i. e., according to population.

2. That the kind of tax and method of collection should be left to the states.

3. That the state which levied a tax, of which the incidence would be the most equitable, would make such rapid progress in the production and distribution of wealth as to compel emulation.

4. That the only just theory of taxation is that taxes be levied in proportion to benefits received by the taxee from the taxer.

5. That but one tax has been invented, discovered or levied that will accomplish this purpose, and that is the "single tax on land values," or a tax paid for the privilege of monopolizing a natural opportunity, that cannot be stolen, concealed or transported; a tax that does not take from the individual any part of the product of his own labor, but only that or a part of that value contributed by his fellows, including theoretically that small portion of value which as a member of the community he may have created, but not as an individual.

6. Any other tax than the above can be proven economically to be unequal in its diffusion, or, if theoretically correct, will be found in practice to offer a premium on evasion.

7. I believe in the complete adequacy of the "single tax on land values" to meet public requirements, and that the two are concurrent in their evolution, and can be so proven.

8. As a summary, I do not believe in any tax at all in the sense of a task—its co-derivative—but of a rate willingly paid by intelligent people who know a good thing when they see it, and are willing to pay what it is worth, especially when they know it cannot be got for less. (This may not be regarded by some as lofty ethics, but it is certainly good "data of ethics" or common sense.)

I close my letter with the remark that I have a shrewd suspicion, that although our forefathers may have builded wiser than they knew, yet that fresh from experiences of governmental tyranny in the old countries, they had an instinct that the vast differences between men in social station and political power were not inherent, but the fruits of a feudal system (the bacilli of whose development have not yet been eradicated by our political Pasteurs and Kochs, but for which the curative lymph is at hand, as soon as the physicians are wise enough to apply it), which the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the con-

stitution would in time remedy, and the MAN, without handicap, and free to compete with his fellows, would establish his right to liberty, equality and fraternity by the consent of his compatriots, and without need of law to define his position.

Hence the iniquity and impossibility of the permanent monopoly of natural opportunities must have been forseen by the fathers, however hazily, and that great discrepancies of wealth would be inconceivable when men held no legally protected patent right to the sweat of their neighbor's brow.

As they believed in home rule, and our government was based upon delegation of powers from hitherto sovereign states, they must have believed that under similar conditions the greatest wealth would necessarily be concurrent with the largest population, and hence decreed the apportionment direct taxes "according to respective numbers." READ GORDON.

P. S.—I find in reviewing the above that I have omitted to call attention to what may be a very important point, viz.: What is the definition of direct taxes within the meaning of the constitution? It seems to me there may be a snag or two in that direction, as I have been informed by one of the eminent gentlemen referred to, that the constitutionality of an income tax *not* apportioned among the states, was *settled* forever in Springer v. U. S., 102 U. S., Rep. 586, and while a direct tax, is *not* such a one as the constitution refers to. R. G.

CLAWS OF THE CAT.

Every now and then crop up in the ranks of the single tax evidences of a perhaps unconscious spirit of hostility to landlords rather than landlordism, which it has seemed to me for some time should have a little comment made upon it; and I can think of no time better than the present, when we are resting from the activities of an election that has demonstrated our basic truths to be making such strides that we can safely afford to indulge in a little friendly criticism, without endangering the main cause by exciting a wrangle at critical moments. It goes without saying that it is important for the soldiers in such an army as ours to march together, not only that they be more sure of gathering in recruits, but even more that they may utilize their own efforts to the best effect. Just as one of the evils of the established political parties is that so many of their members do not know anything or think anything of the party's principles, so on the other hand the disciples of a new political cult do so much thinking on their own account, that they are apt sometimes to be hazy as to economic details; while even the clearest and most logical thinkers are subject to a curious tendency to "hark back" to some half-forgotten fallacy, or at least, to recur with an unconscious persistence to the earlier stages of their conversion. This it is which has caused so many in our ranks to recoil—not so much from owning land themselves (since, unhappily, reformers are rarely in a position to test their consciences in that way) as from the condoning of such ownership by others, even while they vigorously disclaim any intention to make a personal attack on individual landlords. For most of the earlier and more ardent single tax men came into the movement through a vivid conception of the more glaring direct evils of landlordism proper rather than the less obvious oppression that comes from land speculation; and even those who fully recognize that it is not the abstract ownership which does the mischief, but its incidental result of excluding from nature's bounties those who wish to use them, still cling to a good many shreds of their economic baptismal robes. And so we find men with that finer sense of equity (which we must respect even if we do not share it) that forbids them to take their share of an injustice, even so long as it is universally accepted, asking themselves whether they have any moral right to profit by the legally recognized system of land tenure, or even to own land for their own use. Nor is this a mere fanciful scruple without practical influence upon affairs, because of the financial impotence of those entertaining it. While it may not greatly affect their actions, it does very materially govern their propaganda.

To such men I would say—and most emphatically—it is not only your right but your duty to own (under existing conditions) all the land you can, and to make all the money you can out of it. It is true that the business of a landlord has often a narrowing and brutalizing effect upon those practicing it, and perhaps even more so than pure speculation in land, since it brings into more immediate play the selfish instincts and dulls more by personal contact with the robbed the sense of brotherhood. But this is also true of ordinary mercantile business, pursued under conditions which necessarily involve almost a state of commercial warfare; yet we are for the most part happily free from that species of crankism which denounces those engaged in that most important branch of production which consists in exchange.

It is the misfortune, peculiarly, of the temperament which grapples the problem chiefly on its sympathetic side, that it is most apt to be excited to indignation by the concrete instances where men grind the faces of the poor through exaction from them of so large a share of their earnings in the form of rent. Yet the most tyrannical owner of a tenement house, mean and grasping as he may be, and too often is, is a benefactor of mankind by the side of the easy-going fellow who would scorn to soil his fingers with such visible blood money, and so with a fine indifference lets his lots lie idle rather than build tenements upon them, until the community's needs furnishes him with customers for them of a different order. Or the comparison might be carried further, to the man who has no direct connection with land holding, but who prefers to invest his funds in some insurance or trust company that advances the money for the mortgages upon which speculative lots are carried. Nay, more, it might be said without danger of much error that, in many of our growing cities, certainly, there has been nearly as much money lost as there has been made in land speculations (a fact often thrown up to us by our opponents); and that it is the losers rather than the gainers who have done mankind the most wrong. For it is the former, usually, who have persisted in holding on for higher prices to the land when it was most needed for the employment of useful labor, until they have forced enterprise into unnatural channels, and at once left themselves stranded and made more costly the production of wealth. In every block of down town New York are to be seen instances of inadequately improved property, the owners of which would in reality be benefited by at least the single tax, "limited," since it would compel them to improve sufficiently to get more of the full increment of their land, at the same time that they would involuntarily be opening up fresh opportunities to labor.

All of which, I am quite willing to admit, is by no means new, but I think it will bear repeating. For one thing, its full recognition leads us to direct all our arguments and efforts to the task of breaking down the system on the side where it keeps out labor rather than on that where it lets labor in and mulcts it, and thus to fight on a line of battle that it is easy shown injures no one, but helps all. It aids us to see how much good is to be done even by the most timid steps on the line of removing taxes upon industry, and thus gives us fresh inspiration for our war upon the tariff. It arms us with additional arguments to carry our half-way friends a step further, and prove to them that the restoration of exact justice is an essentially different thing from the liberation of industry—to be accomplished only by communal absorption of all the rental value. It will enable us to talk with more surety of success to those who are inclined our way, but who yet hold back because they are not willing to abandon possibilities of making money under the existing system, and recoil from the apparent inconsistency. For it demonstrates to them as to us, that so long as our system of taxation irresistibly compels rental values into individual hands, just so long will he be doing most good to humanity who owns and employs to its fullest extent all the land that he can, even though his personal stimulus for doing so is the personal gain which he will derive. In other words, it is not enough to see the cat—we must also discover clearly which part it is that scratches. E. J. SHRIVER.

MISSIONARY METHODS.

Says Mr. Ralph E. Hoyt in the last STANDARD:

> In propagating the single tax system the best course to pursue is that which leads up to it by comparatively slow and easy stages. To start with the bold, naked proposition that all taxes should be raised from land values is calculated to immediately excite bitter opposition. * * * First convince a man that a tariff is a tax, an unjust tax, etc.

Experience leads me to a conclusion squarely opposite; and I have been talking single tax for the last half dozen years—and free trade three times as long. The most effective way to teach the single tax is first to state clearly, boldly, and even aggressively, its purpose, i. e., to take all taxes off personal property, buildings and other real estate betterments, and raise all revenues by a single tax on raw land values alone. Then illustrate with local object lessons, showing how this will lessen the taxes of all workers, whether employers or employed, and increase the taxes of all land grabbing drones, while at the same time it will throw open to use, on far easier terms, building lots and farm lands now held unused for speculation. The workman in search of a home, or forced by high rents to live miles away from his shop, "sees the cat" at once. So, also, does the merchant, heavily taxed on his stock; the manufacturer, taxed on his stock, costly buildings and machinery; the capitalist who builds houses and blocks for rental, and so on all along the line of productive industry. It is easy to make all these see that they will be benefited by the single tax.

If it were true—which, thank God, it is not—that men act solely, or generally, from selfish motives—the argument need no further go. But in four cases out of five—at least such is my experience—when first a man sees he will be benefited by the single tax he at once raises the question as to its seeming injustice, violating, as it does, the popular canon that all property should be taxed equally. Then put the plowshare of argument down to bed rock and demonstrate—an easy task—that the earth is the inalienable common heritage of the race; that all men have equal rights of access to its bounties for the purpose of making a living by labor; that whoso is given the special privilege of monopolizing valuable natural resources should pay in taxes to the common owner, the community, whatever this special privilege is worth, and that it is rank robbery to tax private property (the products of labor) while there remains yet unexhausted by taxation their raw land values which are of right the common property of the community.

In dealing with protectionists I have often found it best to ignore the tariff at first, urging only the abolition of all state, county and municipal taxes except those on land values. Once brought to see the benefit of this the man is an exception who will not in time work out his own salvation, even to the repudiation of his own protection fetich.

The common right of all men to the use of the earth is, of course, the bottom rock of the single tax. To this complexion must the argument come at last; and I have generally found it profitable to push it there at the outset. The statement of this right is so self-evident a moral truth that men are compelled to admit it, and, even admitted, the absolute justice and righteousness of the single tax follows as a clear corollry. Real free traders can be readily led into the single tax fold by the tariff path; but of these it may generally be said, as of Bo-peep's sheep, 'Let them alone and they'll come home" without leading—for the logic of free trade leads inexorably to the single tax. Your true-blue protectionist, however, must first have his mind opened to receptivity by moral dynamite; and for this purpose the most radical exhibition of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the common motherhood of the earth, is most effective, because appealing with the greatest force to all that is best and noblest in human nature. W. M. H.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Dec. 15.

OUR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

There is no likelihood that any one of the ingenious schemes for securing "proportional representation" will be enacted into law in our day; and if the best of them were adopted, it would still happen that the minority would lose their votes. The plan of "minority representation," which was proposed some years ago, would seem to be more feasible and better. By that plan, if I am not mistaken, each election district was to place on a common ticket the names of the candidates, selected in primary meetings of the two parties—in proportion to their relative strength at the preceding election. It was by some such scheme that minorities were to be represented.

But whether such plans are practicable or otherwise, there can, at any rate, be no difficulty in remedying the present grossly unjust method of electing the president and vice-president by the general ticket instead of single districts. The best possible illustration of the injustice of the system is furnished by the presidential election of 1860. I have the popular vote before me, as well as the electoral vote. They were as follows:

Mr. Lincoln received 1,866,452 popular votes and 180 electoral votes.

Mr. Douglas received 1,375,157 popular votes and 12 electoral votes.

Mr. Breckenridge received 847,953 popular votes and 72 electoral votes.

Mr. Bell received 590,631 popular votes and 39 electoral votes.

So it appears that Mr. Breckenridge received six times as many electoral votes as Mr. Douglas, although the latter received more than half a million more of the popular vote than the former. And that Mr. Bell, with less than half the popular vote of Mr. Douglas, received more than three times as many electoral votes.

I need add nothing to this recital in order to demonstrate the flagrant injustice of the system. It results from the practice in each state of casting every vote for every elector, instead of dividing the states into electoral districts, just as they are divided into as many congressional districts as there are representatives. The universal adoption of the general ticket system has resulted from the greed of majorities in the several states. It was not always so; and this is one local abuse that would warrant federal interference for its correction. No one state will adopt the single district system while others are permitted to vote by general ticket.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

A CHALLENGE.

From 1876 to 1880, as a supervisor of Winnebago county, Ill., I was frequently employed in the equalization of taxes between our towns. At that time my attention was also directed to the state board of equalization in its efforts to distribute taxes between the counties of the state. The first general conclusion I reached was that the rule of the constitution of the United States to distribute direct taxes between the subdivisions of the body politic in the ratio of population was correct and adequate. A somewhat superficial examination of the census of 1880 has somewhat shaken this belief. My studies were to devise some method of taxation to lighten the load of

the poor and oppressed, and to curb the rapidly rising plutocracy.

"Progress and Poverty" appeared, and I gladly welcomed the truth. Being of a practical business turn of mind, I saw at once to my own satisfaction that unless some radically different method for the equalization of assessments could be arraigned the single tax, if tried, would as certainly come to grief as has the revenue provision of the Illinois constitution of 1870. Human selfishness stands in the way, and unless we are able by some means to enlist it in our behalf, we might as well abandon our propaganda of the single tax. This is the problem: By some rule to decide in advance of the local assessments what the share of each assessment district shall be of the tax levied.

This being done, each assessor would be relieved of any anxiety as to the amount of his aggregate, and the selfishness of each town or county would not be exerted to keep it down.

I think prudence demands that single tax men for the present limit their efforts to the reformation of state, county and local taxation, progressively, say in the following order:

1. The equalization as above proposed.
2. The separation in real estate assessments of land value from improvements.
3. The abandonment of personal property taxes.
4. The single tax.

The object of this article is to provoke discussion upon the first point, and as a starter I will offer the following as appropriate for amendments to statutory and constitutional state laws:

A state board of equalization shall each year in advance of assessments establish a scale for the distribution of state taxes, between counties, in the ratio of population ascertained by the last national or state census. The percentages of counties being thus obtained, such percentages may be raised or lowered, as in the judgment of the board the distribution of wealth may justify, but without materially changing the aggregate.

Counties in advance of assessments shall distribute state and county taxes by the same method. H. N. STARR.

OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 29.—To many Roger Q. Mills's cry during the recent campaign of "Free trade and an income tax" seemed to be the cry of a reckless man without a following; but they must since have seen many evidences of the rapid movement of the great mass of the people toward freer trade, and of many toward free trade absolute, and it is evident from a canvass I have just made of prominent members of the house of representatives that there is a strong feeling there for an income tax. Indeed, I failed to meet a member on the democratic side opposed to it. Some few like Mr. McMillin of Tennessee think nothing regarding it will be done in the next congress; others like Mr. Breckinridge of Kentucky think it is too early to talk of what the next congress may do; but others still, who warmly advocate the idea, declare that it must certainly come up and that a bill will pass the next house. Mr. McClellan of Indiana last March introduced a bill into the house for the payment of pensions by a graduated tax ranging from two per cent on incomes of $4,000 to ten per cent on incomes above $200,000. Mr. Wike of Illinois introduced in the present session the following resolution:

Whereas it is manifest the people of this country have at the recent election most emphatically repudiated the policy and principles of taxation and protection embraced in the enactment known as the McKinley law, and have by the overwhelming majority at such election unmistakably demanded lower taxes and cheaper necessaries of life; therefore,

Be it resolved as the sense of this house, that the committee of ways and means be, and they are hereby, instructed to forthwith report bills to repeal any and all increases in the rates of tariff duties occasioned by that enactment, and to place upon the free list wool, lumber, salt, coal, ores of all kinds, dyestuffs, tin plates, agricultural and manufacturing machinery, binder twine and the materials out of which it is manufactured, bagging, cotton ties, and such other articles of raw material or prime necessity as the committee may deem of like importance to manufacturers or the people; such bills carefully to provide for carrying the reductions occasioned by putting such articles upon the free list into and through the various manufactures into which such materials may enter to the end that the ultimate consumers, and not the manufacturers alone, may get the benefit of such reductions.

And be it further resolved, That said committee be also instructed to report a bill to provide for raising all additional revenue that may become necessary for the requirement of the treasury by reason of the reduction in the rate of tariff duties as herein contemplated, or to meet any other deficiency in the treasury arising from any cause whatsoever, by a graduated tax upon the income of all persons, corporations, trusts and associations in excess of the sum of $5,000.

Of course, neither this resolution nor Mr. McClellan's bill will be considered by this congress, but they have attracted attention for this reason. The democratic majority in the next house, committed by the recent election to a very material reduction of the tariff, will place many things on the free list that now pay a heavy duty. This will cut down the revenue. The expenditures, on the other hand, even with some economies, are not likely to be much lessened, as the present congress, spending all it dare spend itself, will leave a heavy legacy of debts for its successor to meet in navy bills, fortification bills, ship bounty and subsidy bills, public building bills, pension bills and various other bills. The deficiency in the revenue arising from the reduced tariff will, therefore, have to be made up in some way if these demands are to be met, and no way seems so easy just now as that offered by an income tax.

I herewith present the views in brief of some of the representatives with whom I have talked:

Benjamin A. Enloe of Tennessee: "I am in favor of a tax on incomes that shall begin at $10,000 and increase as the income swells. If enough revenue could not be raised on that basis, then I would be in favor of beginning at incomes of $5,000. I would make the men who are making great fortunes out of all kinds of monopolies bear the weight of taxation. These monopolies and these immense fortunes are becoming a fearful danger to this republic, and I would take this step to check their growth. I do not see how the country is to survive under the present system of taxation. I think something must quickly be done, and that a graduated income tax must be resorted to in the near future. There appears to me to be good chances of an income tax bill being passed in the next congress."

Richard P. Bland of Missouri: "I am in favor of an income tax, and this sentiment is almost universal. The masses do not want any more taxes on the poor; they want them put on the rich, through their incomes; or, if incomes are not taxed to obtain the necessary revenue, the people in my section wish for an issue of greenbacks to meet it. I think the best thing to do would be to issue an hundred millions of greenbacks a year to pay pensions. It would help the poor people of this country who are taxed down and ground to nothing. It would not depreciate the currency much. We should by this means have an increase volume of currency. Taxation in this country takes half the currency every year away from the poor and gives to the rich."

James B. McCreary of Kentucky: "The question of the income tax has not been discussed sufficiently in my district for me to know the wishes of a majority of my constituents."

William L. Wilson of West Virginia: "I have never been up to the point of favoring the reimposition of the income tax, but if pension legislation should go on I would provide the payment of some of it in that way. The income tax is a just tax, but difficult to establish in this country. It is difficult for the federal government to manage, as being less close to the people than the state government. But before an income tax is thought of we should bear in mind the experience of England, which found that reducing—her tariff greatly increased her revenue. Extending the free list increases the trade of a country, which increases the revenue from the commodities that still bear a tariff. For instance, suppose you put wool on the free list. This would result in an enhanced importation of wool and the establishment of more woolen mills. The business of these mills, increasing the general prosperity, would tend to increase the demand, say, for sugar, and would cause an increased importation of that commodity; and as the tariff on it had not been changed, there would in consequence be more revenue from sugar than came from it before wool was put on the free list. This, perhaps, is not the best illustration that could be found, but it will serve. I think, therefore, that there is no immediate probability of an income tax, because any reductions in the tariff, whether by lessening the burden on certain articles or by extending the free list, will result in an increase of the government revenue."

William D. Bynum of Indiana: "There is considerable sentiment in the west in favor of an income tax. The question has not been agitated very much, and I cannot say that there has been a sufficient expression to indicate how a majority of the people stand. The action of the farmers' organization will probably develop the views of the people before long."

J. D. Sayers of Texas: "What my constituents would favor, and what I would vote for, is a tax on large incomes so as to make them contribute to the expense of government. No small incomes, say up to $1,500, should be taxed. My idea is to put taxation where it can most easily be borne. Large incomes are not reached by our present system of taxation, though small incomes are reached and have to contribute very heavily. To illustrate: Jay Gould's clothing cost very little more than do the clothes of a small salaried man, yet Jay Gould pays no more, or, at any rate, little more, tax on his clothes than does the small salaried man. By the income tax such overgrown fortunes as Jay Gould's are reached and made to contribute to the support of government. It is a most difficult thing to adjust taxation so as to make it fall on the very rich with the weight that it falls on the poor. I am going to vote for every kind of a measure that will tend to put all citizens upon the same footing. I do not want one to have any advantage over another. Make the rich man bear taxation in the same ratio as the poor man. I think an income tax will pass the next house."

George H. Brickner of Wisconsin: "The question of the income tax has not come up in my district; but I have always contended that we should have a reasonable tariff, and if that did not provide enough revenue, that we should levy an income tax. This I have stated on the floor of the house."

Joseph H. Outhwaite of Ohio: "The sentiment favoring an income tax is not very strong in my district, but it is stronger than it was two or three years ago, and I think it is growing."

William S. Holman of Indiana: "I was opposed to the repeal of the income tax law. I have always been in favor of this tax as a fair and just one, but up to the present time the condition of affairs has been unfavorable to the measure. Now, however, there is manifested a growing feeling in its favor. I intend to introduce a bill on the opening of the next house. I believe that this is not merely a means of raising revenue by making wealth contribute its fair proportion of taxation, but that it is absolutely necessary to secure even fair economy of government and to lessen the influence of great fortunes over legislation, an influence which is becoming all potent. I believe in exempting small incomes, such as below $2,000. The chief departure I would make from the old income tax law would [illegible]st in making the tax heavier on the [illegible]r incomes."

C. A. O. McClellan, Indiana: "I think without any doubt there will be income tax legislation in the next session of congress. I think all the Indiana delegation will favor it except, perhaps, one; and that one dissents not from opposition to the principle, but because he does not approve of the policy. Both of the senators from Indiana will support it. When I introduced my bill for an income tax last session but few favored it. This shows the growth of the idea. In the recent campaign I made an income tax one of the chief issues, and events prove that it was well received. I expect to continue the fight until a bill is passed. I have talked with fifty or sixty members of the house on the democratic side who are in favor of such a bill. I have not yet talked with any republicans. As I said last May, during the tariff debate, we have 5,000 millionaires who own in the aggregate $35,000,000,000 which is untaxed. One-half per cent per annum upon that sum would produce $175,000,000, more than enough to pay a pension to every man who served in and was honorably discharged from the army. It is said that an income tax is unpopular and odious to those who have to pay it. That is true; all taxes are odious. They are like sorrow, sickness and death, odious and certain, but they must be endured. An income tax is further said to be odious because it reveals the secrets of a man's business. Well, so do all taxes. In my state—and I presume all other states pursue the same course—a man is compelled to swear how much personal property he owns, what it consists of, how much he owes, and who he owes to; and if fraud is suspected he may be brought before an officer and catechised under oath. As long as a man is honest in these matters there is nothing odious about it. It is only when he wishes to deceive that it becomes odious—odious to tell the truth. No law will compel a man to return his income at a greater sum than it is. It was in the interest of capital that the income tax was repealed. By the repeal of that tax capital has been relieved of taxation by the federal government for twenty years, and now I think, in the interest of the people, it ought to be re-enacted. Twenty years ago it produced a revenue of $73,000,000 per annum. The same law now would produce $150,000,000 per annum."

Thomas J. Clunie of California: "There is a growing sentiment for an income tax among those who are coming to understand what a tariff really is. There is a growing sentiment to lift tax burdens from the poor who are bearing, and who for so long have borne, such a heavy burden through the tariff, and to put it, or at least a share of it, on the rich, who, in comparison, are but lightly taxed by the tariff. I think there would be much approval of such a measure as that outlined in Mr. Wike's resolution raising $130,000,000 annually by a graduated tax on all incomes exceeding $5,000."

Scott Wike of Illinois: "The proposition to tax incomes is rapidly increasing in popularity in this country, and the demand for additional revenue made necessary by the excessive appropriations and extravagancies of the present congress, as well as by reason of any reduction that may occur from any modification in the tariff schedules, brings us face to face with the proposition as to how that additional revenue is to be raised. The rapid accumulation of the wealth of the country into comparatively few hands is becoming a matter of intense interest to all thoughtful people. That one-half of the wealth of this country has already found its way into the hands of 30,000 individuals, and seventy-five to eighty per cent of the entire wealth, into the hands of 180,000 people, is an appalling fact, and at once indicates how many millions of the masses must necessarily be restricted to very meager holdings or to none at all. In my view of the case, aside from the present necessities of the revenue, such a system of graduated income

tax should be adopted as to render the accumulation of such colossal fortunes as has marked the history of the robber tariff for protection impossible; and thus arrest the rapid and dangerous concentration of wealth. So that it not only becomes the duty of the government to collect its revenues in this way to relieve the tax-ridden masses from want and beggary, but for its own safety from the dangers threatened by the accumulation of so many colossal fortunes in the hands of a few families. It is said the income tax is inquisitorial and odious; but the same may be said, in a manner, of all taxes by those who have them to pay. I would exempt all incomes to the extent of $5,000, so as to reach the larger ones more quickly and surely, and to attain the object above indicated, of preventing the accumulation of many millions in the hands of one individual, and I would graduate the tax on incomes above that sum ($5,000) so rapidly as to make such accumulations a matter of absolute impossibility. It is true such a system of revenue would become very unpopular and odious to such fortune seekers as the Goulds, Vanderbilts, Astors *et id omne genus*, who have thus far escaped their share of national taxation, but it would become very popular with the agricultural, mechanical, laboring and industrial masses, which thus far have paid substantially all the cruel burdens of such taxation. The aristocracy of Great Britain vote upon themselves an income tax to the amount annually of from $75,000,000 to $80,000,000 to relieve the poorer people of that country from the payment of taxes upon what they consume—leaving them substantially free from taxation. Why, then, should not this republic, all the more in its vast and boundless resources be as considerate for the masses of its people and put at least a portion of the burden of national taxation upon the accumulations of the rich, and relieve to that extent the masses who have so long borne this burden by grievous taxation before their consumption?"

Lewis E. Payson of Illinois, who, as well as I can learn, voices the republican sentiment of the northwest, said: "Whenever the necessities of the federal government required increased revenue I should earnestly favor a graduated income tax, believing it to be the most sensible as well as the most politic method of securing increased revenue. The reasons to me for this are entirely obvious. The principal criticism urged is that it subjects the taxpayers to an unpleasant espionage on the part of the federal tax collector. The answer to this is that every system of taxation is precisely the same. When taxes are collected upon personal property faithful performance of duty on the part of the assessor as well as faithfulness on the part of the citizen requires that there should be a full disclosure of every article of property the citizen has, so that ascertaining the wealth of the citizen for the purposes of a personal property tax is as much open to criticism as ascertaining incomes for the purpose of an income tax would be. We all know that the wealth of the country in a large degree escapes assessment. This, of course, ought not to be. I think public sentiment in the west is very largely in favor an income tax—though it is opposed by so many men who are in the position of leaders, who create rather than reflect public feeling, and who themselves would bear the burden of increased taxation, that there has not been very much discussion of it in recent days in the Mississippi valley. I feel sure, however, that a strong preponderance of sentiment would be in favor of the idea."

All this, while showing the dissatisfaction with things as they are, and the likelihood of the next congress attempting a change, reveals also the cumbersomeness and wastefulness of our whole taxation system, and the corruption and dangers inseparable from it, and but makes easier to see the simplicity, the economy and effectiveness of the single tax.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The fatality of Governor Hill's presidential aspirations has been demonstrated anew. An elaborately planned canvass to ascertain the opinions of farmers throughout the country on certain practical, economic and political questions has been conducted on an extensive scale for the past three months by the agricultural press of Springfield. In order to reach the farmers of the whole United States the enterprise was worked in the New England states through the New England Homestead, in the Atlantic and middle states through the eastern edition of Farm and Home, while the central states, west and south, the northwest and the Pacific slope were reached through the western edition of Farm and Home published at Chicago. The voting was not confined to subscribers of these journals, and nearly 110,000 cards were received answering these questions. The tenth question was: Who should be the republican and democratic nominees for the presidency in 1892? So far as Governor Hill is concerned, out of 108,790 votes cast by democratic farmers, he received 17,118, while Mr. Cleveland received 71,787, practically a reversal of the first two figures. The governor's dear friend, the editor of the shine-for-all paper, must put more life into the "Hill boom," or it will go to the bow-wows.

* * *

Here is a straw which will show how the duty on tin will stimulate our tin industry. The firm J. B. Pace, Richmond, Va., are large manufacturers of a fine quality of plug smoking tobacco. On each plug they used to put a tin tag, with the firm name stamped on it. They now use tin foil instead, and stamp their name on the tobacco.

* * *

In an editorial commenting on the letters of members of the Reform club sent to the Commercial Advertiser in answer to its now well known circular, the Boston Globe is much struck by the unanimity of sentiment in favor of the single tax. Speaking of this it says:

It was upon the proposition to raise the government revenues by a single tax upon land values (the Henry George plan) that the greatest unanimity was reached. It would seem from this that a majority of the club are in favor of free trade and the single tax.

* * *

Mr. Chauncey M. Depew remarked a week or two ago that he was no friend of paternalism in government. Then he is no longer a good member of the republican party, for it is the party of paternalism in this country. Here are some of the measures with which it has lately identified itself:

1. The McKinley bill, for the benefit of manufacturers.

2. The reapportionment bill, for the benefit of republican office holders.

3. The pension grab, for the benefit of pension sharks and idle veterans.

4. The Wall street relief schemes, for the benefit of a handful of stock jobbers.

5. The force bill, for the benefit of the republican party.

6. The river and harbor bills, for the benefit of jobbing contractors.

7. The public buildings, for the benefit of same.

8. Shipping bounties, for the benefit of owners of unsalable old vessels.

* * *

By this time Mrs. William Astor, the leader of the four hundred, and Miss Fanny Davenport, a leading actress, understand to the full the beauties of our protective system. The first named lady recently ordered two gowns from Paris. She had paid for them in advance, and had also paid to the dressmakers the amount which our beneficent government demands shall be paid on pauper European products of the class necessary to Mrs. Astor's proper appearance in public. The Parisian dressmaker thought to do a stroke of business; so she undervalued the gowns—reduced their value fifty per cent. By this means she expected to pocket half the money which had been given to her to pay the duty. But our lynx-eyed customs officers were "on," and, contrary to the assertions of the protectionist papers that the foreigner pays the duty, Mrs. Astor will be compelled again to pay the duty before she can receive her gowns. We have no doubt that Mrs. Astor's temper has been somewhat ruffled by this incident. The gentlemen members of her family, who are more or less in sympathy with the republican party policy, may have their impressions on the tariff somewhat modified by consulting with Mrs. Astor.

* * *

Miss Davenport's case is a still harder one. In order to properly place the play of "Cleopatra" before American audiences, it was necessary for her to wear certain costumes, which had, in order to be correct, to be made under the supervision of Paris dressmakers who had made similar costumes for Mme. Bernhardt. These costumes cost $12,000 to build. When they arrived in this city, Miss Davenport's manager sought to get them through the custom house, free, on the plea that they were "tools of trade." This claim will not be allowed, and Miss Davenport will have to pay a duty of sixty per cent, or $7,200, on her costumes. Probably, through this incident, Miss Dauenport has now, like Mrs. Astor, a clear idea of the tariff and its beneficence. But the ladies who attend Miss Davenport's performances will also have presented to them, in addition to the entertainment, good object lesson of the effects of a protective tariff—in a set of costumes worth $12,000 which costs $19,200.

* * *

Tom Reilly, managing editor of the Journal of the Knights of Labor, talked to a Philadelphia correspondent last week about the impending coalition between the knights and the Farmers' alliance. He says—and we think that what he says can be considered as a semi-official utterance for the order—that there will be no absolute fusion. Each organization will maintain its autonomy; but, he says, at the meeting of delegates of both organizations which is to be held in Washington early in the coming year, "a platform for political action will be adopted suited to both orders." Then will ensue, Mr. Reilly thinks, a political tidal wave which cannot be resisted. The new movement will be neither democratic nor republican. It will constitute a fresh industrial party, whose object will be to promote the prospects of workingmen and to protect them against the merciless war with capital. As to a tariff, the workers of the country do not favor the McKinley bill.

* * *

Mr. Reilly says that his order will especially urge governmental ownership and control of railroads and telegraphs. In addition he personally would favor the nationalization of certain industries, such as the ownership of all coal lands by the government. The knights will also ask for a plank in the platform demanding a proper equalization of taxation. He does not say how it is to be brought about, but he says that the order will insist that "the proper share of taxation must be paid fully, whether by the laborer or the great capitalist."

* * *

In speaking of the order's affairs, Mr. Reilly says that strikes have been repudiated by the knights to such an extent, indeed, that all power to order a strike has been taken out of the hands of local leaders and vested in the general executive board. As to the secret organization of labor, Mr. Reilly says that this must come if there should be any attempt on the part of corporations to crush the open organizations. "We have proof positive," he says, "that employers are now banded together to annihilate the organizations of laboring men. If this great conspiracy succeeds, then will the workingmen organize in secret, and then may the incendiary's torch and the assassin's bullet play a part in future struggles between capital and labor."

* * *

We have just received from Houston, Tex., a programme of the lectures given by the single tax club in December and January. The December lectures must have been unusually interesting. They were: "How best to help on the single tax movement," by H. F. Ring; "The case legally stated," by Charles G. Patrick; "The case industrially stated," by James Charlton and F. J. Trapp. The January programme is: January 6, "The railroad problem," by J. C. Zimmer and G. H. Pendarvis; January 13, "The law of human progress," by E. W. Brower; January 20, "The case stated by a journalist," by E. P. Alsbury; January 27, "The case socially stated," by J. B. Cochran and J. C. Taylor.

* * *

On the 10th of November, Lord Salisbury delivered an address at the Guildhall, London, against the eight-hour bill pending in parliament. He said that the passage of such a bill would "frighten capital away from the country;" and he concluded his address by declaring that "there were other countries close by which do not favor such a delusion." If this bill became law, said he, these countries would have the opportunity of importing, to any extent they pleased, English capital. The London People's Press waxed poetic over the noble lord's speech, and ground out the following:

We shall send the Mines and Farms to
Amsterdam,
The Houses and the Railways to Peru,
The Trams will go to Russia,
The Waterworks to Prussia;
The Army and the Navy to Vitu.

We shall ship the site of London off to
France,
The Factories and Castles to Japan,
The Moors to far Gibralta,
The Mountains off to Malta,
The Lakes, Canals and Rivers where we can.

We shall ship the Hills and Valleys off to
Spain;
We shall go to live in Paris or in Rome;
Our people will be healthy,
Hard working, wise and wealthy,
Whilst you will all be starving here at home.

* * *

The Boston Post draws the attention of the people to the exorbitant charges for gas now prevailing in that city. It says that the cost of manufacturing the gas, including the interest paid on the heavily watered stock of the gas syndicate, is sixty and one-half cents per one thousand feet, while the average cost to the consumer is $1.20. It is to be hoped that the Boston people will look into this matter.

* * *

Apropos of some largely attended revival meetings recently conducted in Amsterdam in this state by Mr. Mills, evangelist and singer, Mr. James Bartley writes an article to the Amsterdam Daily Democrat showing to how large an extent the sins rebuked by the preacher are due to the conditions and surroundings into which the poor are forced by the rapacity of the land grabbers. Mr. Bartley asks why the church does not take cognizance of these larger crimes and hold revival meetings with a view to rebuking them.

* * *

In THE STANDARD of December 10 appeared an article from W. E. Brokaw on "Destitution in Dakota." The article was the result of talks with a number of farmers from various parts of Spink county and a widow woman living in Redfield, who called at the law office of Judge Howe in Redfield while Brokaw was visiting there, in which it was shown that many farmers and their families were emigrating from Spink county because their farms were so heavily mortgaged (some up to ninety per cent) that they never could lift the load, and so they had concluded to abandon them altogether. One farmer told of a man who wanted to kill a hen in order to give his sick wife some nourishing food, but found he could not do so without violating the law. When THE STANDARD reached Chicago an imaginative news gatherer saw Brokaw's article, and he immediately prepared an interview with one "William Brokaw, a lawyer of Redfield, now in Chicago," who said that "a man cannot kill a hen in Spink county, South Dakota, without violating law." All the things that were told to Brokaw the newsman quotes as having been said *by* him instead of *to* him. This faked interview appeared in the Chicago Tribune, and was telegraphed over South Dakota as an import-

ant item, where it has created somewhat of a breeze, and Brokaw, under various aliases, has been getting particular fits. When Brokaw, "the Redfield lawyer," was, according to the Chicago paper, being interviewed in that city, he was, as a matter of fact, working at his printer's case setting type in Watertown, South Dakota, for the Journal, and he had not been in Chicago for nearly three months; and what Brokaw is reputed to have said to the Chicago Tribune reporter of the state of things in Spink county was, as a matter of fact, told to Brokaw by Spink county farmers in Judge Howe's office, Redfield. And that is all there is of truth in the interview in the Chicago Tribune.

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The Warren County Democrat, published at Monmouth, Ill., is publishing by installments Post's syllabus of "Progress and Poverty."

* * *

George E. Kinsley and several other believers in the single tax in Brockton, Mass., announce that they are desirous of forming a single tax league in that city for the purpose of propagating the single tax and making it a factor in local affairs. In order to form such an organization Mr. Kinsley invites all single tax sympathizers in Brockton to meet him and our friends in Gardner's music room, Bay State block, Center street, on Tuesday evening, January 13, at 8 o'clock. Let all our Brockton friends make a note of this and be on hand.

* * *

The item on page 29, third column of the Sunday Herald, entitled "Tired housekeepers pool their issues," despite the freshening effects of dating it December 27, is a chestnut. For the information of our readers we would say that the item referred to told how a co-operative scheme for cooking and table service at three dollars a week for each person was in successful operation in Utica, this state, and Chicago, with bright prospects for a reduction to a two and a half basis in the near future. As a matter of fact, however, the Chicago end of the scheme burst two or three months ago, because the chief cook could not furnish the kind of food and table service demanded by the members of the co-operative company for less than six dollars a week per head; and as private enterprise could do better, there was nothing left for the co-operative scheme but death to slow music—such as has been the fate of nine out of ten of the co-operative enterprises that have been started in this country. But the printing of the article is a good joke on the Herald, nevertheless.

* * *

The New York World has just discovered that, with a population only two-fifths as large as that of the whole of Ireland, there were more people evicted in this city—even more processes served—than in that country over whose sufferings our New York Irish patriots shed every year so many blinding tears. The World has even discovered that in 1880 as many eviction processes were issued from one district court of this city as were issued in all Ireland in that year. THE STANDARD is glad that such a paper as the World has made the discovery. We, the single taxers, knew it years ago—as far back as 1880—and called the attention of the daily papers to it, but they were silent. Mr. George told it in his pamphlet, "The Land Question," which he printed in 1880. His friends told it to the people from cart tails, dry goods boxes, the tops of ash barrels and on street corners. It has taken ten years for the story to make its way into a daily newspaper; but, better late than never.

PERSONAL.

Andrew Hutton of Schenectady, this state, is discussing the taxation of land values with the editor of the Schenectady Evening Star through the columns of that paper.

E. F. Fellows, who was a delegate to the single tax conference from Indianapolis, is having serious trouble with his eyes. At present he can neither read nor write without great pain. In flattery he says, in a letter to this paper: "I wouldn't miss my sight so much if I could only read THE STANDARD." Mr. Fellows wrote last from Eureka Springs, Ark.

THE CHURCH AND LABOR.

THE REV. FATHER J. O S. HUNTINGTON'S SERMON IN MEMPHIS.

Memphis Appeal-Avalanche.

A large congregation assembled at Calvary church yesterday morning and heard the Rev. Father J. O. S. Huntington's sermon on the relations of the church to the labor question. Following is a synopsis of the discourse:

"Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy King cometh."—St. Matthew, xxi., 5.

This is the first Sunday in the year. We begin to-day another round of holy times and seasons, of feasts and fasts. As members of the national church of this land I wish you a Happy New Year. What is the first season that meets us? It is Advent. Advent means The Coming. Whose coming? The coming of Jesus, our King, the Ruler of the nations. Of what importance is his coming to us? It may have something to do with our church services, with sermons, with "religious" matters. But has His advent or coming anything whatever to do with the things we really think and care about, with our investments and securities, with our banks and boards of trade, with our politics and parties?

I.

If we want to get at the heart of the Church's teachings for any of her holy days we must turn to the Gospel for the Day. It is read in the center of her highest service, the Holy Communion. We turn to the Gospel for this Sunday. In the Collect we have been told of two comings of Christ. One of them was His coming in the stable of Bethlehem as a little child on the first Christmas night. This was 1,890 years (common reckoning) ago. The other is His coming in the clouds of heaven as the Judge of living and dead at the Last Day. We have no positive information as to when this will be, but most people are glad to believe that it is a long way off in the future, and that there is no danger of its happening while they are alive. For, though Christians are supposed to be people who wait and watch for their Lord's return, many of them feel about it as the rich Jews of Salonica, who told two English travelers a few years ago that they hoped the Messiah wouldn't come in their day, as His appearing would confound and ruin all their financial speculations. But just as we are about to comfort ourselves with the reflection that the advent or coming of Christ is so far away that it is really not a practical issue, we are rudely startled by the Gospel declaring: "Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh." This has an immediate sound. And, looking farther, we find that in the Gospel the Church is not telling us about the Birth of Christ, which could happen but once, or His last Judgment, which will not be repeated, but about His coming into the City of Jerusalem, which happened many times. In the oriental metaphor a city was often called the daughter of the hill on which it stood, and, therefore, "the daughter of Sion" means the City of Jerusalem. But the City of Jerusalem was more than a city in the way in which we use the word. Jerusalem was more even than the capital of Judea; into it was gathered up the nation's life: an address to it was an address to all Israel. In his entrance into Jerusalem, then, Jesus Christ was manifesting Himself in the most wonderful nation of the old world—God's chosen people. His coming brought about a political crisis, that is, as the word means, a judgment, a separation. Some cried, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the Highest!" Others scowled and muttered and planned His death. It was these latter who packed the crowd five days afterward that raised the horrid cry: "Crucify Him! Crucify Him!" Here, then, is the witness of to-day's gospel; that it is not to some distant event, past or future, that we are at this season to direct our thoughts, but rather to ask ourselves: "How and where is Christ, the King of men, manifesting Himself in our national life? What crisis are we approaching? What judgment and separation stands before the citizens of this republic?" The message that the church of this nation has to bear to all sections of this land is similar to that of old: "Tell ye the daughters of Columbia, Behold your king cometh."

II.

Again and again, in the long march of history has God manifested Himself in national issues, has brought near His kingdom in Christ, the King of m[en]. He has, indeed, ordained the kingdom is always the Father's kingdom, the kingdom that we are continually praying may "come on earth as it is in heaven," though, as a matter of fact, it is the very last thing that many well-to-do, successful Christians want. But the kingdom of the Father is the kingdom of His children; it is the cause of all His children, not only those who think themselves His children, but even more of those who do not know themselves as such, of the ignorant, the unprivileged, the plundered, the oppressed. "The King that cometh" comes to execute judgment and justice in the earth, to preach good news to the poor, deliverance to the captive, to set at liberty them that are bruised.

He comes with succor speedy
To them that suffer wrong;
To help the poor and needy,
And bid the weak be strong.

He is Jesus, the Savior; and all tyranny, and cruelty, and monopoly must first be revealed and then perish at the brightness of His coming. He will reprove with equity for the meek of the earth.

Is this nation free? If it is not, then it cannot accomplish God's ends in creating it, it cannot fulfill its purpose in the life of humanity; it needs Christ to emancipate it. In what does the freedom of a nation consist? In the freedom of its citizens. The individual finds himself in the life of the family or the larger circle of the state. But the family finds itself in its members, and the nation in the people who make it up. A free nation is made up of free people. Are the citizens of this country free? That has certainly been the supposition. We have held up this republic as the one perfect government, as "the land of the free and the home of the brave." We have drawn millions of men and women from their homes under the effete monarchies of Europe with the offer of boundless and inexhaustible opportunities for all who would come. How have we fulfilled our promises? A few months ago a young man, a native of this country, applied for work at the mouth of a coal mine in Pennsylvania. He was refused a job, but before his eyes a slav, lately arrived, was taken on, and when he was given work he knelt down and kissed the hand of the boss. In the tenement houses of New York a mother said to me: "Mary (her daughter) don't like to go to the factory, because work is slack, and when work is slack the foreman thinks he can say anything he likes to the girls, but I tell her she musn't mind that; we've got to pay the rent anyway."

What is necessary that a man may be free? First of all he must *be*, that is, he must exist. Life is essential to freedom. But what do we mean by life? We distinguish in ourselves various forms of life—spiritual life, intellectual life, physical life. Which of these is fundamental? Evidently, as far as this world is concerned, it is the physical life. To have any visible relation to the present state of things our bodies must be nourished and sustained. Lack of bodily sustenance dulls the mind and too often impairs the spiritual nature. A starving man is hardly a free agent; "necessity knows no law." Where, then, do we find the source from which the bodily needs may be supplied? Evidently in the material environment which surrounds us. The eye craves light; the sun shines. The lungs want air; the wind blows. The stomach demands food; from the earth grows corn and fruit and on its verdure sheep and cattle thrive. The body needs clothing; the cotton-fields are ripe. Showers make shelter needful; the forests furnish lumber, the clay-pits bricks, the quarries stone. The cold calls for added warmth; the earth is stored with coal. And if one country or section lacks this or that article which man needs, other countries furnish it in abundance and materials are at hand, iron, copper, lead, hemp, tar, out of which means of transportation can be constructed, and the inventive genius of man keeps pace with the growth of earth's inhabitants to increase production and make easier the interchange of goods which binds the nations together in mutual benefactions. Thus we find, that if to secure liberty, and so fulfill God's purpose, the nation needs physical support, God has richly supplied that support in the land which the Lord God has given it. Certainly no one dreams that in this country with its vast territory, its almost boundless treasure in forests and mines and wells, its enormous natural opportunities in streams and lakes, God has been niggardly in providing for the wants of His American[s]

condition on which the earth shall yield her increase—it is the condition of human labor. But man's doom has become his glory, and the curse, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," has become a promise, "In the sweat of thy face thou shall eat it," and the woe, "Then is thy strength but labor and sorrow," is now the blessing, "In labor and sorrow is thy strength." And as God reveals more and more of the secrets of His world to his dear humankind, man becomes more and more the lord of nature, and finds means to lighten his burden and make each conquest over his environment a means to larger development of his faculties and powers. Why, then, is it that this nation is not attaining a greater liberty for all its members; that, on the contrary, tens of thousands are sinking down into more and more hopeless wage slavery, or failing to find a chance to engage in even the simplest form of production? The whole population of this country set down in the one state of Texas would not give as many to the square mile as are found in Massachusetts to-day; and yet there are 1,000,000 men tramping the streets and roads of this country looking for work.

They are not searching for opportunities of physical exertion, but for opportunity to create by labor the things that will support life. That opportunity lies all about them in the untilled fields they pass, the uncut forest that they traverse, the unmined coal on which they tread. But they cannot till the fields or fell the wood or raise the coal, or they can only do it under conditions of hardship and hunger and physical and mental degradation, such as make life a bewildering nightmare, from which they long to wake. The majority of people in this great land are looking forward with increasing apprehension and anxiety for themselves, and still more for their children. They are feeling the iron arms of monopoly and oppression closing about them, chilling their hearts, stifling their breath, crushing their life. The freedom which their fathers won is being slowly pared away till only the name is left. One citizen of this nation will, in the ownership of its railroads, become the master of half a million "hands."

What is freedom to hundreds of American citizens?

'Tis to work and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day,
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrant's use to dwell;
So that ye for them are made,
Loom and plow, and sword, and spade;
With or without your own will bent
To their defense and nourishment.

III.

But, "Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold thy King cometh." Is He not coming? Is He not already manifesting himself in His dear American nation? "The voice of the people is the voice of God," and the people are speaking in louder and louder tones. New issues have come, and the Lord of multitudes musters the host of the battle. What is He calling us to do in this national crisis in which He comes to judge the people? He call us to declare that every child born in this country has a right to life, has a right to such life as will make him free, and such freedom as will enable him to pursue the happiness of reaching on to his true end by fulfilling the Father's purpose for him. But the right to life implies the right to the sources from which life is derived. Therefore Christ is calling us to declare that no individual has a right to monopolize land or natural opportunities as to be able to live upon the toil of others. You do not like to think that 50,000 acres in the St. Francis bottom are owned by aliens to this nation; perhaps you do not feel wholly pleased to know that 700,000 acres of your best southern land are owned by a single corporation with no patriotic impulse or public spirit. But whenever any man is allowed to hold a situation or source of production which puts him in a point of vantage to his fellow citizens, and is rendering no equivalent to the common weal, there is a condition of things which must lead in time to the enslavement of the people to the domination of the few. Christ is coming. We may resist Him, as the leaders of the French nation did 100 years ago. We may refuse, as they did, to declare the Christian lesson that this nation is a congregation of the Lord, and that every soul in it is entitled to live a free life to him. We may for a little time hold back the day of the Lord, but then He will come as He came in France, in the "blood and fire and vapor of smoke" [of] the first revolution. Or we may heed

the advent cry and take our place under the leadership of the Son of Man; we may cry aloud, "Blessed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest!" Then we shall be drawn together as a united people against a common foe. South and west, city and country will take their places side by side under the banner of the great Deliverer, and we shall enter on the new year and the new decade with the old cry: "Open ye the gates that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in."

Once to every man and nation,
Comes the moment to decide
In the strife 'twixt truth and falsehood,
On the good or evil side,
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand
And the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever
'Twixt the darkness and the light.

Therefore, "Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh." "Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

THE SEAMSTRESS.

Fred. E. Manning in London People's Press.

Bending near a flick'ring light,
O'er a silken robe so bright,
Stitching on with aching eyes,
Shiv'ring as the fire-light dies,
Shiv'ring as the frosty air
Seems to enter everywhere;
Trembling as some far-off bell
Bids the parting day farewell,
Longing for an hour of sleep,
Trying not to stay to weep—
Wretched, weary, hope nigh dead—
Craving for a taste of bread,
Sits a seamstress young and fair,
In a garret cold and bare.

Now the silken robe is done,
Now peeps forth the hazy sun,
And the seamstress—racked with pain—
Tries to sleep—alas! in vain—
For the flick'ring candle-light
And the dismal frosty night,
And the want of common bread,
And the racking, aching head,
And the never ceasing fear,
Death or shame is drawing near—
Leave their mark—she cannot sleep—
She cannot rest—she cannot weep.

Soon with trembling limbs she creeps
Forth into the busy streets—
Clutching with a fearful care
'Neath her shawl the robe so fair.
Till all footsore she arrives
At a house where fortune strives
Life to make within a dream—
One of heaven it doth seem
To the seamstress standing there—
A fairy land without compare.
But, alas! forgets she all
When she's told again to call
For the money she has earned—
And she's quickly, coldly, turned
From the door—and left to moan,
Starving, weary and alone.

With a catching sob and sigh,
With a broken-hearted cry,
With a wretched look of pain—
In the cold she creeps again.
And all day she creeps along,
Crushed and beaten by her wrong;
Starving, aching, cold and drear,
On she crawls till night is near,
And the gaslight flickers dim
On the river dark and grim.
Then she stops and looks below
At the water's onward flow.
Shuddering, she turns away,
Looks above and seems to pray,
Then, with one despairing cry,
Looks again—a sob, a sigh—
A sudden splash—a muffled mourn—
To the tide a corpse is borne.

THE SINGLE TAX PRINCIPLE.

Grand Rapids Building and Realty.

The single tax idea is steadily commending itself to earnest thinking men. It is a rank injustice that a man should hold property vacant, with nominal taxes, and gain the increment of value produced by the improvements made by his neighbors, who pay taxes upon those improvements. The bed rock of taxation is this: no tax on the products of labor. This principle is world-wide. It applies with equal force to the town, the state, the nation, the world. By its adoption labor would receive a healthy stimulus, and would create wealth as never before. Throughout the world the burdens of taxation have fallen upon labor, and in all forms of indirect taxation the burden falls with almost equal weight upon all, regardless of their circumstances. But place this burden upon land values only and at once the basis of taxation becomes absolutely equitable, land speculation becomes unprofitable, and the inducements to labor to place improvements upon the land and to advance to its more general ownership are vastly multiplied.

IF!

Boston Globe.

Ex-Lord High Executioner Clarkson told a Journal reporter that if the McKinley bill proves to be popular and good times come back to the farmer, if we pass these shipping bills and extend American commerce as we can do it, there is no reason why President Harrison should not receive very largely the benefit of it. Those "ifs" are bigger than Boston common and harder to jump over than Bunker hill monument.

FOUR OF THE IRISH LEADERS.

HEALY, SEXTON, DILLON, O'BRIEN, THE FOUR MEN WHO ARE STANDING WITH JUSTIN M'CARTHY.

Last week's STANDARD contained a sketch of Justin McCarthy, the leader of the anti-Parnell wing of the Irish parliamentary party, taken from the London Star. Following are sketches of the four men who, with Mr. McCarthy, are considered the leaders of the Irish movement:

Tim Healy—for he is no more Mr. Timothy than another mercurial person is Lord Randolph—is undeniably the cleverest man among the patriots. And that means among the cleverest men in the house. "Chief Justice Healy" was the taunt of the Parnellite rump last week. The insinuation intended does grotesque injustice to the most Irish of Irishmen. The description of Mr. Healy's legal *metier* is as just as the oblique tribute to his abilities. But essentially Mr. Healy is the sharp solicitor—the attorney sublimated. Perhaps as a sobriquet Land Commissioner Healy would be more to the point. His command over the complications of the land act of '81, as shown in debate, gave rise to the remark that there were only three people who understood the bill—Gladstone, Law and Tim Healy. He did a great stroke for the tenants by securing the insertion of what is universally known as the "Healy Clause"—the pregnant clause which provided that no rent should be payable in respect of improvements made by the tenant or his predecessor in title. He had previously been employed to prepare a short history of the Irish land question, which was used as the brief for the defense in the state trials of 1880. In these matters Mr. Healy owes his success to two gifts: abnormal acuteness and devouring industry. The same qualities, together with cool impudence too innate to be cowed, has given him an unique mastery of those parliamentary forms which he knows as only a member can who has broken nearly every one of them. As a debater, he has only three superiors in the house. Alert, with his short, wiry figure, his long neck craning forward, and an unwearied twinkle in his spectacles, none so quick as Tim Healy to catch an opponent tripping, or seize a deadly moment for the intrusion of one of those characteristic "jewels five words long," the regular sequel of which is "Order, order," smothered in a chorus of laughs. He is, no doubt, incorrigibly rude. But there is about Tim's wildest excesses a boisterous humor which is sometimes irresistible. In a dull chamber a spirit of mischief is forgiven much. There is an uncommonly long head, too, behind his brazen front. He can be as bitter as Mr. T. W. Russell. Even Mr. Chamberlain winces under the reckless lash of his tongue. Tongue and temper both are sharp, and he has a knack of throwing out some blunt phrase which goes to the root of the matter.

That knack was several times exemplified during these last few stormy days, when Mr. Healy, fresh from his bed of fever, was almost the only man who fairly stood up to Mr. Parnell. To Mr. Parnell—as the ex-leader has not been slow to remind him—Mr Healy owed his first chance. He has repaid him by the free gift of many an idea. Mr. Parnell, when on his American tour, telegraphed for him to come as private secretary. Till then the ardent nationalist was only a clerk—first a railway clerk at Newcastle, then a mercantile clerk in London. He had made his mark, however, as London letter writer to the Nation. He is as ready now with pen as with tongue, and more polished. Earning his living sturdily ever since he was thirteen, this inexhaustible man has somehow found time to become well read in more than one language. He is only thirty-five. Though he fears no one, he has a bump of veneration for Mr. Gladstone (who once spoke to him in the house), and he adores and is adored by children. His wife is a daughter of Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and the parliamentary firebrand is known in the family circle as a romp. As for Tim's future? He may be civilized. He will never, in any sense of selling, be sold.

Even more than most of his prominent colleagues among the "patriots," Mr. T. Sexton owes his career to journalism. Like Mr. Healy, he was a clerk at thirteen; like him he cultivated literature in the office, and became something of a scholar while still at the desk. He was connected with no political organization before the Land league. Of that he was an original member. At twenty-one he began writing leaders for the Nation. The journalist made his mark. The talker held sway in an admiring circle of young men. But the orator was mute. Suddenly, only ten years ago, the young nationalist got his chance, and beat Colonel King Harman out of Sligo. Since then the House of commons has known no more diligent attendant than the dapper little figure of Thomas Sexton. In the last parliament he won his title of "third orator in the house." In this one he has been fluent—only too fluent—and sometimes pointed. With his fatal facility of eloquence in debate he unites an indefatigable industry in the committee room. He has a head for detail and figures. He has been lord mayor of Dublin. Every one feels that Thomas Sexton is an able man, a ready and damaging critic, a cool hand, a resourceful partisan. This crisis has put him to the test, and he has reminded his colleagues that he has gifts which make him a force to be reckoned with.

Mr. Justin McCarthy, the litterateur; Mr. Sexton, the orator; Mr. Healy, the lawyer. It remains to notice two others among the leading men of the "patriot" following. That following includes the enthusiasts of the Irish party. Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. John Dillon, like Mr. Sexton, were original members of the Land league. Also like Mr. Sexton, they had not been connected with any previous political movement, nor had they ever been members of any secret society or organization. "Both of these men were ardent," said Sir Charles Russell, in describing before the commission the personnel of the accused, "and believed that they had a mission to deliver their country. My lords, there is room in this world for more enthusiasts. After all, my lords, it is enthusiasts who have sounded the trumpet in times gone by, and who will in times to come do it; who have sounded the trumpet when any great cry of humanity has gone forth, and any great effort for human redress has to be made."

But, though these men are both enthusiasts, they are enthusiasts with a difference. John Dillon shares with Michael Davitt the reputation of being the idealist of his party. He was born with claims to respect of the people of Ireland, for his father, in times of trouble and unfaithfulness, had been true to his trust as an Irish representative. These claims to respect he has made good by his own merits. Indeed, he is perhaps the most generally respected of all the Irish members. Friends and foes alike admit that among all the motley host that once obeyed Mr. Parnell there marches no patriot more disinterested than John Dillon. It is he of whom a colleague was once heard to declare in almost incredulous admiration, "He believes every word that he says;" and even Mr. Balfour is credited with having once expressed a sneaking regard for the "honest John" of the patriot party. He is a tall, delicate man, of consumptive tendencies, with jet black hair and large, contemplative eyes. He was one of the more extreme spirits of the Land league movement, and has been one of the leading movers in the plan of campaign. But he is of gentle birth and of university attainments. Of course he has graduated also in the patriot's college—every man worth his salt in Ireland has been in jail. He was twice imprisoned by Mr. Forster as a "suspect," and when he returns to English soil he will enter upon a second term of imprisonment under Mr. Balfour. As a speaker, Mr. Dillon is comparatively restrained. He says violent things, but says them with a contemplative air and in melancholy monotone. Yet he can stir a meeting to the heart. Indeed, when he is really roused, there are few men among the Irish party whose simple pathos or bitter scorn can move his countrymen more profoundly.

For the most part, however, Mr. Dillon is too restrained, too reserved for the mob. In this respect he differs greatly from Mr. O'Brien, who revels in the tumult of a crowd. His words, when he takes the field, are rough, and his language is that of the barricades. A reporter fifteen years ago on the Freeman's Journal, he threw in his lot with the Land league, and was appointed to edit the organ of the party, United Ireland, much the most powerful newspaper in the country at this hour. Any one meeting Mr. O'Brien for the first time at a "campaign" meeting in Ireland would probably be surprised to hear that he was not originally a peasant. No man has more of that uncanny moroseness, that sullen suspicion which characterizes the Irish peasant, than this journalist, who, however, is townsman born and bred. An extreme shortsightedness necessitates the use of spectacles, through which small, pale weak eyes peer discontentedly upon the outer world. The wrongs of his country have entered into his soul and soured it. No man writes in a more masterly style in all Ireland than this ex-reporter. He is a kind of Irish Cobbett with all the savage strength of his English prototype. He is in earnest, in black, bitter, bloody earnest; but in private he is the most amiable of men, unselfish and disinterested and idealist to a fault. In public he is not unlike Marat, whom Carlyle describes as "acrid and corrosive as the spirit of sloes and copperas." He does "not want sense, but with croaking gelid throat croaks out masses of the truth on several things." Nor is he without a perception of humor also, as if he, too, like the editor of the Friend of the People, "were laughing a little far down in his inner man." The cartoons in United Ireland are enough proof of this. These weekly pictorial cartoons line the walls of Irish cabins from Donegal to Kerry. For in this also Ireland resembles revolutionary France, and these weekly cartoons displayed in the window of every shop and placarded within every cabin constitute the official "Journal-Affiche—Placard Journal," of the revolutionary government, "legible to him that has no halfpenny; in bright prismatic colors, calling the eye from afar." Only this last week there was a cartoon in United Ireland which will have much effect in pointing the moral of the present crisis. On the one side are the patriot leaders waving the green flag of Erin and beckoning Ireland to the realization of her cause. On the other stands the sinister figure of Mr. Parnell calling her to [illegible] measures for the man. When the cartoon is translated into action we may be sure that there will be no more powerful factor in insuring the success of the patriot party than the fact that it includes two such disinterested and enthusiastic lovers of their country as John Dillon and William O'Brien.

But it is not only in Ireland that the strength of these two men lies. Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien have done more than any others to cement that union between the sister democracies of England and Ireland which the Parnellite faction is now bent on dissolving. Mr. O'Brien's sufferings and sincerity have endeared him to thousands and thousands in Great Britain. "A year or two ago"—so he said on his last escape from prison—"I was the most detested member of a detested party. To-day I am everywhere received in England as if I were one of the most popular persons in the whole land." But Mr. Dillon is another Irish member who has done an immense deal to popularize the Irish cause with English audiences. He has done it by his transparent sincerity, his lofty enthusiasm and his magnetic power of impressing his personality on others. In the support of William O'Brien and John Dillon, the patriots will find a tower of strength in Ireland and in England a bond of sympathy.

HOW LANDLORDISM REDUCES WAGES

London Land and Labor.

1. IT CHECKS THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH.

(*a*) *By affording no security for capital or labor.*

By virtue of their power landlords every day confiscate the result of other men's outlay. Thus farmers who have improved their land, tradesmen who have established businesses, and men who have built substantial houses are made to suffer, and are often ruined by the extortion of those who call themselves the owners of the land.

(*b*) *By compelling the taxation of labor products.*

The rent of the land being pocketed by private persons, the national and local government have to get their revenue from other sources. Thus they tax the incomes of many who can ill bear the burden. They tax houses, tobacco, tea, coffee, etc., etc.; and it is well known that you hinder industry if you tax its products.

(*c*) *By throwing land out of use and labor out of employment.*

As all wealth, whatsoever, is derived from labor applied to the raw material (land), it follows that all unused land and all unemployed labor is a national loss. But landlords concern themselves only with the rent. The corn-growing tenant is made to give way to the grass-growing tenant, because the latter can pay a higher rent. The sheep-farmer makes way for the sportsman for the same reason. Therefore land is turned out of good cultivation, and men are thrown out of work.

2. IT FURTHER REDUCES THE WORKER'S SHARE OF THE WEALTH HE CREATES

(*a*) *By exacting a heavy rent.*

Nearly £150,000,000 a year do the comparative handful of landlords pocket for graciously permitting other men to work for their living on the land which should be treated as common property. They even claim that the coal, iron, lead, tin, copper, etc., under the surface are theirs, and charge £10,000,000 a year for allowing miners to risk their lives in getting them.

(*b*) *By making the worker helpless.*

Ninety-nine men out of a hundred have no chance of earning money at all except they work for an employer. The wages which they receive do not depend on the harsh or kind character of the employer, or on the largeness or smallness of his profit. Wages are determined by the number of men wanting employment. If labor is plentiful, it is cheap—that is, wages are low; if labor is scarce, it is dear—that is, wages are high. Landlordism floods the labor market with the unemployed or the half-employed, and therefore is chiefly responsible for the fact that what men are compelled to take is often much less than what they really earn.

If, then, the above be true, and we challenge contradiction, it follows that before wages can permanently rise landlordism must be abolished. As it was established, so it can be disestablished—by act of parliament; of a parliament, not of landlords, but truly representative of an enlightened and justice-loving but hitherto oppressed democracy. Let us see what benefits we may expect when all men, however poor they may be, shall be able, either for cultivation or habitation, to rent land, on fair terms, under a land board or parish council.

A FEARFUL SPECTACLE.

Boston Post.

Mr. Farquhar's plea in the house for the senate subsidy bill was an unintentionally amusing presentation of the question. "It is a fearful spectacle," he declared, "when men, forgetting the land of their birth and the blood in their veins, take a partisan line, to the destruction of American pride and American honor." It is, indeed; but we don't see what there is destructive to pride or honor in permitting our merchants to buy their ships where they can buy them cheapest, or in removing the tariff restrictions which forbid our shipbuilders to enter into serious competition with those who get their materials free of duty. In Mr. Farquhar's opinion, however, the American flag run up to the peak of an English built ship "would be a lie." But would it be more a lie than the English flag on a ship owned by American capital? This is a spectacle—perhaps Mr. Farquhar would call it "a fearful spectacle"—which our navigation laws have made not uncommon.

WHAT WILL THEY DO WITH US?

Boston Post.

The magazine writer who wants to know "What we shall do with our millionaires?" might more pertinently inquire "What are our millionaires going to do with us?"

PARNELL THE PRETENDER.

MICHAEL DAVITT COMPARES HIM WITH CHARLES STUART AND CHARGES HIM WITH BURGLARY.

In Michael Davitt's Labor World for December 13 appeared an article on Mr. Parnell, entitled "The Pretender," in which the ex-leader is severely scored and the result that has since been accomplished in Kilkenny confidently predicted. The article is as follows:

Once more the world is witnessing the spectacle of a faction rended Ireland. Another heart-breaking chapter in Irish history is being written. The cause which has never been conquered, except by internal division, is, on the eve of what promised to be its final victory, again struck down, not by the weapons or the wiles of Ireland's enemies, but by the passion and folly of Ireland's own sons. And all this because one man, faithless alike to friend and fatherland, chooses to throw the apple of discord into what was, a few weeks ago, the united ranks of an Irish national movement!

Charles Stuart has gone to Ireland. Politically, he has been a stranger there for close on eight long years. During this period he has lent neither hand nor purse in the struggle which was being waged against coercion and eviction by the people whom he was elected to lead. During the time his ablest colleagues were enduring imprisonment for their loyalty and labors in the nation's interest Mr. Parnell was devoting his time and attention to the pursuit of a base and ignoble intrigue. While men were being shot down in the streets of Mitchelstown under Mr. Balfour's ruthless policy, while the brave peasantry of Bodyke were defending their cabin homes from destruction, while the burning roof trees of Clongorey were bearing further evidence of the fiendish work of felonious landlordism, Mr. Parnell was deaf alike to the call of duty, the promptings of patriotism, and the obligations of leadership. And this is the man who has now gone to Ireland to begin what he calls a "campaign," and to carry on what his backers, with brazen effrontery, call a "fight."

What "campaign?" What "fight?" Not a campaign against evicting landlords; not a fight against Mr. Balfour's coercion. No; while the contest against coercion and eviction was being fought by John Dillon, William O'Brien and others, Mr. Parnell remained at a prudent distance from Ireland. He goes to that now doubly-unfortunate country to divide its people, and with cool audacity to substitute his own dishonored name and a leadership which he has disgraced and forfeited for the shibboleths of home rule and national honor.

We shall not rail against the mad frenzy of those who have welcomed him with their enthusiastic plaudits to Dublin. "They know not what they do." Their feelings have been worked up by every cunning device known to the wire pullers of caucus organizations. Able journalists have not scrupled to represent Mr. Parnell as the object of liberal intrigue and the victim of Mr. Gladstone's dictation. The wonder would be if these and kindred subterfuges did not call forth a temporary popular feeling in Mr. Parnell's favor. He has got his reception, but we look beyond these incidents of this ignoble "campaign." When rotunda speeches and street demonstrations have done their best or worst, we ask the people of Ireland what is to be the outcome of the contest which Mr. Parnell is about to carry on against two-thirds of his own party, backed by the overwhelming majority of the Irish race?

Is Mr. Parnell to be permitted to wreck a movement which it has taken twelve years of struggle and of sacrifice to build up? Is democratic Ireland about to bow the knee to a man who has hitherto treated his country with an indifference bordering upon contempt? Are we about to prostitute our patriotism in the service of one man's insane purpose? Are we to forego the all but garnered fruits of the land league agitation and the ripening promise of national self-government which the home rule movement has brought within our grasp, and accept, instead of these rewards of a nation's patient toil and suffering, the Dead sea fruit of Mr. Parnell's reeking name and blasted reputation?

We do not, we cannot believe it. The sober sense of those people who are still adhering to Mr. Parnell will soon reassert ascendency in their minds, and recall them to the duty which they owe their unfortunate country, and to a sense of the terrible danger involved to the most cherished aspirations of Ireland by adherence to a leadership which can now produce nothing but disgrace and disaster to the cause of home rule.

We claim to have some right to speak at this crisis to the people of Ireland. We implore them to look calmly and carefully at the issue which is now to be fought out between Mr. Parnell and his followers and the rest of Ireland. Every effort is being made to confuse this issue. It is represented that it was Mr. Gladstone's refusal to give sufficient guarantees to Mr. Parnell as to the powers to be invested in a home rule legislature, which has caused the ex-leader to take up his present attitude toward the English liberal party. It is urged that Mr. Parnell's great anxiety to have the Irish land question settled by an Irish legislature, and to secure the control of the Irish constabulary with a home rule executive, is the explanation of Mr. Parnell's repudiation of the alliance with Mr. Gladstone. The best possible refutation of these transparently dishonest contentions is found in Mr. Parnell's own words and acts. What are the facts? It is on record that Mr. Parnell has lauded Mr. Gladstone to the skies, and has praised the home rule scheme, which he was prepared to introduce after the general election, before the decree in the divorce court brought about a complete change of front. Not one of the Irish leaders has spoken more loudly in praise of Mr. Gladstone's name and of his plans for Ireland since the date of the now historic Hawarden conference than the man who would have the Irish people believe to-day that he was deceived by the leader of the liberal party.

Mr. Parnell's pretence to be vitally concerned in the settlement of the Irish land question by an Irish parliament is as hollow and as dishonest as his whole action in this unhappy crisis is mean and miserable. Why, in the very last session of parliament, this man propounded a fantastic scheme for the final settlement of the Irish land question in Westminister. His plan was at once a renunciation of land league principles and a betrayal of the right of Ireland to have left in her own hands the solution of the land problem. Mr. Parnell appealed to the tory government to amend its land purchase bill so as to embrace his proposal within the scope of their measure. He proposed that landlords owning holdings of £50 and under should be bought out, while those estates comprising farms above £50 annual rental should remain subject to the adjudication of the land courts of the country. Here was a scheme put forward by this man in Westminster for the complete adjustment of the Irish land question in that assembly no later than nine months ago, and yet he would have the Irish people believe now that the sole cause of his quarrel with Mr. Gladstone is that the liberal leader is not prepared to give to a home rule legislature the right of placing on a final basis the future land tenure of Ireland!

Mr Parnell's pretences are too apparent to need the refutation of sober argument. He tries in vain to silence the verdict of the divorce court by the tricky clamor which he raises against Mr. Gladstone. He wishes to clothe with a patriotic motive as selfish, as mean, and as treacherous conduct as ever disgraced the political life of Ireland: and, in pursuit of his mad ambition to still maintain the semblance of power and to retain the name of national leader, he is smashing the national movement, unsaying almost all he has ever uttered in his public career, appealing to the fiercest passions of the populace, and calling up to his aid that racial hatred in the extinction of which lay Ireland's main hope of achieving national self-government by constitutional effort.

Mr. Parnell will not succeed in prostituting the Irish cause as easily as he prostituted the wife of his friend. Ireland is not lost to all sense of shame and honor, as she would be if this man had the ghost of a chance of again becoming the chief spokesman of her rights. She will stand by those of her leaders who have been truest and most constant to her cause, the men who have fought and suffered in her interests, and the credit for whose labors Mr. Parnell has unblushingly appropriated. Leaders and people alike have now discovered the kind of man this pretender is. His character and disposition are laid bare before them and the world. The man who insisted on presiding over a jury of his own party summoned to try himself, the man who could seize, coward like, upon United Ireland, in the absence of its editor, after he had failed to silence its voice by his despotic orders, will never, thank God, be the man who will have the destinies of Ireland in his hands when Ireland regains the priceless boon of her freedom.

Fresh from his burglary on United Ireland Mr. Parnell addressed himself to the task of making black appear to be white before a rotunda audience. And what a performance! A stranger to the events of the last month, who had read nothing of what has transpired within that brief period, and had studied recent history in the light of Mr. Parnell's speech, would come to the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone was the guilty co-respondent in some ugly transaction, with Tim Healy and Mr. Labouchere as conspiring accessories. We pass by the modesty of the man who compares himself at one and the same time to Wellington and Washington, and we stand amazed at the invincible impudence with which Mr. Parnell tries to fasten upon too obedient colleagues the responsibility for the disruption which he has created in the national movement.

The country will promptly pronounce between him and the Irish parliamentary party. The truth, and nothing but the truth, calmly and fearlessly spoken, is now before the Irish people, in the manifesto which is signed by two-thirds of the national representation. The Irish nation will be the judge in this appeal, and North Kilkenny the jury. We await the verdict with absolute confidence. We know our fellow countrymen too well to waver for one moment in the belief we have in their patriotism and regard for national unity and national morality. Mr. Parnell is endeavoring to destroy the one, as he has already outraged the other; and that very class of Ireland's sons to whom he now appeals for support—the men whose cause and interests he has studiously neglected up to this moment—the working classes of Ireland—will repel his advances with scorn, and stand true as steel, as they have ever done, to the cause and honor and name of their country, in what is now a contest waged against these priceless principles by a faithless and fallen pretender.

TO THE NORTH POLE IN A BALLOON.

L'Illustration.

The north pole, despite the long, ominous list of martyrs to scientific or commercial curiosity, continues to exert a fascination over many minds. This fascination Jules Verne has graphically depicted in his "Adventures of Captain Hatteras." The problem at present discussed is whether there is land, ice, or an open polar sea at the pole. An attempt is soon to be made to solve the problem by a Parisian aeronaut and a Parisian astronomer, Messrs. Besancon and Hermite, neither of whom has attained the age of thirty. The plan they propose to adopt, while original with them, is by no means new. In 1870 Silbermann, and in 1874 Sivel, published studies dealing with the practicability of reaching the north pole by balloon. In complete ignorance of these researches, Messrs. Hermite and Besancon conceived the same idea. In honor of these researches, which they later discovered, and as a tribute to the memory of an illustrious martyr to aeronautic science, they decided to call their balloon by the name of "Sivel."

The "Sivel," when inflated, will measure 16,250 yards, and have a diameter of 32½ yards. It will be capable of carry 17½ tons, and will have an ascensional force of three pounds to the cubic yard. The envelope will be composed of two thicknesses of Chinese silk, covered with a new specially devised varnish, which renders it absolutely impermeable, and augments the resistance of the envelope, rendering it capable of supporting, without rupture, a pressure of 6,400 pounds to the square yard.

The balloon, which is spherical in shape, will contain an immense internal balloon so constructed as to be perfectly and permanently inflated with 3,250 cubic yards of gas under the same pressure. This is intended to remedy in great part the grave inconveniences—the chief cause of balloon instability—which result from hygrometric and thermometric variations produced by altitude changes. The interior balloon is furnished with two valves of automatic certainty which will be in communication with a ventilator moved by electric action. If the gas becomes thinner the interior balloon can be depleted. If it becomes thicker the interior balloon can be inflated. The "Sivel" is thus always inflated. The internal balloon represents about one-fifth of the entire balloon, a needed proportion, since balloons raised 2,700 feet lose about one-tenth of their gas independently of the loss occasioned by temperature variation. The "Sivel" will carry several pilot balloons to be used in studying aerial currents, and sixteen ballonets to supply, through its valves, the gas of the interior balloon of the "Sivel." The balloon's altitude will be regulated by means of a trail rope of considerable weight, which trails as a species of anchor over the ice.

The car, which is of osiers, is so strengthened by steel armatures as to be absolutely rigid. It is so arranged as to maintain in its interior a regular temperature. A safety petroleum heater is used for the purpose. The car will be prepared for all emergencies by making it unsubmersible and furnishing it with runners for use as a sledge. It is ten feet wide by sixteen long, and will contain, besides the two explorers and their three aids, eight Esquimaux dogs, a sledge, an unsubmersible canoe, provisions and water rendered unfreezable by a chemical procedure. The total weight of car and contents is fifteen tons. Above the car is a bridge accessible by a rope ladder.

The explorers will sail from France on two steamships in the latter part of May, 1892, so as to arrive in Spitzbergen in July. There they will depart as soon as practicable by favorable winds from the south. The exploration will last in all six months. Its cost will be $108,000, of which $12,000 is required for the construction of the "Sivel." The cost is defrayed by Mr. Hermite and some English capitalists of scientific aspirations. While the idea of reaching the north pole by balloon is not a new one it has had its details on this occasion for the first time worked out with great care

UNVERACIOUS PERSONS.

Boston Globe.

The carpet manufacturer in politics seems to be a decidedly unveracious person. A high protection firm in Amsterdam, N. Y., issued a circular shortly before the late election denying that prices would be advanced in consequence of the McKinley law. As soon as the election was over the firm did advance prices. In 1888 another large carpet manufacturing concern in New York issued a circular saying that the wages of the employes would be reduced if Cleveland was elected. Cleveland was not re-elected, but the firm promptly cut down wages just the same.

BUT DANA SAYS HE'S A DEMOCRAT

Kansas City Star.

Mr. Dana takes occasion to commend Mr. Harrison's administration for its many distinguishing virtues. It is perfectly natural that Mr. Dana should find words of praise and encouragement for an administration which he toiled so faithfully and successfully to create.

SAPPED BY THE LOOM.

NEW ENGLAND MOTHERS WHO DRUDGE IN THE FACTORIES TO KEEP LIFE IN THEMSELVES AND THEIR BABIES—WASTED BY WORK, THEY TURN TO ARTIFICIAL STIMULANTS.

K. L. McGuirk in Exchange.

Female life in a factory town is a complex affair, and in many instances has all the elements of tragedy. In the great majority of cases it is a ceaseless grind, so monotonous that almost anything would be a relief. The mill girl is a favorite topic with writers whose lot throws them into such a village or city. But it is the girls presumably in their teens, the girls who have not turned [redacted]orner and started around the block of old maidhood, that come in for the description. There is a big class, indeed, if anything full half the female operatives in large cities, to whom this does not apply, and who fail of description or mention; that is, married women who work in factories. Ex-President Cleveland recently showed considerable interest on the subject and could not see why so many women, and married ones at that, were working in the cotton factories of Fall River.

Several very valid reasons exist to account for this. A mill girl marries, frequently another operative, and for some months she takes care of the home they take up. Soon after that children begin to arrive, and if the husband isn't made of pretty good mettle he finds the family too much for his scanty earnings, and between the arrival of additions the woman has to go into the mill to help keep life in the children.

If she goes to work after the appearance of the first child she is pretty sure to be doomed to mill life the rest of her days or until her family have grown up and can help support her. The pluck and bravery exhibited by these women are wonderful, and frequently they work up to the very birth of a child and are again at their looms at the end of a week. Such instances are not at all rare.

A slight young woman stood in the police dock not many days ago. She was charged with drunkenness, a third offense, and to make matters worse carried in her arms a baby six weeks old. She held it up and begged the judge to let her off because she wasn't very well, and she took the beer to give her strength to work for her baby. She said: "It is six weeks old, your honor, and I've worked in the mill ever since 'twas a week old to support it."

To try to number the women who have to do just as that one did is impossible. It is easy enough to say what contributes to this state of affairs, but to remedy it is a matter beyond the control of the average man.

As to the question of intemperance and beer, there are many excuses made. Factory life is perfect suicide for some women; others are strong as horses and never break down. One of the latter species is the terror of a lot of women. She will turn off so many cuts of cloth or do so much work of a given kind that the difference between the amount she does and that of other women supposed to be working under the same conditions is too noticeable. The overseer and second hands are bound to get all the work they can out of the operatives under their charge. They go to some of these half sick women and say: "If you can't turn off more cuts I shall have to give your looms to somebody else," and the women make an extra spurt, and it means so much more weariness. The cotton is poor and it makes poor yarn and poorer warps, the weather hot and sticky, machinery is balky, and when those women finish a day's work, in the summer and fall particularly, there is not one atom of strength left to carry them home. And the next day and the next the same thing must be gone through with.

One of the women said to me: "Is it to be wondered at that when we know a glass or two of beer will put new life into us and make us forget our weariness that we are going to stop before we reach home and take those glasses?"

A prominent labor leader, who is best qualified of any one in the state to talk understandingly of the operatives' lives, indorses this statement, and he says, moreover, that what with speeding up machinery and driving operatives so mill men are responsible for three-quarters of the drunkenness in mill towns. And this terrible speed and pressure tell most on these married women. They earn, if work is steady and the mill itself a fairly decent one with modern machinery, sufficient to take care of themselves and their children. They get better wages than the average shop women, and although the girl behind the counter looks down on the woman behind the loom, there is just as much true womanliness in the latter as can be found in a similar number of the former.

The married mill women of Fall River and New England are classes seldom mentioned, but they constitute an important element, and, as ex-President Cleveland said when these facts were told him, "There must be something radically wrong in a system under which such things have to exist."

OUR PROTECTED XMAS TIDE.

Boston Globe.

About this time the customs officers of the great big government of this great big country are kept quite busy breaking open Christmas letters sent by old country grandmothers to their grandchildren on this side, seizing upon the pairs of woolen socks, mittens or gloves, the muffler, the handkerchief, or whatever other little gift they contain, and detaining them until McKinley's little 60, 80, 100 or 200 per cent duty has been paid upon these tokens of grandmotherly affection.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

NO CONCENTRATION IN ONE STATE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: In your last issue Mr. Albert Philpot wants to know if it would not be best to "select that state most favorable to the adoption of the single tax, and, concentrating our forces, attempt to carry it into practical operation."

May I ask which state is most favorable to the adoption of the single tax?

To me it seems that it will not cost any more, will not give us any more work to do and will not take us any longer to carry out our aims and desires in all the states than it will in only one state. Supposing we should select a state and concentrate all our forces for the purpose of carrying it, would not the work in the other states be at a standstill and much valuable time and many opportunities thus be lost? I think we are on the right track, and should continue our work on the present plan. Let the single taxers of each state educate the heathen within their own state, push in the meantime the petition, and when it comes before congress the eyes not only of the United States but of the whole world will be upon us, and every newspaper will be eager to lay the pros and cons before its readers, thereby drawing the attention of the people to the justice of our cause and thus hasten its adoption.

Recent events indicate that our concentrated forces can best be utilized to annihilate the tariff. After that is accomplished and the people are ready to choose between another method of blackmail and a system of just taxation, we will find that "Barkis is willin'." "UNCLE TOM."

Bryn Mawr, Pa.

THE PLAINFIELD SINGLE TAX CLUB ASKS WOMEN TO JOIN IT.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: While we are casting about for new and more effective methods with which to fight the battle of the single tax, a powerful one, it seems to me, is strangely overlooked; we have not called to our aid the full hearty service of women. Singly—by individual utterance here and there—their common interest and comradeship has been acknowledged. But the single tax, as an organized movement, has either taken no action in the matter or by an apparent preponderance of expression has permitted the impression to go out that while it theoretically welcomes women, it does so practically much as the average country church used to admit the negro to unconditional fellowship—by getting him "inside the church door and quarantining him then in the farthest corner under the gallery."

One form of this lukewarm welcome says to women: "Form clubs and agitate, but keep away from us, because we smoke and chew." To what extent this barroom atmosphere obscures the mental vision it is, of course, impossible to say. It found expression at the conference, but with an effect which probably exaggerated its real strength. Definite objection always commands more unreserved attention and leaves upon the mind a clearer impress.

The real ground of this—not opposition, but qualified assent—is probably more vague. Possibly the unformulated apprehension present in the minds of many who consent to take this passive attitude has been that any more active participation in the movement on the part of women would have a tendency to compromise the single tax by merging it in the popular mind with woman suffrage, thus subjecting the former not so much to opposition as to a more fatal blight, that of languid interest, which failure of advance has brought upon the latter. But this is not a necessary—it is not even a probable—consequence, for the conditions are widely different.

While it was natural that the agitation for the single tax, contemplating as it did a reform to be accomplished through political action, should originate with men, the incalculable benefits to flow from it, extending as they must to every human being without regard to sex, should lead to the enlistment in its service of every agency which can contribute to success and justifies the employment of them in any way conducive to its speediest triumph. Joint action, therefore, for a common end appears to be the only logical course.

With this conviction, the Plainfield single tax club at its meeting last week adopted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, The movement for the adoption of the single tax, begun only a few years since, has moved so far already on the road to ultimate success as to begin the election of its candidates, as such, to legislative bodies all over the English-speaking world, calling upon its advocates by this inspiriting success to put forth fresh exertion; and,

Whereas, Woman, exceptionally sensitive to the call of want and suffering, less liable by condition to a deadening of her original sense of justice by considerations of self-interest and subject by habitual participation in charitable work to continual refreshment of such sense, is thereby clearly indicated as the natural ally of man in any work of general reform; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Plainfield single tax club not only opens its doors for the admission of women on equal terms with men, but that it urge them to meet with us habitually in order that united action may be taken for the still more rapid and effective furtherance of the principle we advocate."

This preamble and resolution were passed unanimously. DAVID L. THOMPSON.

SALUTATION OF THE SINGLE TAX FLAG.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: The success of the first national single tax conference held in New York on the return of Mr. George from his Australian trip is amazing and immense. So unexpected a revelation of strength in the movement may well cheer such as have been working and waiting for years to see some practical advance made. Never, since reading "Progress and Poverty," or listening to the voice of our prophet in the flesh last Easter at Sandhurst, did I experience such a thrill of thankfulness and satisfaction as on perusal of the STANDARDS of 3d and 10th September. Both will doubtless one day be referred to as historical documents of the highest importance. They were kindly sent me from New South Wales by my friend Henry Jenkins, than whom no more solid or determined single taxer breathes under the Southern Cross. Indeed it was Harry suggested conveying our congratulations on the all-round excellence of the "big muster" through the medium of THE STANDARD, to which admirable journal he is a regular subscriber. Of course I speak only for our two selves, not being authorized further. But I feel quite sure the single taxers of Australia throughout their tents will rejoice as we do over a demonstration so promising and so well fitted to stir emulation and lead others to follow the glorious example. The single tax pennant—70 feet long—flying from the flag pole of the Manhattan single tax club rooms when the conference sat, can hardly fail to challenge the attention of the thoughtful. It is the first genuine blossom on the tree of liberty in modern times, or ancient times either, for that matter. During the long fight of freedom since the cross stood on Calvary, no more hopeful omen of ultimate victory has been revealed to man. The blood red flag of war no longer holds the field, since possession is disputed by the white ribbon of peace at length raised aloft for the healing of the nations. May it fly forever—the long looked for reign of justice and common brotherhood secure beneath its blessed folds. I hope every single tax man in the country read the splendid speeches at the conference with the same pleasure and edification they afforded me. How I wish we had some of your cool, courteous, clear-headed, ready platform ability orators and debaters in Victoria, or at least some like them. There are a few, but too few, alas! to be often seen in the back blocks of which the locality round where I write is one of the most protection-blighted I know. What a relief to hear of the overthrow of the protectionists at your recent elections, the truculent McKinley bill being the last straw that broke the poor camel's back. Let us do our best to tread the dishonored idol in the dirt, where it has fallen, that its power of mischief return not again.

With sincere loyalty to the cause, and respectful duty and good will to all engaged in it, from the distinguished leader down to the farthest and loneliest little sentinel on the watch towers, and wishing everybody, ladies and gentlemen, a happy New Year, I remain, dear sir, yours, faithfully,

JOHN FAULKNER.

Wedderburn P. O., by Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

WOMEN OUGHT TO VOTE.

To the Editor of The Standard—Sir: Years ago the writer hereof had seen the great injustice done to women by denying them the right to vote, and has not been satisfied to demand that this right should be no longer withheld by men, but has insisted that it was the duty of women to thus aid the men in governmental labors. Having expressed myself regarding women's help, as I did at the late conference in New York, I feel sure no woman would misunderstand my position upon the question of their right to vote; it is a duty as well as a right, and I know of one woman who has long looked at it in this light. Nothing would aid more in purifying politics than would woman's presence and participation, and doubtless the ma[illegible]gle taxers are of a similar wa[illegible]f.

EDWARD QUINCY NORTON.

[illegible] Dec. 22.

THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

HIGHER PRICES FOR FOOD.

THE M'KINLEY TARIFF REDUCES THE PURCHASING POWER OF THE DOLLAR.

Boston Post.

The price of food is a question of great importance in most households. When it is high it means economy even for the well-to-do; and for the poor it means actual deprivation and want. A tariff which makes it high, therefore, will only be regarded as a blessing by that new school of economists who believe that "cheap and nasty go together." This effect the McKinley tariff has had already, and dealers declare that the upward movement has only just begun. Making every allowance for the poor results of the domestic harvest, this alone does not explain the advance in potatoes, in cabbages, in eggs, in canned goods and other articles of daily consumption "protected" by the new law. On potatoes, for example, the tax of twenty-five cents a bushel amounts to about sixty-five cents on a barrel, all of which and more is added to the price which the consumer must pay. The duty on cabbages, which come from Holland and Germany when the domestic supply is exhausted, has been increased from ten per cent ad valorem to $3 a hundred. To the cost of eggs must be added the tariff tax of five cents a dozen. All three of these articles are in constant use by the laboring and the poorer people. Ought they not to be grateful when American labor is "protected" by making the purchasing power of the dollar less?

The pinch appears to be sharper in some cities than in others, because of the difference in local conditions. In New York, for example, Canadian importations are scarce, because Boston and other eastern cities are disposing of practically the whole supply. But the upward tendency is plain enough everywhere, and as fresh vegetables are exhausted and canned goods take their place it will be even more marked. And it will then be even more obvious that the main cause of the rise is not scarcity of supply, but the increased tariff tax. How the high tariff works with regard to clothing, carpets, glassware, tinware, furniture and household goods generally no one now needs to be told. If food is added to the list the campaign of practical education will be rounded out very completely.

IT TAKES TWO TO TRADE.

Boston Globe.

The high protection Bourbons never learn anything. After all that has been said they are still printing extracts from those European papers that lament over the passage of McKinley's bill, and holding up these evidences of European chagrin as if they were proof positive that McKinleyism must be a good thing for this country. Whatever injures Europe must benefit America; that is their reasoning.

The man who reasons that way is lost in an intellectual fog. It is necessary to toot the foghorn of common sense to show him where he stands. The fact is that our own national folly may hurt Europeans by cutting off their trade, but it must at the same time hurt our own people by cutting off their trade. Trade is not one-sided. Both sides must make a profit or there wouldn't be any trade, since trade rests on mutual consent. Of course when trade is destroyed the Europeans grumble at losing their profit, but that is no proof whatever that the stoppage of trade is a good thing for America.

If this country should ruin itself by war, idleness, improvidence or tariffs, or if it should be annihilated by pestilence and famine, that would be a bad thing for European merchants, because it would deprive them of a good customer; but it wouldn't be a good thing for this country—not by a large majority. Whatever encourages trade promotes mutual profit and prosperity; whatever prohibits trade entails mutual loss.

THEY CAN BUILD CHEAPER IN HOLLAND.

Boston Post.

The appeal of the Congregational club for contributions for the erection of a memorial to the pilgrims at Delftshaven recognizes in a forcible way the operation of the new tariff law as discriminating against building operations in this country. "The amount needed," says the circular, "is $25,000—equal, it is believed by experts, to $60,000 when expended in materials upon the other side of the Atlantic." It will be observed that the difference in cost is found in connection with "materials," and that what would cost our builders here $60,000 in brick and iron and stone can be had for $25,000 in Holland. The "pauper labor of the Old World" is not counted in this estimate, which is doubtless a fair and honest illustration of the way the McKinley tariff works to our detriment in comparison with the rest of the world.

IT EVEN KILLED A SHODDY FACTORY.

Boston Post.

Strauss, Kinley & Co. of Braintree, Mass., closed their shoddy manufactory on December 16. This firm manufactured a very superior grade of shoddy wool, the raw material being imported. The McKinley bill raised the tariff from ten to thirty cents per p[illegible]utting an embargo upon its im[illegible]ch virtually proved a prohibitory measure, and forced the manufacturers out of business.

OUR PROTECTIONIST FRIENDS DIFFER.

Boston Globe.

Says that eminent high protection economist of Philadelphia, Henry Carey Baird:

Cheapness is the fetish of the Englishman. Let us, then, have done with this cheapness and with its advocacy.

Hardly has he said it when Brother Wanamaker replies in the Philadelphia Press:

The dress goods stock is the most varied in the world. Put with it the twin fact, the cheapest, and the result is that holiday dress goods should be bought here.

Is the great cheap John's store at war with his theories, or is he a wicked free trader in disguise?

SO UNCLE SAM PATRONIZES PAUPER LABOR, EH?

New York Times.

Some interesting evidence as to the effect of the new [tariff] law has been furnished recently by the United States government. Secretary Windom asked the house day before yesterday for $25,000 with which to pay duties on imported goods used in the equipment of lighthouses. Under the old law the government paid no duty on goods imported for its use. With cynical disregard for the plea that foreign manufacturers pay the duties, Mr. McKinley explained, in the house on May 7, that under the new law "the government will pay the same duties which its citizens generally are required to pay.' Speaking of the articles to be used in lighthouses Secretary Windom wrote December 17:

The duty on the parts which are mostly of glass is sixty per cent, and on the parts made mostly of metal forty-five per cent. The fourth-order apparatus costs, say, 10,000 francs in France, or, say, $2,000, the duty on which will be, say, half that amount. Certain other articles needed in the establishment of lighthouses and not made in this country are also imported, and are subject to duty under the new law.

In this case the foreign manufacturers will not consent, it seems, to pay the duties, and the secretary of the treasury has fallen into the deplorable error of assuming that the tariff is a tax.

A NEW ZEALAND MARTYR.

A MAORI CHIEF IMPRISONED FOR DEFENDING THE RIGHT OF HIS PEOPLE TO THEIR LAND.

The New Zealand Tribune.

An armed force has been dispatched to arrest a Maori chief named "Mahuki of the Red Plume," who resides in the King country, because he has the "confounded impudence" to teach that the land of the country ought not to be bought and sold for a price. When these loan and mortgage companies are balked in their philanthropic land swindles, they, as a last resort, call in the arm of the law—clubs and carbines, handcuffs and revolvers. In this instance their plundering operations have been seriously impeded by the prophet of the Red Plume (who now occupies a cell in Mount Eden). They have tried for years to get this Mahuki to act the Judas and sell the lands of his tribe for a few bits of metal, but the spirit within him has been stronger than the gold of the white man. The government is merely the executive of these mortgage companies, and accordingly a force of police and soldiers are sent down at the public expense to arrest the leader of the Maori land nationalizers. Mahuki believes in his heart that the Maori race are being robbed right and left by European land thieves. There are truth and grim facts in all that Mahuki says upon the land question.

Ever since the native land court began to subdivide the tribal lands, that bird of prey, the native land agent, has hovered over the district, promoting discord and plotting iniquity. Gradually, but surely, the natives have been entrapped into signing away to the loan and mercantile, and other such gangs, the land that is the heritage of all posterity. A deep-laid plot has been concocted (which is now in full blast) for the purpose of seizing the most valuable native blocks along the main trunk line. Mahuki's people own the pick of the King country, while well known members of the legislature are financially interested in "acquiring" it. This is the reason why the state has been in such an almighty haste to imprison the Maori teacher of Henry Georgeism. The land question is at the root of all the trouble. It has in the past caused war and bloodshed, and it is time the Europeans began to see that promoting discord in the interest of land speculators has retarded the settlement of the North island long enough. It is a standing public shame to allow these syndicates to buy up for a few shillings per acre vast and valuable states from a half-informed native race.

Mahuki of the Red Plume says: "The great spirit has called upon me to arise and protect the land of my people." By these words he means that the silent monitor within has inspired him to go forth and preach in highway and byway that fundamental maxim so clearly voiced by Henry George, "God made the land for all the children of men." Because Mahuki has dared to preach this gospel to his people in the only manner comprehensible to them, he is being boycotted and denounced as a madman and fanatic. For daring to assert it he has been lodged in gaol. But his followers voiced the sentiment of their hearts when they shouted a sad farewell to their fettered chief as the train moved away: "Go, O Mahuki, and return to thy children; the land of our fathers, it shall not be sold, it shall not be sold."

The nationalization of the land is the only honest solution of these native land disputes, and the sooner this is recognized the better it will be for both races.—[The Tribune (New Zealand's national newspaper).

SINGLE TAX NEWS.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

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

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

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

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

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

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government, the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments; or, a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

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

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

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

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

The single tax therefore, would—

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

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

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

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

5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public use that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner, and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or 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.

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

CROWDED OUT.

THE STANDARD goes to press with this issue on Monday afternoon. A considerable amount of single tax news is therefore crowded out.

TO THE SINGLE TAX MEN AND WOMEN OF CONNECTICUT.

As your representative on the national committee, I am anxious to establish communication with all single taxers throughout the state, for purposes of mutual assistance and information. I therefore beg that everyone interested in the movement will at once write to me, giving their views as to ways and means of spreading our ideas, or at least send me their name and address.

Please address all letters, etc, to me at 223 East Seventeenth street, New York, N.Y.

Yours truly, LAWRENCE DUNHAM.

SINGLE TAXERS ALWAYS FIND FRIENDS.

JAMES A. HERNE TELLS HOW HE HAS BEEN GREETED BY FRIENDS OF THE CAUSE WHEREVER HE HAS TRAVELED.

James A. Herne, Chicago.—I have just completed a fourteen weeks' tour of the west and northwest, during which I have visited Missouri, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming and Nebraska, and everywhere have I found the single tax flourishing in a greater or less degree. I have not yet been an hour in any hamlet, village, town or city without receiving a card with S. T. in lead pencil, and I tell you I've met some glorious men and women during my travels. It is grand to meet men and women separated from each other by hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles, yet whose hearts are beating in unison in one noble cause, who know, yet have never seen and never expect to see, each other. I call them men and women with "a purpose in life." When a single tax fellow from headquarters, or "back east," is known to be in any of these places they can't get to see him quick enough. "Well, how's things workin' back east?" "How's Mr. George alookin' after his trip?" "How do you find the cause in your travels?" "Here's a copy of the last STANDARD if you haven't seen it," etc.

Of course I expected to meet the single tax people of all the cities—Kansas City, Denver, Frisco, Portland, etc., etc., but I was delighted on arriving at Las Vegas, N. M., to find at the hotel awaiting me a man with a bronzed face and a big sombrero, who, the moment I had registered my name, handed me a card, "Arthur P. Davis, U. S. geological survey, S. T." I went over to the camp and dined with him, his charming wife, also S. T., and some friends. It was a real pleasure to meet those two fine people away out there.

At Tacoma, Wash., I met Judge Frank T. Reid, formerly of Nashville, Tenn., an earnest, thoughtful gentleman; at Pendleton, Ore., C. S. Jackson, editor of the East Oregonian, a Virginian by birth, a very advanced man in all his ideas. While there I received a visit from a Mr. Marquis, who came in from the country—I think he said twenty miles—to see me. This man struck me very forcibly, impressed me very deeply; a workingman, but oh! how well up in the single tax, and how gentle and firm his faith in its success. At Ogden, Utah, Mr. Abernathy sent up his card and a copy of that week's STANDARD (I don't know what I'd do for THE STANDARD sometimes were it not for the S. Ts.). He and his wife are doing great work there. At Rock Springs, Wyo., N. B. Dresser, editor of the Rock Springs Independent, called, and we had a long talk. He is doing good work in his paper. One of its principles is: "A single tax on land values and the government control of public franchises as the solution of the labor problem." And so all along the line. As I wrote of S. B. Riggen of Portland, Ore., the other day: "A cause that has such men and women advocating it can't fail; its progress may be slow, but it's almighty sure." I had expected to go south from St. Joe via Kansas, and looked forward to meeting Mr. Middleton of New Orleans, Bolton Smith of Memphis and other equally earnest workers throughout the south, and did hope to speak and read at intervals down there; but my route has been changed. I don't just know where I go after leaving this state, but you can rest assured that no matter where I go, I'm always ready when opportunity serves to speak, read and act, publicly or privately, for the single tax.

Our friend Warren Worth Bailey has just made a call. We had quite a delightful chat. He sends a greeting to all friends.

SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE U. S.

NATIONAL COM., 12 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, Dec. 29, 1890.

NOTICE.—On January 1 the office of the national committee will remove to No. 42 University place. In accordance with notice given some weeks ago, beginning with the first issue of 1891, we shall publish in our STANDARD club list only such clubs as have indorsed the platform adopted at the national conference and joined the league.

The attention of officers of single tax organizations is called to the resolution adopted at the national conference to the effect that all organizations subscribing to the national single tax platform shall be eligible for membership in the league. Thus far but very few clubs have formally subscribed to the platform and enrolled themselves in the league, and officers of organizations that have as yet made no move in the matter are earnestly requested to bring the question before their clubs and apply at once to the secretary of the national committee for enrolment.

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

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

Subscriptions toward expenses of this committee's work received since our last report are as follows:

Central S. T. club, Cleveland, Ohio	$10 00
Chas. S. Barton, Windsor Locks, Ct.	12 00
	$22 00
Subscriptions previously acknowledged	1,301 00
Total	$1,323 00

Cash contributions for same period are as follows:

James Erwin, Lexington, Ky.	$1 00
Miss M. B. Hunt, Kennedy, O.	1 00
Thomas Hunt, Kennedy, O.	1 00
A. Skiba, Boone, Ia.	50
A. H. Stephenson, Philadelphia, Pa.	5 00
J. P. McCarthy, Cortland, N. Y.	1 00
Jas. R Carret (add), Boston, Mass.	6 75
Jas. Robertson, Woonsocket, R. I.	50
George Champion, Denver, Col.	10 00
R. Hill, Mellette, S. D.	1 00
	$27 75
Cash contributions previously acknowledged	837 26
Total	$865 01

Note—Contribution credited in last issue to David Harrower, Wakefield, R. I., should have been to credit of Jas. W. Pollock, Tower Hill, R. I.

The enrolment now stands as follows:

Reported last week	94,850
Signatures received since last report	218
Total	95,068

For news budget see "Roll of States."

GEO. ST. JOHN LEAVENS, Secretary.

SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

We should not cease writing our senators and representatives till we have covered the whole list. Urge on them the superiority of direct over indirect taxation, and the advantages the single tax (even though levied in proportion to population) has over any other form of taxation whatever. Henry George's tract, "Canons of Taxation," would be an excellent inclosure.

Hon. J. M. Flippen, Tipton, Ind.—Has recently written a most interesting article on "Tipton's Farm Mortgages" published in the Indianapolis Sentinel. Is a member of the Indiana legislature. Straight single tax doctrine should be sent him.

Traverse Bay Eagle, Traverse City, Mich.—Has published the platform and asks for short, pithy, single tax letters.

Daily News, St. Paul, Minn.—Has opened its columns to brief, pointed single tax articles.

Rev. Myron W. Reed, Denver, Col.—Recently said in commenting on General Booth's farm colony scheme: "Man is very distinctly a land animal. The land of any nation belongs to the people of that nation. The time has come when the duke of Argyle takes up altogether too much room. He must sit along. We take hunting grounds away from Indians. Why not away from Englishmen a few acres in order that the many may have a foothold?" We should urge him to advocate the single tax.

To make a success of the proposed half-million edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" at ten cents per copy, the assistance of every single taxer is needed. Will you help us?

W. J. ATKINSON,
Eleventh street and University place,
New York.

NEW YORK CITY.

To-morrow being New Year's day, the monthly meeting of the Manhattan single tax club has been postponed to January 8. The newly-elected managing board will meet to-morrow evening and organize.

Fred C. Keller.—Mr. Silbernik's lecture, "Land and liberty," was delivered at our last meeting before an interested audience. He clearly showed the connection between land and liberty, and argued that the latter is unattainable so long as the former is monopolized. At our next meeting, January 3, Dr. Weeks will lecture on "The work before us and the obstacles." All interested are invited.

BROOKLYN.

George R. Gage.—At the meeting of the Eastern District single tax club on Monday, December 22, the following were elected for the ensuing six months: President, Jos. McGuinness; first vice-president, Fred J. Deverall; second vice-president, Horatio Camps; secretary, Mrs. E. A. Deverall; treasurer, George L. Titus.

NEW YORK STATE.

William Young, Yonkers.—Inclosed find eleven signatures. I have not taken the interest in this department of the work that I should have done, and now that I have started in I shall push it along at every chance that presents itself.

J. P. McCarthy, Yonkers.—Inclosed find fifty signed petitions, fifteen of which were obtained at a meeting of the New York journeymen harnessmakers' society. The remainder were obtained in a couple of hours' canvassing among the business men and tradesmen of Yonkers.

NEW JERSEY.

Wm. P. Nichols, Vineland.—Our Vineland single tax club, at their last meeting, adopted the platform of the National league and desire to be admitted to membership in the league.

M. J. Flynn, Camden.—Inclosed please find twelve signatures, five of which I secured in Haddonfield after over half a day's hard work. Haddonfield is badly in need of a single tax shake-up.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Mark F. Roberts, Pittsburg.—I am instructed to inform you that at our last meeting the Pittsburg single tax club adopted the platform of the National single tax league, and wishes to become a member of the same. It was suggested that the expense of the National league be paid by assessments levied on the clubs.

OHIO.

J. G. Galloway, Dayton.—I am much gratified at the spread of the new agitation of universal justice. The result of the late election fills me with hope for the future, and we have began the work for 1892 in this congressional district. The next legislature elected in Ohio names a successor to John Sherman, and, as with Evarts in New York, I hope we may be able to let the Hon. John have a few years of rest.

I am unable to do all my feelings indicate ought to be done, and in many cases overdo myself. This I have got to quit; it is telling on me in the effort to make a living by molding; but it seems to me that the entire ousting of the powers that be would be glory enough to let a man die content if he was only sure the democrats were in earnest enough to carry the principles of right beyond the mere question of tariff, and apply them to the right to produce freely as well as to sell freely. But we will have to wait and see.

Inclosed you will find eleven signatures for the petition. There seems to have been a secret effort to prevent me getting inside the agricultural organization in this state known as the Plow and Hammer. Whatever the trouble was it has had its logical effect. The institution is virtually swamped and absorbed by the alliance. The originator is left out in the cold.

William J. Warrener, Amesville, Athens county.—I inclose signed petition to congress for committee of inquiry on single tax. I am a farmer and a full believer in the justice and the expediency of that method of taxation. Am glad Tom L. Johnson was elected

from this state, and wish there were many more like him. I think if farmers generally understood the matter it would be popular among them, but generally they believe that taxation would be laid chiefly on them as landholders, and they feel that they are paying more than their fair share of taxation now. What is needed is strong tracts setting forth the truth of the matter. When agricultural papers of wide circulation denounce the single tax as injurious to farmers, they are apt to believe it to be so. They believe bankers, money lenders and others whose incomes are larger than theirs will be relieved at their expense.

Daniel Gingrich, Overpeck, Butler county.—I find that the single tax is the only just tax.

ILLINOIS.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—I again have the pleasure to send you some signed petitions. Every signer is a student of the single tax, and all have a stationary residence except two, who are traveling almost constantly and hard to reach by mail. I am delighted by the reports of the progress of our principles in THE STANDARD, and also hear daily from people of all parts of the United States with whom I come in contact that the single tax idea is gaining steadily. I obtained a good many signatures by inclosing blanks, my card and a single tax tract in my business letters and requesting a little attention thereto.

Ernest J. Foord, Chicago.—I inclose nine more signatures to the petition. I find it a genuine pleasure in obtaining signers and sending them in; in fact, everything, however small or large, done to advance the single tax is a pleasure; and some of our single taxers would find it truly so if they would bestir themselves a little more in this direction, and never allow themselves to be "bluffed off" by those who "are just when it is prosperous to be just." Just put on a "stiff upper lip and go at 'em," and nine times out of ten they will win, for we have truth and justice on our side, and they are mighty, indeed, even when wielded against the hosts that are now loudly boasting that "might makes right."

MISSOURI.

A GREAT DEBATE BETWEEN UNLIMITED, LIMITED AND NON SINGLE TAXERS—A WHITE CAT PARTICIPATES IN THE DISCUSSION.

Percy Pepoon, St. Louis.—The debate last Thursday night between I. H. Lionberger and Conde B. Pallen, against, and the Single tax league for, the single tax, grew to unexpected proportions, and proved to be the largest and most successful meeting in the history of the movement here. Mr. Shearman was to have lectured at Memorial hall on the 13th, but his train was nearly four hours late, and a fine audience was disappointed. When Mr. Shearman was informed of the debate arranged for the following Thursday he said that he would conclude his legal business in Texas and be here to help. More than this, we found that John Z. White of Chicago could be present, and the league gave out announcements of the above facts. The result was surprising. Before 8 o'clock our hall at Eleventh and Locust streets was crowded, so were the halls and stairways clear to the sidewalk, and crowds were still arriving. In this emergency it was arranged to adjourn to Addington's large hall at Seventeenth and Olive, which was immediately filled with just the kind of audience we could have wished for. Mr. Lonberger spoke first against the single tax, and his able and courteous treatment of the subject was applauded heartily by all. He first gave a statement of the single tax position as he understood it, and asked his opponents whether it was right. Mr. White accepted it as a fair general statement of his position. Mr. Shearman then arose and explained his position in favor of merely raising necessary revenues by the single tax, without making any specific attempt to obtain the whole of economic rent. In resuming his address, Mr. Lionberger said he believed he agreed with Mr. Shearman. This unexpected declaration was of course vociferously applauded by the single taxers. Mr. Lionberger then proceeded to criticize the doctrines of the unlimited single taxers, arguing that their programme must result in communism. When Mr. White took the platform to reply he received an ovation. He is immensely popular with St. Louis men, and this being his first appearance here for nearly a year he was given a royal welcome. His argument in favor of the single tax unlimited was complete and overwhelming. Mr. White's power of logical analysis renders him invincible in debate. Mr. Conde B. Pallen followed, and presented an array of statistics from Mulhall, which apparently demonstrated to the great delight of the opposition that rent is steadily decreasing, and that therefore wages and interest must be increasing; hence Mr. George's premises must be wrong and his conclusions worthless. The self-satisfaction of Mr. Pallen was simply delicious to the single taxers, who knew the course of treatment his statistics must soon go through at the hands of Mr. Shearman. It was after 10 o'clock when Mr. Shearman arose to reply, and he so informed the audience, stating that he had much to say and would first give an opportunity for those not wishing to remain through it all a chance to retire. Not a soul moved. Mr. Shearman then proceeded to dissect Mr. Pallen's figures, quoting not only from Mulhall but from the original tax returns used by Mulhall in compiling his statistics, completely turning the tables on Mr. Pallen. Mr. Shearman then went into the taxation question generally, dealing out statistics, wit and philosopy for an hour, amid continuous laughter and applause. At one point in Mr. Shearman's address a beautiful, large white cat jumped upon the stage, and after making a careful inspection of it, walked to the front and stood directly beside the speaker, surveying the audience. Mr. Shearman stooped and patted pussy's head, while hundreds in the audience arose and cheered the single tax emblem.

John Z. White also lectured on the single tax at Addington's hall, returning to Chicago Saturday morning. Mr. White was accompanied by his charming wife.

The single tax league will celebrate New Year's by holding its regular open meeting at Bowman's hall, corner of Eleventh and Locust streets, Thursday night, January 1. H. Martin Williams will lecture on "Taxation in Missouri." This lecture is a fine one, and should have a large hearing.

J. W. Steele, secretary of the league, has been elected vice president of Carpenters' union No. 4, one of the strongest unions in the country. This union holds regular open meetings for the discussion of economic questions.

ARKANSAS.

A BIG FIRE AT EUREKA SPRINGS GIVES E. F. FELLOWS A CHANCE TO TALK SINGLE TAX—A BAPTIST EVANGELIST COMES OUR WAY.

E. F. Fellows, Eureka Springs.—I have been spending a couple of months in Eureka Springs. It is a city of five or six thousand people, and a great resort for invalids. I am almost glad that I was compelled to visit the springs, for I have had an excellent opportunity to talk single tax. Since I came here they have had a big fire that destroyed several acres of buildings right in the heart of the city. The people are somewhat discouraged over their losses. They had a great many vacant building lots before. The fire has increased this kind of property materially. I have been trying to show them how the single tax would cause buildings to grow on all this vacant property. Some of the substantial business men here have fallen in with our theory. I published an article in the Eureka Springs Times shortly after coming here. It created some discussion and bore fruit in the shape of a petition from a number of the best professional and business men of the city requesting me to give the people a public lecture on the single tax. In compliance with that request I lectured last Tuesday evening to a good sized and an appreciative audience. I talked for an hour and a quarter, and the people listened thoughtfully. When I closed the audience, by a unanimous vote, requested me to give them a series of lectures on the single tax question, and if I could not do so then they wanted me to give them one more talk before I left the city. This I will try and do next Tuesday evening. I have, thank the Lord! been able to set a good many people in this community to thinking about the single tax, and have made several outspoken zealous advocates of our doctrine. Among the number is the well-known Baptist evangelist, Major W. E. Penn, author of the sacred song book, "Harvest Bells." The major is a power for good in the south and southwest. Major Penn is a man of considerable wealth. He owns real estate and believes in improving it. He has built him the most spacious and beautiful home in Eureka Springs, and is now putting up a splendid brick block. He admitted to me yesterday that the single tax doctrine was sound. He said he was inclined to oppose me at first, but after duly considering and weighing the proposition he was forced to the conclusion that the single tax system was the ideal system, and should be put in operation at once. As an evangelist Major Penn is in great demand, and is, therefore, away from home much of his time. He thus has an opportunity to spread the single tax idea. I would therefore suggest that the single tax letter writers congratulate Major Penn on the stand he has taken in this matter, and encourage him to do some work for the cause.

KANSAS.

A SINGLE TAXER ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE.

A. S. Reddick, Abilene.—We have elected Mr. Senn, who is a single tax man, to our state legislature. Of course the single tax was not an issue.

NEBRASKA.

HOW MR. STEEN'S WIFE CAME TO VOTE—WORKING AMONG THE ALLIANCE FARMERS.

John W. Steen, River Falls.—Our election is over and the result is surprising to those who vowed "the farmers will never stick." Our legislators are for the Australian ballot system nearly to a man, and I feel confident that we will secure that much-needed reform this winter.

I believe in equal suffrage, and will tell [illegible] to vote this fall. The evening before the election my wife picked up one of the tickets which I had procured for use the next day, and, after examining the names on it and the constitutional amendments, she scratched the amendments to her satisfaction, and then, folding the ticket, she said: "That is just as I would like to vote it." I had a little laugh at her, and then, as she dropped it in my cap, I assured her that it should be placed in the ballot box just as she had placed it in my cap.

I joined the Farmers' alliance last summer, and I am glad that I did so, for I find it much easier work in than outside. I am gradually turning the brethren over to the single tax idea. I never let an opportunity pass but show them the beauties of the single tax whenever I can.

Alexander McCombie, Falls City.—Within the last five years I have caused over fifty to buy "Progress and Poverty" and other works of Henry George. I am in my eightieth year and cannot work much.

CANADA.

Labor Advocate, Toronto.—The regular meeting of the Toronto single tax association was held on Friday, December 12, Mr. A. C. Campbell presiding. A letter was read from Hamilton announcing that a land reform club had been organized there, and that satisfactory arrangements had been made for the lecture by Rev. Father Huntington. Mr. Campbell gave an interesting account of his recent visit to the nickel mines of Sudbury, and urged that, by allowing these deposits of enormous natural wealth to pass into the hands of speculators, the province is giving away what really belongs to the whole people, and losing a splendid opportunity to put into practice the principle that natural resources should be developed for the benefit of the community witnout any hardship or show of injustice to anyone. Mr. Richard Lewis gave a forcible and telling address in review of Mr. Herbert Mills's work, "Poverty and the State." He pointed out that the government was responsible for the existence of poverty, inasmuch as it was caused by the rank injustice of the prevailing laws of distribution, under which industry was laid under tribute for the support of idleness. It was the accumulation of great fortunes, often without the least exertion or useful service rendered to society by those who enjoyed them, which resulted in the despoilment and degradation of the masses. The only remedy for the deplorable and heart-rending state of things now witnessed in all highly developed countries, where the people were congregated in large centers, was a return to the true principle that the soil and all natural resources should be recognized as the rightful heritage of the whole people, and none permitted to use it except upon payment of its annual value to the public treasury. The lecturer received a hearty vote of thanks.

Harold Harmer, Ottawa.—I think it a good move to raise the price of THE STANDARD. The quality of its matter warrants you in doing so, to say nothing of the quantity.

Doing propaganda work here for single tax is rather uphill work among people who are subscribing to the support of the Canadian liquid smoke company by subjecting themselves to a tax of 100 per cent on American oil, but I do my best for the cause wherever I am. This city is full of object lessons on single tax, and there are plenty of people who can see the cat; but class distinction between the masses and their rulers is so marked that the farmers feel rather at a loss in an attempt to better the state of things; and the latter, knowing that they are mostly indebted to the present system for their wealth, have no desire to kill the goose, etc., by changing that system. There are quite a few bright people here reading Mr. George's works and sowing seeds which will bear fruit ere long.

R. T. S. T., Toronto.—Several of us are doing quiet and steady work in this city.

OREGON.

Wm. Edmund Norton, Monroe, Benton County.—Every time that I am at Corvallis, I take a round of the book stores, and inquire for Mr. George's books. Some time ago I went to the leading store of this kind, and ordered six each of George's three great works. I told them to place the books on the stand, and if they did not sell them I would take them myself. The other day I found only one copy left. They had sold all the rest. I ordered another lot on the same plan. I was informed that all or many of the book concerns had been out of them and could not get them on the coast.

I have been challenged to deliver a lecture at Smithfield, Lane county, this week. The lecture is to be replied to by a merchant of that place—Mr. William Edwards. I have accepted for Saturday, December 20. It is creating considerable interest, and some of the people are preparing to go from a considerable distance.

THE GEM HE WOULD WISH TO WEAR.

Boston Herald.

[illegible] could thinks this country is the gem [illegible] earth. Some people suspect that he [illegible] to wear it in his shirt bosom.

THE DAWN AND THE DAY IS COMING!

William Morris in the London People's Press.

Come hither lads, and hearken, for a tale there is to tell,
Of the wonderful days a-coming when all shall be better than well.

And the tale shall be told of a country, a land in the midst of the sea,
And folk shall call it England in the days that are going to be.

There more than one in a thousand in the days that are yet to come,
Shall have some hope of the morrow, some joy of the ancient home.

For then—laugh not, but listen to this strange tale of mine—
All folk that are in England shall be better lodged than swine;

Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand,
Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand.

Men in that time a-coming shall work and have no fear
For to-morrow's lack of earning and the hunger-wolf a-near.

I tell you this for a wonder, that no man then shall be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap to snatch at the work he had.

For that which the worker winneth shall then be his indeed,
Nor shall half be reaped for nothing by him that sowed no seed.

O strange new wonderful justice! But for whom shall we gather the gain?
For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labor in vain.

Then all mine and all thine shall be ours, and no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave.

And what wealth then shall be left us when none shall gather gold
To buy his friend in the market, and pinch and pine the sold?

Nay, what save the lovely city, and the little house on the hill,
And the wastes and the woodland beauty, and the happy fields we till.

And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead;
And the wise men seeking out marvels, and the poet's teeming head;

And the painter's hand of wonder; and the marvellous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music—all those that do and know.

For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor shall any lack a share
Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair.

Ah! such are the days that shall be! But what are the deeds of to-day,
In the days of the years we dwell in, that wear our lives away?

Why, then, and for what are we waiting? There are three words to speak.
WE WILL IT, and what is the foeman but the dream-strong wakened and weak?

O why and for what are we waiting while our brothers droop and die,
And on every wind of the heavens a life goes by.

How long shall they reproach us where [illegible] on crowd they dwell,
Poor ghosts of the wicked city, the [illegible] crushed hungry hell?

Through squalid life they labored, in sordid grief they died,
Those sons of a mighty mother, those props of England's pride.

They are gone; there is none can undo it, nor save our souls from the curse;
But many a million cometh, and shall they be better or worse?

It is we must answer and hasten, and open wide the door
For the rich man's hurrying terror, and the slow foot hope of the poor.

Yea, the voiceless wrath of the wretched, and their unlearned discontent,
We must give it voice and wisdom till the waiting tide be spent.

Come, then, since all things call us, the living and the dead
And o'er the weltering tangle a glimmering light is shed,

Come, then, let us cast off fooling, and put by ease and rest,
For the cause alone is worthy till the good days bring the best,

Come, join in the only battle wherein no man can fail,
Where whoso fadeth and dieth, yet his deed shall still prevail,

Ah! come, cast off all fooling, for this at least we know:
That the Dawn and the Day is coming, and forth the banners go.

"WHY THE TIMES ARE HARD."

A CLERGYMAN AND A WORKINGMAN DIFFER AS TO THE REASON.

The Rev. Madison C. Peters, pastor of the Bloomingdale Reformed church, Sixty-eighth street and the Boulevard, has adopted the plan of speaking for ten or fifteen minutes before his sermon on some timely subject. Sunday before last his prelude was a most timely one, "Why the times are hard." He gave three "causes" for hard times. These have been taken up seriatim by a workingman, who signs himself "Bruin," and offered to us for publication as follows:

Cause the first—Our lavish prodigality. The people of France would live sumptuously every day on what we waste every day. Americans must learn the science of domestic economy.

Economize! You certainly don't propose to apply that word to owners of long rent rolls, neither do you mean us workmen who, although we are supposed to receive fair wages at day's work, when an average is struck we barely receive $2 per day, and have a wife and three children to support. Many of us have, beside these, an aged parent or relative. You may draw the line at children, and say the number is extravagant. There you may be right—but they are here; but you cannot say that of the parent or relative. If you meant for us "economize," you would have given us the details how to do so, especially as the additional twenty per cent tax is squeezing our resources, with no increase in wages. No, you won't be so unjust as to mean us! We don't suppose you mean the unemployed, who have nothing to spend and are living on charity as best they can. But you do, without doubt, mean those who have things to sell—the merchants and manufacturers. Suppose you ask *them* the cause of hard times. They won't say economize, but will say the cause is economy. It's the old story of Mother Goose. "Give me an order for this bill of goods," says the manufacturer. "I won't," says the merchant; "my customers are economizing." "Buy this cloth," says the merchant. "I won't," says the tailor; "the farmers are economizing." "Buy my beef," says the farmer. "I won't," says the laborer; "I am out of work." "Give me a chance to earn my bread," says the laborer. "I *will*," says Single Tax. So the laborer worked and bought his bread, the farmer his clothes, the tailor the cloth, the merchant the goods, the manufacturer put the unemployed to work, and hard times were known no more. It is the want of an opportunity to work that causes hard times.

Cause the second—The $600,000 000 annually expended in America for intoxicating liquors would kindle the fires in all our furnaces and factories, would give employment to all out of work at good prices, and clothe, feed and house all our people.

It is fair to estimate that 500,000 people in the United States make a living by manufacturing or in some way dealing in intoxicating drink, including beer. It is equally fair to estimate that there are 500,000 people living in enforced idleness, because, having nothing but their labor to sell, they cannot get employment. This being the case, we don't see how adding 500,000 idlers to the 500,000 we already have is going to benefit the community at large, even if increased competition in the labor market *does* enable us to reduce the wages of our employes to the basis of a bare living. As intoxicants create no flesh, bone or blood, does not the drinking population contribute in a charitable way a living to the 500,000 people engaged in drink making and selling, thus keeping them outside of the labor market? It is the fictitious benefit which the drinker receives from the dram seller that induces him to dispense his charity that way rather than hand over his nickels and pennies without an equivalent. This being the case, how would the stoppage of money now paid to the sellers of drink prevent hard times, if by doing so we add 500,000 more to the great army of the unemployed? Under present conditions there is a certain amount of work to be done. By displacing those now employed and supported by the kind-hearted and benevolent drinkers, would you not have them competing for a living with those now unemployed? You certainly would, unless you made it possible for them to take advantage of the natural opportunities God created for all. It is the unemployed—those who cannot find work to do and those who have no need to work—who contribute most to the support of the drink sellers.

Cause the third: Living beyond one's income and in anticipation of future gains. Many are thrown into bankruptcy because their wants multiply faster than their wealth. A few can live in princely style from their abundance, but the many must go slow or get money by dishonorable methods. In these days of "Vanity Fair" every frog is swelling himself to the dimensions of an ox. Now, if the frog is determined to do this he will have to burst.

Yes, our frogs do swell. Is there any harm in that? They not only try to reach the dimensions of the ox mentioned in the fable, but they do; and they don't burst, either; if they did we could endure them. Instead of bursting, the frog continues to inflate himself, and don't stop at the size of the ox. Indeed, the limit of this inflation is not measurable by anything of less size than the surface of the globe. Remember, we wouldn't mind the swelling were it of legitimate growth; but it is not. Our human frog draws tribute from everything over which the slime of his breath falls. He has laid the weight of his hand on our commerce, and no flag of our country floats in any harbor of the world outside of America. He encumbers our streets with his structures, and then sears the hands of those who would convey the people he has not the facilities to move. He has crossed our continent with bands of iron, and is now digging the grave of competition with gigantic combinations of capital never before known in the history of the world. With one breath he has drawn millions of men once engaged in private pursuits and crowded them into factories controlled by trusts and syndicates, and smothered the last hope of a respectable home or a condition beyond that of a bare living. But this is not the worst. The modern frog, when bloated, seizes upon all values within his reach created by the people, and with an arrogance that is sublimely ridiculous, skins us with the ballot box given us for self-protection.

"Take care of us," say the frogs, "and we will take care of the people." What fools these mortals be!

PROTECTED GERMAN FARMERS.

Boston Post.

With a tariff on eggs, on live stock, on breadstuffs and on vegetables—often much more than double what it was under the old law, when that imposed any tax at all—the farmers of America ought, if the high protectionists are right, to be extremely happy and prosperous, even although they have to pay an increased price for pretty nearly everything they buy. But it is worth remarking that the German farmer, who has had this sort of "protection" for a good while, seems to be neither happy nor prosperous because of it. Complaints on this score have come from Germany hitherto; but perhaps they have never been put more effectively than they were during a recent debate in the Reichstag. A dispatch from Berlin giving an account of this debate contains the following noteworthy passage:

Herr Bebel, in an impassioned yet moderate speech, drew a somber picture of the misery of the peasant under the present policy of protection, which enriches the great landlords at the expense of the poor consumers. Herr Bebel contended that it was untrue that protection aided the small farmer, and declared that the large cultivator and the rent-receiving landlord were the only ones benefited. A high tariff on cereals and cattle, he asserted, profited only the rich landholder and impoverished the poorer classes. The rural populace emigrated in masses into the towns, thus increasing the misery, crime and disaffection in the crowded centers of population.

Herr Bebel may be a wicked "free trader," for all we know; indeed, he may have jingled the British gold in his pockets as he spoke. And yet no one appears to have denied the accuracy of his assertions. The better known Dr. Windthorst defended the government policy of protection; but even he did not pretend to say that the German farmer was really happy and prosperous, if he only knew it, or to declare that cheapness was a "curse" and that "cheap and nasty go together." In fact, Dr. Windthorst contented himself with observing that the miseries depicted by Herr Bebel were not due to the existing laws, but to "social morals." And he added, with an intellectual keenness worthy of President Harrison himself, that "a reformer ought to aim to purify and fortify society through religion." It is difficult to see what this has to do with the burdensome taxes imposed nominally for the benefit of the German farmer; but there is often a sort of logical incoherency in the arguments of other protectionists than Dr. Windthorst. Perhaps our own farmers, like those of Germany, are finding this out.

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

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No disease is more deadly than over-confidence. No errors are more costly than those coming from a disposition to overrate our resources and underrate those of our opponents. Many sincere reformers seem to think that the fight of 1892 is already ours; that the republicans are beaten and disorganized, and our forces may march on in unbroken ranks to a victory already won. Nothing can be further from the truth. The pending fight is between the plutocrats and the people. Our success in 1892 will be the deathblow of plutocracy, as they fully recognize. On this life and death struggle they have already entered. Their campaign for 1892 has begun. Nothing that money can do, in this age when money works miracles, will be lacking to the republicans, while we must depend on arousing the conscience and common sense of the masses. These forces are more potent than mere money, but it will take much longer to rouse them.

In no way was the sterling quality of Grover Cleveland's leadership more manifest in his Reform club address than in his stirring appeal against over-confidence.

George Lemke's letter in last week's STANDARD shows our most effective way of working at present. With his help, added to that of the hundreds already at work, the success of the half-million edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" at ten cents is assured, but unless these books are printed and distributed not later than next March, they will lose much of their effect on the farmers, whose winter leisure is then over. The assistance of every ardent reformer is urgently needed to make this edition the success it should be. In every assembly of the Knights of Labor hundreds of subscriptions may be had for the asking, as the whole subject of protection or free trade has been recommended to them for discussion. Will not our knights help us? This edition will be printed and bound in the best manner, and will be delivered, postage paid, for ten cents per copy to any list of names furnished with the subscriptions, or will be sent to selected lists of the names of those most important to reach, as desired by subscribers. The price after publication will be twenty five cents per copy, except to advance subscribers. All subscriptions for ten copies or less should be accompanied by the cash. Clubs or individuals may subscribe for copies, which will be delivered to them part on publication and the balance within a few months thereafter if they desire to subscribe for more than they care to pay for at one time.

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Boston Globe.

Twenty-three years ago our people were buying English steel rails and paying $150 gold per ton for them. A year ago they could purchase better rails of American manufacture for $25. Facts like this please American workingmen, but they are like a blow in the face of free traders.—[Journal.

It is this sort of puerile logic that is driving sensible people out of the republican party. To expose its absurdity it is only necessary to say that steel rails have declined in price in England in the same manner during the same time. If republicans only knew it, this business of claiming all the benefits of advancing civilization as fruits of the protection policy simply serves to make protection ridiculous. No wonder that intelligent young men are refusing to enter the republican party.

HE HAS BEEN POSTED.

Boston Globe.

The emperor of China is in desperate need of funds, but says he would rather take his chances with barbarism than commit the future civilization of China to the tender mercies of eastern shylocks. Somebody has evidently been posting him upon western farm mortgages in the United States.

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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 Secretary of National 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., L. M. Manzer; sec., H. M. Welcome; fin. sec., John A. Maynard. 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., E. Hadkins.

LOS ANGELES.—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

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

COLORADO.

STATE.—Colorado State single tax association, 303 16th st. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

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

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.

CONNECTICUT.

DANBURY.—Single tax club. Pres., John E. ones; sec., W. E. Grumman. Address for the esent, Sam E. Main, 10 Montgomery st.

NEW HAVEN.—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening. Pres., Willard D. Warren, room 11, 103 Orange st.; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 Day.

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

SHARON.—Single tax committee. Chairman, . J. Ryan.

DELAWARE.

WILMINGTON. — Single tax association. Pres., Geo. W. Kreer; sec., Frank L. Reardon.

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. Dennis 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., J.H. McCormick.

GEORGIA.

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

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

ILLINOIS.

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

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax committee. Pres., John Black, box 512.

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

JACKSONVILLE.—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

QUINCY.—Gem City single tax club. Meets every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., room 4, second floor, n. e. cor. Fifth and Hampshire sts. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 524 York st.

INDIANA.

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.

CLINTON.—Single tax club. Sunday afternoons, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., Isaac H. Strain; sec., L. O. Bishop.

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

INDIANAPOLIS.—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Sunday, 3 p.m., Mansur hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., A. V. Hahn; sec., Chas. Kraus.

EVANSVILLE.—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

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 Saturday of each month. 805 N. 5th st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Mosena, 800 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, 2.30 p.m.; 734 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Swanson; sec., L. Kinnehan, 326 W Broadway

MARSHALLTOWN.—Single tax committee. Pres., James Skeen; sec., Hans Erickson.

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

SIOUX CITY.—Single tax committee, first and third Sunday each month. Pres., Jas. A. Ford, 316 Nebraska st.; sec., H. H. Hoffman, Hotel Booge.

KENTUCKY.

LOUISVILLE.—Single tax club. Open every evening, 504 w. Jefferson st. Business meetings Friday. Pres., Christ. Landolt; sec., W. W. Daniel, 803 Franklin st.

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. Meets 1st and 3d Thursday night at 8 p. m. at Natchez st. Pres., Jas. Middleton; sec., G. 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., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1227th st.

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 Monday, at 8 p.m., in hall 506 E. Baltimore st. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden, 5 N. Carey st.; rec. sec., John W. Jones, 29 N. Caroline st.; cor. sec., Dr. Wm. N. Hill, 1438 Baltimore st.

Baltimore single tax society. Every Sunday afternoon, 3 p. m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., Jas. T. Kelly; sec., W. H. Kelly, 739 Franklin st.

Single tax association of East Baltimore. Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

MASSACHUSETTS.

STATE.—Single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. Pres., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st., Boston; sec., G. K. Anderson, 30 Hanover st., Boston.

BOSTON.—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 1498 Washington st.

Neponset single tax league. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, Wood st. court, Neponset.

Dorchester single tax club. Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

Roxbury single tax club. Pres., J. R. Carrett, 39 Court st., Boston; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 959 Tremont st.

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

LYNN.—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 381 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

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

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. Meetings first Monday evening of each month in Lyric hall, Bank building. Pres., A. H. Grimke, 60 Milton av.; sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

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

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

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ADRIAN.—Tax reform association. Sec., E. C. Knowles.

DETROIT.—Single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., John Bridge; sec., J. R. Burton, sec., room 14, Butterfield building.

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

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MINNEAPOLIS. — Minneapolis single tax league Every Tuesday evening at the West hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

South Minneapolis single tax club. Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres. A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hammersley.

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ST. LOUIS.—St. Louis single tax club. Tuesday evenings at 307 1-2 Pine st., third floor; business meetings first Monday of each month. Rooms open every evening. Public meetings addressed by prominent citizens will be held the first and third Thursday of each month at Bowman's hall, Eleventh and Locust streets. Pres., H. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

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com., C. A. Lindsay, J. B. Knight, Samuel Mulville, all of Butte.

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

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

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

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WASHINGTON.—Warren county land and labor club. Pres., H. W. Davis, Oxford; sec., John Morrison, Washington.

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

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ROCHESTER.—Rochester single tax union. Wednesday, 8 p. m.; Sunday, 3 p. m.; 80 Reynold's Arcade. Pres., W. Wallace; sec., Albert S. Campbell.

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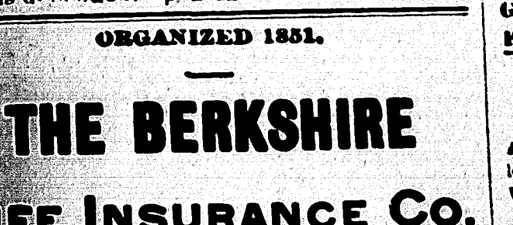

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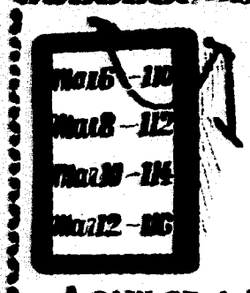

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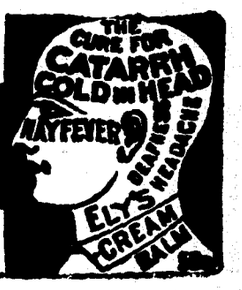

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