

# THE STANDARD

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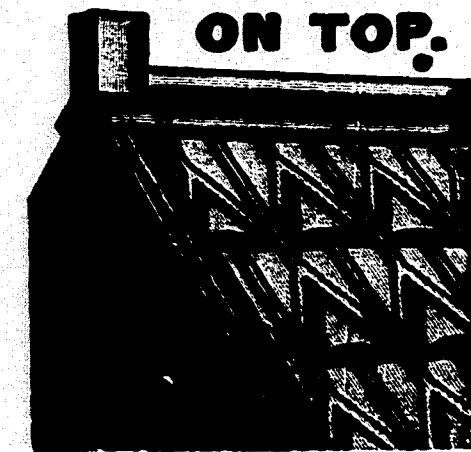
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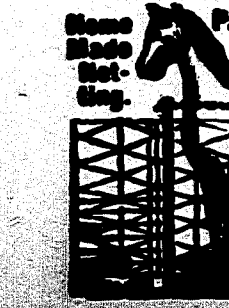
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# THE STANDARD

Vol. XII.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 24, 1892.

No. 8.

**EDITORIAL NOTES.**—No one need be surprised to learn that Mr. Gladstone's cabinet is far from satisfactory to the radical element of the British Liberal party. John Morley is the only known and pronounced radical in the cabinet, and he is oddly placed second in command in Ireland to the young Lord Houghton, son of that Monckton Milne, whose name and fame were obscured beneath a baron's title. Of course, John Morley as chief secretary for Ireland, will have the substance of power, and Baron Houghton, as viceroy, only the shadow; but the appointment of an untried young noble to so responsible a post only as a figurehead is significant of the hold that aristocratical traditions still have upon Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party.

The dissatisfaction among the radicals with the new government is only another evidence that the home rule issue is chiefly important as standing in the way of weightier reforms. Every American says, "home rule, of course, that's local self-government, the proper privilege of free communities," but every genuine democrat wishes to know how long the absurdities of moribund political powers are to survive in England, while every man who knows what is really the trouble in Ireland, wonders how much longer a Liberal government can ignore the land question. The friends of privilege cannot do better than keep up the Irish agitation, for after that the deluge.

Almost before the public knew that trouble was brewing, the switchmen's strike at Buffalo was under full headway, and the militia were under arms and on the ground assisting the corporations to put it down. Even now the cause of the strike is not well known, and there is a very general notion that it is utterly without cause. In some quarters it is supposed to have been precipitated by "leaders," who, with the portion of the public that relies upon newspapers for information and opinion, are regarded as autocrats whose "thumbs up" or "thumbs down" is to organized labor like a command of the Pope to the faithful. In other quarters, the strikers are thought to have brought about the fracas just for the fun of the thing. That the corporation with which the strike began refused to obey the ten-hour law of the State, and systematically held its men to long and unreasonable hours is not understood; and if it is known that the corporation insists upon paying less for an hour's work than the cost of a railroad official's cigar, it has not been considered in connection with the merits of the strike.

At the very start, the newspapers warned their readers that the merits of the strike were of no importance; that by resorting to violence the strikers deprived themselves of any right to have the merits of their controversy considered. The strikers did nothing of the kind. It is neither good law nor good sense to say that the provocation to violence is out of the question when violence begins. Even when violence is not justified by the provocation, it may be excused or explained by it. No case of violence, whether on the part of an individual or of a mob, can possibly be imagined, in which the provocation is not a proper subject for consideration, either in court or at the bar of public opinion, in determining the culpability of the peace breaker. And it is only in the case of violent strikes that different treatment is demanded. The reason is that the men and the newspapers who then propose to exclude the merits from consideration, are prone to exclude the merits of all strikes from consideration, and to sympathize with the employer. If the strike is peaceable, neither they nor the public care anything for it or its merits; if it is violent and dangerous, they are anxious to divert the public mind from its merits. They are hypocrites.

No better proof of their hypocrisy could be desired than is offered by comparing their attitude towards the switchmen's strike with their attitude toward that of the Tennessee coal miners. The lawlessness of the switchmen's strike has been trifling compared with that of the Tennessee coal strike. Yet, the very papers that excluded the merits of the former from consideration freely discussed the merits of the latter. If the Buffalo switchmen took the merits of their strike out of consideration when they broke the peace, why did not the Tennessee miners do the same when they rebelled against the state authorities and carried their rebellion to the point of a battle with state troops? Why? The answer is simple. The Buffalo switchmen were a comparatively small body of undisciplined men, whom the well organized militia of a great state could easily put down. The miners of Tennessee were veteran mountaineers, whose rebellion was a serious menace to established order, especially in a state where the militia was poorly organized. Rebels who make themselves feared may have the merits of their

rebellion considered. Rebels who do not make themselves feared are to be summarily put down and their grievances ignored.

With the class of newspapers already referred to it is becoming fashionable now to moralize over the forfeiture of favorable public opinion which strikers are incurring by their acts of violence. They have not forfeited any favorable public opinion. Public opinion has never been with strikers, no matter how peaceably they have behaved. When the shoemakers, early in the century, were convicted of conspiracy for merely agreeing in the most peaceable manner that they would not work for less than certain wages, public opinion was against them. When, along in the thirties, other shoemakers, for refusing to work with a "scab," though no charge of violence was made, were convicted of crime, public opinion was against them. The great telegraphers strike of 1883, in connection with which the utmost possible order prevailed, was frowned upon by public opinion. Precisely one large strike has been won with the aid of favorable public opinion. It was one of the Third Avenue surface road strikes of some six or seven years ago. Public opinion favored it in a slight degree only, and what with that and the temporarily crippled condition of the company, it won a victory which lasted nearly two months, when the strikers found out that the company were quietly ostracising the strike leaders, and they struck again. Public opinion then refused to support them, because they had no reason for striking! It is safe to say that public opinion invariably frowns upon labor combinations.

And public opinion is right. Labor combinations can have any hope of enforcing their demands only by force. The strike, even when passive, is essentially coercive. With a large body of unemployed labor available to employers, passive coercion must be ineffective. Open violence, with a view to intimidating both employers and the unemployed, is both a necessary and a natural development of the labor strike. Public opinion instinctively feels this, even when strikes are nominally peaceable. It is not because of any prejudice against working men and a desire to keep them down, that public opinion usually withholds its support; it is because of that instinct which sees in the strike the germs of riot and the beginning of anarchy.

Strikes, to be successful, cannot stop with a quiet refusal on the part of the strikers to continue at work. The country is too full of men eager to work to make such a policy successful. They cannot stop with conventional forms of violence. The police and the military are irresistible in such contests. If strikes go on at all, they must proceed to the most destructive methods known to the time—method like those suggested by Bulwer in his "Coming Race," and of which we had a practical hint in the destructive warfare begun by the strikers in Idaho.

That the peaceable strike cannot succeed either with or without the favor of public opinion is proved by ample testimony. The railroad officials at Buffalo like Frick at Homestead, declare that they can easily fill the places of the strikers if the men who seek employment with them can be assured of protection against assaults from the strikers. Now, the price of the labor in question, respectively at Homestead and at Buffalo, is 14 cents an hour in the former place and 27 at the latter. If the employers in these two places tell the truth, and they probably do, there are plenty of laborers in the United States who are so pushed for want of work that, for such pitiable wages, they are willing to drive other laborers out of employment. Here is the real difficulty. Here is the real wrong. It is not because employers own big plants and have great capital that they can dictate terms to their employees. It is because even the lowest paid workman has what on the stage would be called "an understudy"—he has several—anxious to take his place. There are more men in need of jobs than there are jobs. But when it is remembered that in the last analysis workingmen are employed by workingmen, that all trade is an exchange of labor for labor, how can there be fewer jobs than workmen. Every man who wants something and is willing to work at anything, is a possible customer of the man who can make that something or any part of it. If he is free to work and trade his product, he will become a customer. If not free to work or trade, his custom will be more or less limited. He will give less employment to others, they will give less employment to still others, and so on all around the circle. Interference with trade and interference with work reduces the number of jobs, and by making a standing army of the unemployed enables employers to defeat strikes. Of far greater power in putting down strikers

than Pinkerton's troops, or even the militia, is this hungry army of the unemployed.

There are two great methods by which this army is kept in a high state of efficiency. One of these methods is the Republican policy of restricting trade. By laying a high tariff on foreign goods, we not only interfere with foreign workingmen who would employ our labor, but we interfere with our own workingmen who would employ foreign labor. Thus our home army of the unemployed is strengthened, so that a strike can be the more easily beaten. Thus, also, the foreign army of the unemployed is strengthened, ready to assist employers in any American strike that proves too formidable to be overcome by hungry hunters for work at home. Protection is a glorious thing! No wonder the Carnegies, the Depews, the Wanamakers, and all the host of Republican monopolists, who have fattened upon it, admire the English Tories, from whom they borrowed it. It makes the working man pay all the taxes, and does it so gently that he thinks somebody else is paying them for him. But it does more than that. It helps to keep up, on both sides of the water, a supply of unemployed laborers from whom American monopolists may draw "scabs" in case of strikes.

The other great method by which the efficiency of the army of the unemployed is kept up is our system of encouraging the cornering of land, the matter and forces of the universe without which man can not labor nor even live. The effect of this cornering is to make land scarce in the market, and the effect of that is to make it dear. When land is dear a burden is placed upon industry which discourages it, thus reducing opportunities for employment and increasing the army of the unemployed. So long as trade is obstructed, and the primary necessity of employment—land—is kept out of the reach of labor by its price, the army of the unemployed will strengthen and the rich will lord it over those who do their work. Free contract in such conditions is a mockery. There is no free contract for laborers when the natural materials of labor are monopolized and competitors for a chance to labor are constantly growing in numbers. They must take what starving men will take or starve themselves. The difference between what they produce and what they consent to retain as wages, goes to strengthen the power that already presses them to the wall. The starvation wages they receive keeps at a minimum their own demand for the labor of others.

The remedy for all this is simple enough. It involves no riots, no dynamite, no strikes of any kind. It consists in recognizing the root of the evil and applying the most obvious remedy.

Employment is diminished by protection which, by increasing the cost of commodities, diminishes the demand, which in turn ultimately results in diminishing the demand for labor and recruiting the army of the unemployed. Abolish the protective tariff.

The cornering of land—city lots, mines, forests, suburban plots—diminishes employment by increasing the price of opportunities to work. Abolish that. It is easily done by making the owners of land pay all our taxes according to the value of their respective holdings.

In a word, the single tax, substituted for all other taxes, will make competition free. And since all our industrial troubles are traceable to restricted competition, the freeing of competition will cure them.

That men whose whole time and energies are devoted to the problem of getting a living, do not readily see the connection between the cornering of land and the helplessness of labor, or the directness and efficacy of the single tax remedy, is not surprising when educated men like the politico-economic editor of the New York Evening Post, for example, allow old habits of thought to bewilder them. This brilliant gentleman amuses his intelligent readers with the following specimen of his skill as a topsy-turvy economist:

The imagination of the public is from time to time dazzled with figures showing the enormous return upon money invested in land in the city of New York a generation or two ago, figures over which the disciples of Henry George writhe in agony. These calculations, however, generally fail to take into account the deductions which have to be made from these returns. Thus a real estate journal recently stated the case of four lots, three of which were bought in 1852 for \$4,500, and the other in 1860 for \$2,550, a total of \$7,050. They are regarded as now worth \$40,000 apiece for the three inside lots, the corner being worth considerably more. The property, however, has been, we judge, wholly unproductive, and if any one chooses to calculate what \$7,000 would amount to during the period covered, if invested at compound interest, and to add to this sum the amount of the taxes and assessments paid, also with compound interest, it will appear that the occupation of owning land is not attended with such exceptional profit as is frequently represented. Considering the high rates of interest prevalent until recently in this country, and the expensiveness of our city government, it is speaking within bounds to say that unproductive land ought to have increased from 10 to 12 per cent. in value every year to have been as profitable as other investments.

For his purposes the writer of that article selected a very poor instance. We do not understand that investments in land yield on

the average any larger income than other investments. On the contrary, they are usually so desirable that they yield a lower average income than most investments. If the writer has supposed that Mr. George or his disciples lays stress upon a supposition that land investments yield larger incomes than other investments, he cannot have given much attention to Mr. George's writings. In "Social Problems" Mr. George compares land with other property, showing its superiority because it cannot be burned or destroyed by accident, cannot be carried off, and tends constantly to increase in value with the growth of population and improvement in the arts, and saying that for these and other reasons, "land commands a higher price in proportion to the income it yields than anything else." But, in the instance cited, the profit has been enormous. In order to absorb the profits, we must compound the interest on the investment, and allow something more than 5 per cent. on a very high appraisal (20 per cent. of the present selling value) for taxes and assessments. No such tax has been paid, as anyone familiar with the rates of taxes on unimproved property in New York knows. We therefore find that the owner of these lots has received more than compound interest on his investment, after shifting his taxes to other shoulders.

But observe the deftness with which this investment is compared with other investments. This is said to have been unproductive, while those with which it is compared are not; and yet the investor is expected to net as much profit as if he had put his money into a productive enterprise.

It was only for lack of his consent that these lots were not improved. When four city lots, worth \$7,050, go unimproved, it is because the owner demands an exorbitant price for the opportunity. Suppose he had consented to the improvement of the lots. If we estimate the ground rent at an average of \$350 for twenty-five years, we shall be far within the possible income. Thus, had the lots been improved, the investor, after paying all and more than all taxes and assessments, would have retained compound interest on his investment, and \$8,750 for ground rent. There are not many investments that would yield as well.

But the land question is not so much a question of more or less income for landowners, as of more or less oppression of laborers. In the case cited by the Evening Post writer, four lots were kept out of the reach of laborers for more than forty years. That laborers wanted to use them during all that time is clear from the fact that they were worth several thousand dollars at the beginning, and kept increasing in value ever after. This value has all along represented not much more than the price that labor was willing to give for the lots rather than apply itself to lots not quite so good. In holding them the owner was depriving labor, in all of its branches, of opportunities for employment—he was building up the army of the unemployed. He rendered no service to the community. The lots would not have escaped had he ceased to hold them. He has harmed every one who works for a living. He has harmed the community by preventing an increase of aggregate wealth. He has produced no wealth himself, and instead of encouraging others to produce wealth, he has prevented them. An investment in a productive enterprise might have produced larger returns; but these returns would have been paid out of the earnings of the enterprise. What shall the returns to this landowner be paid out of? They are, of necessity, a tax upon the earnings of other people. The taxes and assessments on his lots are paid to him, with compound interest, out of the earnings of others; from the same source he is paid compound interest on his investment, in addition to the principal; and if he had allowed the improvement of the lots he would have received, again from the same source, a considerable further sum. And yet the prophets of spoliation, to whom a legally stolen dollar is always more sacred than a dollar honestly earned, sneer at people who "writhe in agony" over this kind of plundering, because, considering all things, it is not such very profitable plundering after all.

In the same publication, and probably by the same writer, appears an attempt to put together the shattered pieces of the wages fund theory, which theory, it is insisted by the writer, has never been exploded. The wages fund theory was an attempt to explain why the "working classes are poor. Except as it does that, it is of no human interest, and it can have but little interest even for the impracticals who play at political economy. Why do wages fall as population grows? That was the question. Because the wages fund, owned by capitalists, yields more or less wages according as the number of persons seeking employment is more or less relatively to that fund, was the reply of the wages fund theory. This theory is exploded. Wages depend upon no such adjustment. They depend upon the margin of production, rising as it rises, and falling as it falls. If there were no wages fund, but plenty of laborers, and highly productive land were available, wages would be high. This is the theory that fits in with the well established law of rent, and the wages theory cannot exist at the same time with it. The two theories are utterly antagonistic. To say, as the Post writer does,

that "the laborers employed upon a certain piece of work must be sustained while the work is being done," and to call this sustenance the wages fund, is to beg the question. The laborers employed upon a certain piece of work must indeed be supported while the work is being done; but they are not supported by accumulated capital. They are supported by laborers employed upon other pieces of work, the different kinds of work being distributed by means of trade. That sustenance is a very different thing from an accumulated fund.

Production is co-operative. Some workers produce one kind of thing, and others other kinds, which are interchanged until each gets what he wants. While some workmen are making houses, engines, canals, digging coal, or turning out factory products, others are making food. It is not true, as this obtuse writer puts it, that the laborer must have food and clothes "which must have been created before he began his work." His food and clothes are created as he works, and he trades his product for them.

Capital may determine how labor shall work, but it cannot limit labor. If all the capital of the world were destroyed to-day, it would soon be replaced by the co-operative effort of workingmen. There would be no wages fund for them. Some kinds of food they would be obliged to forego for a short time, until it could be produced. But they would not be obliged to go without food. To say that laborers are dependent on capital for food because some kinds of food must be in process of accumulation is like saying that a city is dependent upon its reservoir for water. Should the reservoir burst the inhabitants would not perish of thirst unless they were debarred from access to the land where water may be had by finding springs or digging wells. Should the entire food supply give out, laborers, so far from being deprived of work, would have all the more work to do in restoring the supply and procuring satisfaction for their wants meantime.

Given access to land, and labor is not dependent upon capital. The attempt to make it appear that labor is dependent upon capital, and the wages fund theory is a veteran in this service, is made for the purpose of perpetuating an institution by the side of which chattel slavery is godlike.

It is the Evening Post, by the way, that urges the enactment of laws making it a crime for railroad and telegraph employees to strike work. The Post began this agitation nine years ago, at the time of the telegraphers' strike. It argues that the telegraph and the railway service are of a public character; that the public is concerned in their prompt administration; and that, when employees strike, they injure the public. There is much force in the argument. The stoppage of telegraphic communication or of the operations of a great railroad is a public wrong, and effective measures should be adopted to prevent it. But what does the Post propose? To make fish of workingmen and fowl of their masters. To make it a crime for workingmen to break a contract, for the breaking of which by their masters no criminal penalty is provided. If it were the good of the public that chiefly concerned the Post, it would propose to make railroading in law, what it is in fact, a public service managed by public officials and manned by public servants. It would be quite consistent then to enlist officials and servants of every grade for a term of years, and to punish desertion as in the army or the navy. But to leave the railroads and the telegraphs in private hands while punishing workmen in either service for desertion, is to make a distinction in the criminal law which none but a natural born tyrant would suggest, nor any but a partisan editor would advocate.

The railroad strikes have gone far to show the futility of arbitration as a mode of settling labor disputes. We have in New York state a complete board of arbitration. It is composed of a Republican, a Democrat, and a Labor representative. But, whenever it has tried to arbitrate disputes, it has been curtly told that there is no dispute. Buffalo is under martial law. Thousands of militiamen are centered there, ostensibly to preserve the peace between railroad corporations and their men. It is in consequence of a labor dispute that the peace is threatened. Yet, when approached by the board of arbitration, the railroad officials say there is nothing to arbitrate. Of course there is nothing to arbitrate. The railroads are private property, whose owners have a right to employ whom they please at the lowest wages for which he will consent to work. If any employee is not satisfied with his wages he is at liberty to leave. What dispute does such a situation offer for arbitration? None at all. And that is precisely the situation of every labor strike. The speedy abolition of the board of arbitration will rid us of a useless piece of governmental lumber. And it may help to bring into view the real causes of the complaints that laborers make, and the only remedies for their wrongs.

Send orders to THE STANDARD for Henry George's reply to the Pope. Cloth, 75c.; paper, 30c.

## THE INSTITUTION OF PROPERTY.

BENJ. F. VAUGHAN.

Institutions are said to be the objectified conscience of the race. An institution may be defined as a set of principles, harmonizing with the ethical nature of man, having for its object the individual and common welfare, and so arranged as to commend itself to the reason of man.

Fundamental institutions, or those which underlie all human society, are those which have come down to us as the unifying forces which have bound together the elements of which society is composed.

The seemingly best division of institutional life into institutions recognizes the institution of property as one that commends itself to the reason of man.

Property may be defined as the exclusive right of the individual to the product of his labor. Though low in the scale of institutions, it is yet an ethical force that helps to bind together the various elements of social life, and one upon



which higher ones rest.

The lowest principle, doubtless, is the right of the individual to exist.

This right, of course, involves a consequent one, the right to take from Nature the things needful to perpetuate existence.

This taking can only be done by means of labor, and in all society must be regulated by a just consideration of the equal rights of all to so take from Nature the things needed.

We thus see that two elements enter into the production of all that supplies the needs or satisfies the desires of man, and they are, the material of the Universe, subject to law as it is, and the labor of man.

Manifestly the material of the Universe is and must remain unclaimed until the element of labor enters to change its form or place.

All labor, which is the result of rational self-activity, is the projection of an ideal into the material world. The St. Louis Bridge is a manifestation of Captain Eads; the Angelus is the projection of Millet's ideal, and the Apollo Belvidere is as much a manifestation of the mind that conceived it as any of the mental activities by which it was known.

If it be true then that the product of a man's labor is a manifestation of himself, if he has a right to himself, he has a right to the product of his labor. This right is the basis of the institution of property.

Were there but one man in the universe, property, could he speak of property, would be a very simple affair; but as by means of division of labor many hands enter into the production of wealth, the institution of property becomes a very complex matter. This complexity gives rise to the problem of the just distribution of the products of combined labor. This is a problem that has long engaged the attention of thoughtful men.

The discussion of this problem, the sphinx of modern society, has led some to question the right of the existence of the institution of property.

The form this questioning has taken is the socialistic monument of modern times. Socialism is a term grossly misunderstood by most people. A man was once heard to condemn a work on economics, because in glancing through it he had seen this sentence: "Then will the noblest dreams of socialism be realized."

This chaotic view of socialism is partly due, perhaps, to the diversity of theories that parade under the caption, and a lack of unity of ideas among writers on the subject.

But whatever may be said of socialism, this is true of the real article: It is born of the highest motives, being a scheme for the alleviation of poverty and the consequent uplifting of the race. But to whatever school they may belong, by whatever name they may be called, all socialists in the last analysis are alike in this respect; they claim that the institution of property, as we have used the term, must be abolished, as it stands in the way of the highest development of the race.

The extent to which this socialistic idea has gained a foothold in this country is surprising, and is certainly far greater than the casual observer is led to believe. The popularity of looking backward was due not so much to the newness of the thought it contained as to two other things: First, the number of friends of socialism in the country; and, second, the number of persons prepared by the contemplation of the evils of our social system, for any scheme for the bettering of the condition of the wage-earners of our country.

Socialism has gained a hold upon American thought that will influence it

Benjamin F. Vaughan was born in St. Clair County, Ill., August 19, 1864. Being a farmer's boy the ungraded schools of the county were his only resource for an education, and he attended the district school until 1883, when he began teaching in the schools of his county. In 1886 he entered school at the Illinois State Normal University from which institution, by alternating between teaching and attending school, he graduated last June.

While teaching in St. Clair County in 1887-88, through the efforts of Mr. Louis Lesaulnier, of Red Bud, Ill., he was induced to read "Progress and Poverty," and became an ardent believer in the efficacy of the single tax in solving the labor problem which he had noticed a little previous to reading the book. The rest of Henry George's works were read with great interest.

Mr. Vaughan has contributed several articles at different times to the local press in defense of what he believes to be a great cause, the single tax. While attending the Normal school he was one of the organizers of the Bloomington Economic Club, and succeeded in interesting several young men in the single tax movement.

Though an uncompromising single taxer he believes that the saloon dominancy is the greatest hindrance to the progress of the movement, and, therefore, looks upon prohibition as the reform most needed at our present stage. He is a candidate for presidential elector from the Nineteenth Congressional district of Illinois on the prohibition ticket.

greatly, and the time will certainly come when we must choose for or against socialism.

The doctrines of socialism are certainly wrong, for they base the claim of the individual to the wealth necessary for his use, not upon the fact of his labor, but upon the fact that he is a member of society.

Under a socialistic regime, therefore, each person would receive not the direct return in value for his labor, based upon its value, but would receive his portion of the product of the labor of all, after having contributed his part to the production. Under such an arrangement as this, the incentive that comes from the desire for ownership would be lost, and with it a valuable stimulus to production would cease to operate.

The institution of property which the race has completely, and all but without question accepted, seems to be founded in the very facts of creation.

If a man has a right to exist, this right implies the right to take from Nature what he needs, and this right, likewise, implies the right to have and to hold what he has so taken, if the taking has been in accordance with a just consideration of the equal rights of all.

But if this be true, why have so many excellent men been led to adopt the views of socialism?

Socialism was conceived during the long period of tyranny and oppression that preceded and caused the French Revolution, and its birth cry was sounded upon the scattering darkness of the reign of terror. Its growth since then has been attendant and consequent upon the injustice in the distribution of wealth, which gives rise to the popularity of socialism.

Burns said:

"It's hardly in our power,  
To keep at times from being sour,  
To see how things are shared."

and this, seeing how things are shared, is what has led men to seek a saving principle, which, harmonizing with the right to equal freedom, would restrain injustice and uplift the down-trodden. Never will men cease to seek this saving principle until the day dawn of perfect justice illumines the life of the race.

But if, as many claim, the institution of property is responsible for the gross injustice in the distribution of wealth, why not abolish it and adopt the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need?"

The reason for not doing so lies in the fact that it is the unjust extension of the institution of property, and not the existence of the institution itself, that is responsible for the wrong grown up under it.

The history of the progress of liberty is the history of the limiting of the extent of property, and we have but to look there for the correct solution of the problem that confronts us.

In the early life of the race, the basis of ownership was force, and this, being great enough, was used to over-ride the principle of the right of each to an existence. Property therefore was extended to all that superior force could claim and hold, and took within itself, not the products of labor alone, but the laborer as well.

The struggle for liberty of conscience, and freedom of the slave, were but protests against the unjust extension of the institution of property.

This institution, commending itself as it does to the reason of man, and having its foundation in his labor upon the materials of nature, in conjunction with her forces, never could, with justice, have extended to man.

A search for the true limitations of property reveals two which manifestly arise from the origin of the right of property, and the mutual dependence of man. They are first, property cannot, with justice, be extended to that which is the work of nature alone. Second, property cannot, with justice, be so extended as to interfere with the free intercourse of the race, without the return to society of a just equivalent for such interference.

The truth of the first would be seen in a proposition to own the atmosphere, and of the second, to include the oceans, the highway of nations, in the institution of property.

The acceptance of either of these two propositions at once forces us to the conclusion that property can not, with justice, be extended to land. For land, using the term in its economic sense, is manifestly the product of nature alone, and private ownership of land necessarily interferes with the free intercourse of the race, and does not return to society a just equivalent for such interference.

For illustrations of obstructed communications we need but look to any city to find vacant lots that, were they not owned by some one who prevents it with his price, would soon be covered with improvements promoting the freer intercourse of the race.

Property in land is monopoly of land and is the basis of all monopolies. It is the extension of the institution of property to that which from the nature of things never could with justice have been included in it.

Once let the race perceive the truth of the proposition that property in land stands in the way of its highest development and things will be righted.

Once reduce the institution of property to its just limits and the causes of complaint from those who are striving to better the condition of the laboring classes will be done away with, "and the noblest dreams of socialism be realized" indeed, and without the intervention of a system so at fault with nature and nature's laws.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR.

Rever (Pa.) Daily Star.

He thus planted himself right in the way of the growth of New York, and refused to move until the people gave him an enormous ransom in rents or purchase money to get out of the road and let them build a city. That's what the Astors did to raise the wind and they did it effectually. They did not produce anything. They did not sweat their brows. That would be vulgar, you know. They simply erected a toll gate on the highway of the city's progress and quietly smoked and assiduously collected toll; and as the people had to use that road, in fact there was no other, they had to me down with the tribute.

## AUSTRALASIAN MATTERS.

JOHN FARRELL.

SYDNEY, N. S. W., July 9.—One of the notable events of the past month has been a convention of delegates from the various Farmers' Unions of this colony, which assembled at Wagga Wagga on June 21 and continued its sittings for several days. Wagga Wagga—an aboriginal name, reduced by half in common parlance here and pronounced Wogga, is a considerable town on the Murrumbidgee River, and being the centre of a great agricultural district and on the main railway line from Sydney to Melbourne, was chosen as a fitting place for the gathering. There were present about eighty properly authorized Farmers' Union delegates, while several members of Parliament hung round the outskirts, attracted by the scent of political prey. The purpose of the Convention was to discuss a number of subjects thought to be of special interest to the agricultural population, and to suggest legislation in connection therewith. The chief question to which attention was given was the difficulty of obtaining good land for settlement in small areas.

It would take up too much space to give STANDARD readers even the essential points of our land laws, which are as bad as could be found anywhere. In 1831 an act was passed to facilitate the settlement of people on lands, till then leased in large sections by squatters or unused. Its provisions did not work out as those who framed it intended; and in this colony, as in all parts of the civilized world, a few persons own the pick of the lands in large areas, while many cannot get enough to live upon. The ten-year-leases of pastoralists in the central, or inland, division of New South Wales will expire in little more than a year, and it is the general desire of settlers that instead of renewals of these leases being granted, the lands should be thrown open for agricultural selection. The lands held by the squatters on lease for sheep-runs in this division are appraised according to their estimated carrying capacity, and an arbitrary rental fixed, all improvements made reverting to the state without compensation at the expiration of the term. No undertaking to renew the leases has been given, and the selectors have moved in the matter in order to influence Parliament against their renewal.

The result of the conference was a unanimous demand that these lands should be opened to closer settlement than can take place while they are devoted almost entirely to pastoral purposes. Before this conclusion was reached, an animated debate took place as to whether this settlement should be carried out under the principle of alienation or that of perpetual leasehold. As it was perfectly impossible to consider even a reasonable percentage of the matters set down in the business programme, a vote was taken at an early stage. Forty voted in favor of freehold and eleven for perpetual lease from the state, the remainder of the delegates refusing to vote because they had not given the matter sufficient thought, and were anxious to have it more fully discussed. Altogether this is most satisfactory. The delegates for the most part represented a class whose chief hope is to possess freehold land, who already have some and want more, and who dwell in districts not readily reached or easily influenced by the movements of current public thought. There were some stirring single tax speeches made, and some excellent illustrations given of how and why former schemes of land settlement had failed and must fail until they were based upon principles of equity. Much attention has been drawn to the subject of this debate, especially in the country newspapers, and it is noteworthy that a meeting of the Australian Shearers' Union, held also at Wagga Wagga a few days later, and representing many thousands of the workers of several Australian colonies, passed a resolution condemning the decision of the farmer's delegates, and declaring that land should not be parted with in fee simple or made a subject of speculation.

The unemployed we have still with us, and the burden of the new tariff is becoming grievous to be borne. At first many of the merchants did not pass on the duties to their customers, partly in the hope of thus securing larger business, and partly in the belief that the ministry would be soon overthrown. That stage has now passed. The long recess, occasioned by the Premier's absence in Europe, and certain large alterations in the Houses of Parliament, has changed all that. Parliament will probably not meet before October, and it is not likely that anything very revolutionary will take place when it does meet. Therefore, consumers are now fully weighted with beneficent taxation, and find it rather unpleasant. The revenue returns for the quarter ending June 31, show an increase of nearly £200,000 over the corresponding period of last year. This is pointed to by our one protectionist daily paper as a magnificent proof of what protection can do. As a matter of fact, the increase is only slightly above the ratio shown in that of each quarter's revenue over the preceding one under the old tariff, and less than the present treasurer anticipated. Protection has not been able to keep up the returns in the neighboring colonies. There is a deficit for last year of £115,088 in the revenue of Queensland. South Australia is only £45,000 short of the treasurer's estimate, while Victoria falls behind to the magnificent distance of £1,200,000.

The condition of Melbourne is unspeakable. A few days ago a kindly lady brought a basket of bread to distribute among the applicants for work at a labor bureau. She was simply attacked by a wolfish crowd, who fought each other for the loaves like famished beasts of prey. Families are being found on the verge of death, who have not eaten anything for days, nor had fire or decent clothes for weeks. In every town of the colony subscriptions are being raised, and various devices resorted to, for alleviating the suffering of the unfortunate. In the meantime, those whose blatant political quackery has reduced a colony—once the most wealthy and prosperous of the group—to this deplorable condition, are at it again. What is being done in the name of statesmanship is sickening and pitiful. They have discharged all the elderly men in the government departments who didn't happen to be "somebody's cousins," cut down civil servant's wages, reduced the £200 per annum payment of members of Parliament by £15, and rigorously retrenched in such a manner as to largely add to the army of unemployed. They have also increased the price of meat by about 30 per cent.

and hardly a day passes without deputations representing highly protected industries waiting upon the government to beg further blackmail, lest they perish. A large body of the members got together last week to formulate a scheme for introducing the long-promised prosperity by a general increase of tariff duties to foster "languishing local industries." Sir Graham Berry, who may safely be regarded as one of the boss political frauds of this earth, thinks an income tax will have to be put on, and darkly hints that even land value taxation may yet be resorted to. Some day the fact of their immeasurable avarice will bore its slow way to the intellect of Victorians. But it appears that they will first have to get themselves into a leaner condition than the seven alternated line of Pharaoh's vision.

The last Victorian loan of £2,000,000 floated in London a fortnight ago, would have been a failure, notwithstanding the humiliaingly favorable terms offered to the brokers, but for the fact being wired home that local banks would take up a certain quantity of the stock, and the other fact that it was called for just before the news of Victoria's annual deficit could reach London. And the fruit of it will prove the merest drop in the capacious bucket of Victoria's need. New Zealand is now the most flourishing of all the colonies, in proportion to her area and population. Instead of a deficit she has a considerable surplus. No particular new taxation is proposed, and Mr. Ballance declares that the colony can remain absolutely independent of the world's money market by ceasing to float loans, and raising locally all the money required for government and public works. The ill effects of the property tax are being lost sight of in the splendid results of the Perpetual Leasehold bill. In the May issue of the Australian Insurance and Banking Record there is a reference to New Zealand which will be appreciated by STANDARD readers. The writer, after calling attention to the lack of purchasers at a great sale of rich lands conducted by the bank of New Zealand Estates Company, says: "Whether this is due to the fact that the outcry for land in Canterbury is fictitious, whether people just now are frightened by the government policy and unwilling to put their money into land, or whether, as is most probable, the attractions of the government Perpetual Lease system, under which no capital is required, overshadow private cash sales, is a matter for conjecture. The rapid settlement on crown lands, however, points to the latter conclusion." Imperfect approach to land administration under true single tax principles as it is, the Perpetual Leasehold system is the best now obtained anywhere. At once the most just to the state and to those who need the use of land, it is not only facilitating the settlement of people in the colony, but drawing population from other colonies.

In South Australia there has been a change of ministry. It meant nothing but a naked and unashamed struggle for office and pay, which succeeded. On no particular public question Mr. Playford was defeated, and on the very important private question of getting £1,000 a year each, a new ministry with Mr. F. W. Holder at its head took possession. Immediately a number of those who voted against the Playford team attacked the new combination with extreme bitterness because, after being promised seats in the Ministry they had been left out and betrayed most foully. You cannot thus trample on the holiest feelings of a South Australian politician without impunity. The Holder Ministry will no doubt earnestly endeavor to live up to the name in holding on to office. But that new legislation will be introduced, or measures in hand proceeded with to any degree is more than any one expects. Next year the general election is due in South Australia. Till then, Parliamentary proceedings will be chaotic party squabbling. The feeling in favor of land value taxation steadily grows, and the general election may prove a great surprise to those who oppose that principle. The single tax men of Adelaide peg away persistently on the platform and in the press. Lately Mr. J. E. Coudrey has been delivering lantern lectures, illustrating by means of Bengoughs' and other cartoons the evils of private, irresponsible land ownership, which have been largely attended.

Sir Samuel Griffith appears to have forgotten his own economic teachings and social beliefs of a few years ago, and sold himself for a lease of very divided power to the black labor ring of North Queensland. Almost everything he now does seems in the interest of the few against the many. An Electoral bill is being forced through the Queensland Parliament which gives to magistrates enormous discretionary power to hold disfranchised a large number of the floating population. A bill for the division of Queensland into a federation of three separate States, with local Parliaments, subject in certain matters to a central government representing the whole, is under consideration, and will likely become law, as there are powerful interests in each of the divisions which desire to have certain towns made seats of government. If the bill is not passed the Imperial Government will probably sanction the wish of Northern Queensland for separation from the rest of the colony. In these movements there is promise of future discord rather than of unity, for reasons which I may hereafter explain to your readers. The overthrow of Mr. Playford's ministry in South Australia has put an end to the proposed sham conference between the colonies on the question of introducing alien inferior races to the North, and each colony will go on doing just as it likes in the matter, quite independently of the others.

While I write, a big strike is in progress at Broken Hill, the silver mining centre. For a long time past the Proprietary Mine there has yielded enormous fortunes to a few persons. Since operations were begun in 1885 the return up to the end of last year was 30,757,500 ounces of silver and 125,102 tons of lead, valued in the London market at £7,059,175. "The company have paid dividends to the amount of £3,304,000, and bonuses amounting to £592,900," says Coghlan, our government statist, "besides the nominal value of shares from the several 'blocks' sold to other companies, amounting to about £1,744,000, or a total return from the mine of £5,640,000. The sum spent in the erection and construction of the plant, from the opening of the property, was £428,147. During the year 2,545 men were employed, of whom 1,412 were engaged underground. The net profit for the half year ending Nov. 30, 1891, was £683,738. The nominal value of this mine

at the time these dividends were declared was £6,530,000." Lately the grade of ore being mined has fallen considerably in most of the mines. This fact, together with the facts that the price of silver has also fallen and that new duties have been imposed upon a large number of mining requisites, is put forward by the directors of the various companies as a reason for the action they have taken, and which has resulted in the present trouble.

The "stopping" of ore had formerly been carried out by day labor. In 1890 a strike, which arose in the mines, was settled by arbitration between the men and the employers. An agreement was then made that all future disputes should be referred to a board of arbitrators, and that "stopping" would be carried on, as before, by day labor. The mine owners lately decided to abandon this plan and adopt the contract system. To this the miners demurred, and proposed that the question should be arbitrated. The owners thereupon gave a month's notice of their withdrawal from the agreement of 1890. Then the miners at once struck. They held, and many hold with them, that the accepted meaning of the agreement was that its arbitration clause referred to all future disputes, not merely, as the owners say, to disputes arising while the agreement remained in operation. About 5,000 miners have been out of work for a week, and it is generally thought that, as the mines were in an unsafe condition owing to "creeps," great damage will be done to them if the strike is prolonged for a month. But the owners think that the cheaper working under the terms they propose will more than cover all possible loss. Of course, they will win. Just now the miners are in charge of things. They have a cordon of pickets all round every mine, and no one can go to or fro without a pass from the union. They have cut off the food supply from managers, and indulged in a few other similar acts.

No deed of a tragic kind, however, such as accompany your lurid Pittsburg strikes, has occurred, or is likely to occur. A large force of police has been sent up. The pickets will be removed, and the unemployed will swarm into the vacant places, if the unionists are not prepared to climb down. And so it will always be until laborers learn how to abolish the unemployed altogether, and put labor and capital on new terms with each other.

#### THE SIN OF PROTECTION.

Harriet Martineau's Letters.

(1858 or 1859).—"The sin of the North is protection, as the sin of the South is slavery."

June 13, 1861.—"Protection." Is not protection a sin? It involves more sin, and a greater variety of it, than any system I know of, except slavery. It would astonish some folk not a little to learn what relation the system (in any form or degree) bears to sin.

October 2, 1861.—"Mr. H. Reeve gives me the most cheering account of the effect of free trade on the French, and on our relations with them. Really there seems to be no limit to the good to be expected in the diminution of the false military spirit and evil ambition fostered by discouragement at home. \* \* \* The extension of commerce for the benefit of everybody will be enormous. \* \* \* The consumers are beginning to see how they have been oppressed, and the protected are so far consumers that they are becoming free traders as fast as possible. \* \* \*

October 31, 1861.—"I perceive you ground your disapprobation of the protective system on the injustice and unkindness to foreign peoples. This is a very strong and quite indisputable ground, but it is not the one I have at all had in view at this time, or wished to bring forward in discussing the matter in the Standard (Anti-Slavery Standard) or elsewhere. I protest against the vicious aristocratic principle, and the rank oppression exercised over the American people at large, for the selfish interest of certain classes. It is true your shippers and merchants are concerned in and injured by every injury inflicted on foreign commerce; but it is a graver consideration to my mind that every workingman in the country is injured for the illicit benefit of wealthier classes. Ignorance alone can have permitted it thus long. It is true the disposition to tyranny and greed, which is conspicuous wherever a democracy exists, has made protectionists of all, or most democratic associations, such as the most stringent trades unions, and other socialistic organizations; but still, it is inconceivable that, in a country full of workingmen like yours, a handful of monopolists will be permitted to saddle and bridle the industrial majority, as at present. When the case is understood, it is inconceivable that the majority will put up with it. I wish some member of Congress, or other man who would be listened to, would propose, as a matter of economy, a handsome direct appropriation to the iron masters and mill owners, instead of preserving the tariff. It would be a vast, incalculable saving to pension them in a thoroughly handsome way and throw trade open. The proposal would open people's eyes to what they are submitting to."

June 26, 1861.—"As to the protectionist matter, I need only say that we see more and more plainly that the subject is not understood; which is quite natural among a flourishing new people. \* \* \* I wish they knew how the degradation of our peasantry (who are now rising hourly), the crime of our cities, the brigandage of our coasts, the deprivation of our poor-law system, and the demoralization of whole classes have been occasioned by the protective system, which they seem to consider an optional matter, with only some considerations of expediency, pro or con. Protection has ruined more of our people, body and soul, than drink."

#### PROTECTING METAL WORKERS.

Exchange.

Mr. Henry G. Marquand imported from England, not long ago, a bronze statue of Eros, eleven inches high, for which he had paid \$1,100. The collector imposed a duty of 45 per cent. on it, classing it as a manufacture of metal. Mr. Marquand appealed to the Board of Appraisers, and they decided to admit the statue free as an antiquity, as it was made about 250 B. C. The collector appealed from this ruling to the United States Circuit Court, and Judge Lacombe has decided that the object is dutiable at 15 per cent., as a piece of metal statuary. So Mr. Marquand must pay \$165 for the protection of American metal-workers against competition from rivals dead two thousand years.

## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

The Single Tax is a tax on land, regardless of its improvements and in proportion to its value. It implies the abolition of all other forms of taxation, and the collection of the public revenues from this source alone. It would be **CERTAIN**, because land values are most easily ascertained; **WISER**, because, by discouraging the withdrawal of land from use and encouraging its improvement, it would expand opportunities for labor, augment wealth, and increase the rewards of industry and thrift; **EQUAL**, because every one would pay taxes in proportion to the value of the land, of right the common property of all, which he appropriated to his own use; and **JUST**, because it would fall not upon labor, enterprise, and thrift, but upon the value of a special privilege. It is more fully explained in the Single Tax Platform in another column; and in "Progress and Poverty," by Henry George, every point is discussed and every objection answered.

The underlying principle of the single tax—that the earth belongs equally to all and that the best way to secure substantial justice is to tax the occupant an amount equal to the yearly value of the land—is sound.—*Journal of the Knights of Labor* September 24, 1891.

We have no hesitation in declaring our belief that the ideal taxation lies in the Single Land Tax, laid exclusively on the rental value of land, independent of improvements.—*New York Times*, January 10, 1891.

The best and surest subject of taxation is the thing that perforce stays in one place—that is land.—*New York Sun*, August 26, 1891.

Every one of these taxes [on commodities and buildings] the ostensible taxpayer—the man on the auctioneer's block—shifts to other shoulders. The only tax he cannot shift is the tax on his land values.—*Detroit News*, November 1, 1891.

The free does not say that it will never be a full-fledged single tax advocate. It believes in it in theory now; it passes only on the threshold of doubt as to the expediency under existing circumstances.—*Sacramento (Cal.) Bee*.

The products of individual industry should remain at all times untaxed. Take the annual rental value of land without regard for improvements, no matter what it amounts to. The community could put this fund to better use than the individual landlords.—*St. Louis Chronicle*.

## PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

Jackson H. Kalston, president of the Hyattsville Board of Commissioners, has been in splendid spirits since Judge Brooke delivered his decision in favor of the single tax cause at Hyattsville. Nor are his spirits lessened by the announcement that the landowners' party are preparing to appeal the case to the higher Maryland court, for, while he is confident that that tribunal will uphold the decision of Judge Brooke, he is assured that the continuance of the fight will extend and strengthen the single tax movement by bringing in fresh supporters. During an interview Mr. Kalston made the following statements for THE STANDARD:

## INTERVIEW WITH JACKSON H. KALSTON.

"I feel as I have from the beginning, confident of the outcome of the case, and of the ultimate triumph, both legally and before the people. I have never for a moment been shaken. Our cause is gaining strength daily. One thing that has accelerated our advance is the manifest unwillingness of our opponents to meet the economic issue we have raised. They have been for the most part content to denounce it as new or untried, and to declare that its advocates were anarchists and destitute of principle; and they have indulged in personalities of the most acrimonious description. Our own course has been diametrically opposed to this. We have sought not to denounce our neighbors, or to impute unworthy motives to them, but to discuss the real issue—that is, the justice of the single tax and the benefits to be derived from it. We have considered this subject in public meetings at which debate was invited; we have published newspaper articles, which have been laid before the eyes of all of our citizens; and we have sought to talk the matter over with every man who was not too prejudiced to reason. We believe that our principles will outlive and outweigh all mere personalities of the moment. We believe that there is such a sentiment of justice implanted in our people that the course we are pursuing will prove a successful one."

"To me a striking feature of our action has been its destructive influence upon some of the absurd arguments advanced against the single tax. The men who feared that the levying of all taxes on land would so add to its selling price that poor men could not own it, have discovered the absolute absurdity of their position. The Macedonian cry of the large landowners, that if this system were continued they would be compelled to sell out at any price, and their demand for assistance against the happening of such an event, have exploded completely the fallacy to which I allude. They are no longer professing to fight for the poor man, but are fighting for themselves. Only the other day one of their principal representatives when told that the single tax system would help poor men said: 'What do we care for the poor men?'"

"The men of small means in our town are coming to understand this question with a remarkable degree of clearness. One of the poorest paid men in town said to me the other day: 'When they come to me and say that it is unjust to tax the poor man's five hundred dollar house the same amount as the rich man would pay on his ten thousand dollar house next door, by simply taxing the value of the land, I say to them, if I get a little lot along the railroad, and put up my five hundred dollar house there, what rich man is going to be fool enough to put his ten thousand dollar house next door?'"

"Another very important point is the total distinction of party lines so far as the single tax issue is concerned. The three commissioners, who formed a majority of the town board, have always acted with the Republicans in state and national politics. One of the negative votes was cast by a Republican and one by a Democrat. The supporters of the single tax among the citizens are about equally divided between Republicans and Democrats. The same remark is true of the anti-single tax men. The few People's party votes we have are among the most earnest and determined single tax men. The effect of our little campaign has been such that the single tax men who have gone together can never again be good Republicans or good Democrats. They have their eyes firmly fixed upon an issue greater than any represented by the two leading political parties. They had themselves out of touch with the dominant element in either party. They can no longer fight eagerly over issues which they believe to be dead."

"The single tax men of Hyattsville feel under no small degree of obligation to Dr. M. E. Levenson for his able assistance in the preparation and presentation of their case before Judge Brooke. They believe that his efforts went a long way toward securing them success in the lower court."

"An appeal is just being perfected by the relations to the State Court of Appeals. This movement is regarded with very general satisfaction by the single tax men. The publicity which the speculative, land-holding interest has given to this contest has resulted in a wide awakening of single tax thought in our own county and throughout the state. The appeal to the higher court will broaden and deepen the discussion and intensify the struggle. We confidently expect a repetition of the success we have already met with, inasmuch as precisely the same questions will be presented to the appellate tribunal as were brought out in the court below. If we should be disappointed, a contingency which does not now seem possible, we will bear in mind the fact that the Dred Scott decision preceded the destruction of slavery by only about six years and will work the harder for

the end we have in view. The Court meets in October, when the case will come up."

"I have received, I presume, about a hundred and fifty letters relative to our action in Hyattsville. Several of them have been written with a view to the taking of similar action in the neighborhoods from which they come. These letters have been written in such a pleasant view as to largely atone for many of the disagreeable experiences we have gone through. They breathe the same spirit of earnestness which we have recently developed in our own village."

"The people in Hyattsville who have taken part thus far in the single tax movement have demonstrated such a degree of devotion and earnestness as only a great cause could bring out. Their spirit has been infectious. Neighboring towns in the county are rapidly developing a considerable quota of single tax men, and we are satisfied that the next county election, which will occur a year from this fall, will be largely influenced, if not determined, by the action of those who agree with us. Nor do we think that the near result of our movement will be bounded by our county lines. We have received direct evidence that the people are becoming stirred up in other sections of our state, even as far west as Cumberland."

"The colored men are not to be ignored in this fight. They have no interests in either Hyattsville or elsewhere, as a rule, which will blind them to the truth of our contentions. They are among the most diligent inquirers into our doctrines that can be found. From my observations, the colored men offer in many states of our Union an army of workers for the single tax cause whose services need only to be called for to be obtained."

"I take this opportunity of acknowledging receipt of the following contributions toward our legal expenses which have arrived since last week's acknowledgment in THE STANDARD: Fred. J. Miller, Plainfield, N. J., \$1; A. H. Stephenson, Philadelphia, Pa., \$10; C. E. Garst, Coon Rapids, Ia., \$10; "Single Tax," Paterson, N. J., \$1; Thos. Hunt, Kennedy, O., \$2; R. G. Brown, Memphis, Tenn., \$5; James Bailey, Amsterdam, N. Y., \$1; R. L. Atkinson, New York City, \$1; A. W. McIntyre, Palace Hotel, New York, \$1; C. B. Fillbrown, Boston, Mass., \$10; La Rue Tiers, Verona, Pa., \$5; George C. Madison, St. Paul, Minn., \$2; J. J. Kelso, Guelph, Ont., \$2; C. T. Chamberlain, Times Building, New York, \$5; B. F. Snyder and others, Tecumseh, Mich., \$5; Frank S. Churchill and others, Burlington, Ia., \$5; Walter S. Mendleson, \$10; J. C. Frost, Philadelphia, Pa., \$1; N. H. Smith, Philadelphia, \$1—making, with the amounts previously acknowledged, \$113."

## DISTRIBUTING "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?"

The work of distributing the million copies of the Congressional Record edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" is going steadily along. The edition is rapidly nearing exhaustion and it seems more than likely that an order will soon have to be given for a new edition that will make a good start on the second million.

All who are interested in the distribution of this book by campaign committees should get in their orders as early as possible, as time is an important element, not only in the distribution of the book but in affecting the minds of those who for the first time read it. The various campaign committees—county, state and national—are now beginning their work, and they could make no more effective start than by a careful distribution of a large number of copies of this book. With the view of persuading the local Democratic organizations to engage in the work the Philadelphia single taxers have adopted a plan of operation that may with good results be followed elsewhere. A. H. Stephenson explains the plan in this way:

"Get the address of the chairman and secretary of the Democratic ward executive committee. Call on them and get their good will. From the secretary get the names of all the members of the committee. Mail to each a copy of 'St. George' and a postal saying at what place in the city more copies can be had. Send a committee of two to the next meeting of the ward executive committee to explain that single taxers are, for all practical purposes, Democrats during this campaign, and to set forth the advantages of circulating copies of the book at this stage. If the committee should be unable or disinclined to expend money in such a way, it will be glad to have others do so, and will lend its services and its carefully selected lists for the purpose."

Mr. Stephenson says the Philadelphia single taxers have found this plan to work beautifully, and that a very large number of copies of the book will eventually be distributed in Philadelphia through Democratic machinery.

Letter writers would do an inestimable service to the cause by obtaining lists of the members of their respective Democratic State Committees and writing to members about the book. The sooner this is done the better. All letter writers over the country should at the same time write to Chairman Don M. Dickinson, of the Democratic National Campaign Committee, and to as many of the General Committee as possible, urging the circulation of the book. Following is an almost complete list of the latter committee:

|                     |                           |                |
|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| Alabama.....        | Henry D. Clayton.....     | Eufaula.       |
| Arkansas.....       | U. M. Rose.....           | Little Rock.   |
| California.....     | N. F. Tarpey.....         | Alameda.       |
| Colorado.....       | Charles S. Thomas.....    | Denver.        |
| Connecticut.....    | Carlos French.....        | Seymour.       |
| Delaware.....       | Lewis C. Vandergriff..... |                |
| Florida.....        | Samuel Pasco.....         | Monticello.    |
| Georgia.....        | Clark Howell, Jr.....     | Atlanta.       |
| Idaho.....          | Frank W. Beane.....       | Blackfoot.     |
| Illinois.....       | Ben. T. Cable.....        | Rock Island.   |
| Indiana.....        | S. P. Sheerin.....        | Logansport.    |
| Iowa.....           | J. J. Richardson.....     | Davenport.     |
| Kansas.....         | Charles W. Blair.....     | Leavenworth.   |
| Kentucky.....       | Thomas H. Shirley.....    | Louisville.    |
| Louisiana.....      | James Jeffries.....       | Rapides.       |
| Maine.....          | Arthur Sewall.....        | Bath.          |
| Maryland.....       | Arthur P. Gorman.....     | Laurel.        |
| Massachusetts.....  | Josiah Quincy.....        | Boston.        |
| Michigan.....       | Daniel J. Campau.....     | Detroit.       |
| Minnesota.....      | Michael Doran.....        | St. Paul.      |
| Mississippi.....    | Charles L. Lowry.....     | Oxford.        |
| Missouri.....       | John C. Prather.....      | St. Louis.     |
| Montana.....        | A. J. Davidson.....       | Helena.        |
| Nebraska.....       | Tobias Castor.....        | Lincoln.       |
| Nevada.....         | R. P. Keating.....        | Virginia City. |
| New Hampshire.....  | Alvan W. Sulloway.....    | Franklin.      |
| New Jersey.....     | Miles Ross.....           | New Brunswick. |
| New York.....       | Wm. F. Sheenau.....       | Buffalo.       |
| North Carolina..... | N. W. Ransom.....         | Weldon.        |
| North Dakota.....   | Wm. C. Laisterkow.....    |                |
| Ohio.....           | Calvin S. Brice.....      | Lima.          |
| Oregon.....         | E. D. McKee.....          | Portland.      |
| Pennsylvania.....   | Wm. F. Harry.....         | Philadelphia.  |

|                           |                         |                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Rhode Island.....         | Samuel R. Honey.....    | Newport.        |
| South Carolina.....       | M. L. Donaldson.....    |                 |
| Tennessee.....            | Holmes Cummings.....    | Memphis.        |
| Texas.....                | O. T. Holt.....         | Houston.        |
| Vermont.....              | Bradley T. Shelley..... | Burlington.     |
| Virginia.....             | Basil E. Gordon.....    | Sandy.          |
| Washington.....           | High C. Wallace.....    | Tacoma.         |
| Wisconsin.....            | E. C. Wall.....         | Milwaukee.      |
| Wyoming.....              | W. L. Kuykenhall.....   | Saratoga.       |
| Alaska.....               | A. E. D. laney.....     | Juneau.         |
| Arizona.....              | Chas. M. Shannon.....   | Clifton.        |
| District of Columbia..... | James L. Norris.....    | Washington.     |
| New Mexico.....           | H. B. Ferguson.....     |                 |
| Oklahoma.....             | T. M. Richardson.....   | Oklahoma City.  |
| Utah.....                 | Samuel A. Merritt.....  | Salt Lake City. |
| Indian Territory.....     | Dr. E. N. Allen.....    | McAllister.     |

Warren Worth Bailey, who, owing to pressing professional work, has not recently been heard from, writes:

It must not be inferred that the cause has languished in Chicago. On the contrary, it has been making headway, and never before was it more hopeful. We have been mightily cheered by Judge Raiston's splendid work at Hyattsville, as well as by the advance position assumed by the Democratic party and latterly our meetings have been unusually enthusiastic. That of last night was full of interest. The weather was oppressive and a heavy rain fell, yet a full house greeted the Rev. J. V. Blake, the Unitarian minister, who spoke on "Government," and called out one of the most delightful discussions we have had in months. The Rev. Mr. Blake is a scholar, and his address last night was an intellectual treat. It possessed high literary merits and commanded the respectful attention of the whole audience, although it advocated a principle to which we stand diametrically opposed. In effect and in fact it was an appeal for the rule of the saving remnant, an attack on democracy, a frank and unflinching avowal of the doctrine of aristocracy. Yet the gentleman was constrained to admit that the rule of the best was an unattainable ideal. More than that, he confessed that, even were we able to select the fittest to rule, the system under which we live would still render abortive all attempts at real reform. He fitly proposed the restriction of the suffrage and laid down ultra civil service doctrines touching qualifications and tenures. The time limit of service he would abolish utterly, and, by some means unexplained, he would have fit men only chosen to rule. He seemed to lay stress on the word rule.

F. W. Meadows opened the discussion, and he did it with nice discrimination. He went to the very heart of the matter, and while complimenting the speaker on the literary merits of his address, he did not fail to disclose its essential and its glaring weakness. Mr. Meadows is always meaty, but I have never known him to crowd so much that was excellent in so small a space. He is really one of the keenest, as he is easily one of the most original, of the many bright and capable men our club has brought to the surface. With the gentleman's own admissions he confounded all the arguments which had advanced, and then with a few deft touches revealed the real problem, and indicated its true and its only possible solution. He said the fault was not in the men, but in the machine. Let us have a good machine, and we would find no real difficulty in getting capable men to run it. The fault was in the system, not in the men.

H. E. Bartholomew followed in a remarkably happy strain. He is a polished orator, and his sentences last night fairly glowed. Squarely taking issue with the gentleman on his doctrine of the rule of the aristocracy, he pointed out the essential basis of the democratic idea, holding that every man, whatever his character or abilities, was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, at the bottom of all being his right to the use of the earth. He could not rightfully be deprived of a voice in the disposition of that upon which his very life depended. Mr. Bartholomew spoke with power and with humor, also, and the audience gave every proof of its approval.

Then came Clinton Furbish. I wish I could even faintly outline the wonderful speech he made. It was tremendous in its effect, and more clearly than ever revealed his power in debate. He challenged the speakers ideal, but said that even were it desirable, we could not wait upon its realization. Little children were starving within the shadow of the churches, and men at home-stead and Buffalo were working under the protection of bayonets. The first and the imperative duty was the removal of the conditions that made such things possible.

James A. Herne added a few words which went home with mighty force. He emphasized the points made by the preceding speakers, and with an eloquence peculiarly his own, enforced the idea of the fundamental reform.

Mr. Blake closed the discussion in a brief talk, in which he deprecated the appeal to passion which he thought he heard in the rhetoric of the critics. He complained that they had not touched upon the vital points of his address, and he seemed to feel that in directing attention to a cure for the system which he had admitted to be at fault, we had gone out of our way. He did not in any way indicate that the remarks of the other speakers had impressed him except as the heated outgivings of zealots, incapable of seeing more than one thing. But he will think of what was said, nevertheless.

Ralph E. Hoyt and John Z. White will speak on the Democratic stump in Michigan this fall. Mr. White is now in Toronto on business.

It is a singular fact that in the Illinois State Normal School political economy is not taught in the normal course. I believe the students in that course may receive instruction in political economy if they choose to take it, but the matter is optional, and as a matter of fact the sciences is not taught. A movement is now on foot to correct this, and it is to be hoped that every single tax man in the state will make it a point to write to at least one member of the State Board of Education urging the importance of including political economy in the list of studies. The fact that Professor Feimly, a thorough going single tax man, would have this branch in charge should be sufficient to stir our people to activity in having it introduced.

Next Thursday evening Mr. Furbish is expected to speak. The following Thursday a musical programme, with an address on the single tax, is promised, and later we shall have Dr. Joseph Adams and Professor B. F. Underwood, the latter on free trade. The meetings will be especially interesting during the Fall, and I hope all members will contribute to their success at least by their faithful presence.

The election of officers will take place September 1, the nominations occurring next Thursday.

#### AGITATION IN BOSTON.

The Boston single tax workers have a way of agitating that seems to be effective. Previous to two years ago the vast multitude of people who attended the band concerts on Boston Common on Sunday afternoons were compelled to stand while listening to the rendering of popular airs, but during the last two summers enough seats have been provided to accommodate a portion of the music loving community. The concert is furnished between the hours of 4 and 6 o'clock, but those who wish to "get in on the ground floor" arrive on the scene as early as 2 o'clock, and locate themselves on the seats. Then doth the irrepressible single taxer begin to preach the justice of equal rights for all to the bounty of the Creator. And, of course, the people have either to listen or to vacate the seats.

Various speakers address the multitude until 4 o'clock, when the band concert begins, and as soon as it is concluded the speaking is resumed and kept up until the supply of orators is exhausted. Much single tax literature is disposed off at these meetings. Five cents is charged for membership in the league, and the newly enrolled person is presented with a copy of the Congressional Record edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" and various tracts. These open air meetings have made scores of converts.

#### SINGLE TAX LETTER WRITERS.

Divisions A and B—Max B. May, Attorney-at-Law, Cincinnati, O. Young Democratic speaker. Admirer of "Protection or Free Trade?" Should be explained to him that Democracy cannot stop at free trade.

Divisions C, D and F—D. B. Gamble, Third street, corner Walnut, Cincinnati, O., of Proctor & Gamble, the wealthy soap manufacturers, who have adopted a profit-sharing plan to aid their employees, but are discouraged at their apparent ingratitude. Mr. Gamble is President of a lately organized association in Cincinnati to fight taxes down and watch legislation affecting taxation. His soap company are large land users, but not speculators.

Divisions E, F, G and H—Cincinnati Post. Asks, in a recent editorial, "Who Will Give the Real Cause of the Congestion of Cities?" and uses Melbourne as an example. Letters should be brief, but clear.

Divisions I and J—Dr. H. J. Groesbeck, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati. Is president of a Cleveland and Stevenson club, and a free trader, but inclined to be quiet on the subject of the tariff. Should be shown that the Democratic party has nothing to lose by a radical course.

Divisions K, N and O—Rev. J. T. C. Wilson, Beresford, South Dakota. Methodist Episcopal minister, recently from Canada. Just commenced to read on financial and economic questions. Probably knows nothing of the single tax.

Divisions L and M—Rev. F. D. Newhouse, D. D., Huron, South Dakota. M. E. minister. In a recent sermon on the labor problem said the following:

"Look at the wealth of the Vanderbils. You know how wealth gathers to itself more wealth; and if all that wealth is kept in the same family for several generations, those hundreds of millions will become thousands of millions. Vanderbilt's unborn grandson has no more right to all that wealth than has your unborn grandson. When he dies let the bulk of his property be taken over by the government and given to the poor. Then, when your grandson and his grandson are born into the world they will get an equal financial start."

I should be glad to have the Cincinnati Post given above, addressed by any one who has the opportunity. It poses as a radical paper, friendly to the laboring classes, and the more letters it receives the better.

New York, N. Y. Box 471.

MARIAN DANA MACDANIEL, Secretary.

#### A PRIVILEGED CLASS.

Buffalo Courier.

A problem that ought to engage the attention of city officials of a reforming turn of mind, is that concerning vacant lots. In winter the sidewalks in front of such premises go unclear of snow and ice until so late an hour that it does not matter much whether they are cleared at all. In summer noxious weeds grow to maturity in and before vacant lots, not only presenting an unkempt appearance, but scattering their seeds far and wide over the carefully kept premises in the neighborhood. In all seasons the sidewalks and fences are neglected, and not only the dwellers on either side, but the wayfaring man also are compelled to suffer because the owners of vacant lots shirk their responsibilities.

A man need not be a sympathizer with Henry George and an advocate of the single tax to feel that the owner of unimproved real estate is not entitled to special favors. The person who is holding land for a rise, neither building upon it himself nor permitting others to do so, is the last who ought to be absolved from keeping his property in that tidy and orderly condition which is exacted in the case of householders, either by ordinance or by public opinion. The wit of man ought to be able to devise some means to compel the owners of vacant lots to keep the grass and weeds cropped, and to maintain the sidewalks and fences in proper condition, and when the means has been found it should be applied at least as vigorously as it is in the case of citizens who cannot afford to hold real estate for a rise. A walk through the "booming" portion of the city affords ample evidence that the problem of dealing with vacant lots has not been solved.

The good citizen who makes his sidewalk pleasant to the feet, and his premises a joy to the eye of the passer-by, has a right to demand that his efforts shall not be neutralized by the owners of adjacent property who grow bountiful crops of dock and thistles in summer, and of municipal suits for broken bones in the winter.

#### COBDEN AND LAND REFORM.

General Trumbull in American Journal of Politics.

The reformation of the land system had not become a political question in the days of Cobden, and when he thought the time had arrived to make it so, the hand of death was upon him. In the last speech he ever made he said: "If I were 25 or 30 years instead of twice that number, I would take Adam Smith in hand, and I would have a league for free trade in land as we had a league for free trade in corn." Volumes have been written to explain what Cobden meant, for he died a few days after saying that, but the comments are speculations only. What he meant will never be definitely known. That he intended a radical change in the land system is very likely. First, because he was a radical in opinion and practice; and secondly, because in a hundred speeches he had shown his hatred of landlordism and his contempt for landlords. His ridicule of their pretensions turned their wine into vinegar, and they feared him above all other men. One night in the House of Commons, when they were masquerading as the "agricultural interest," he said: "A landlord is no more an agriculturist than a shipowner is a sailor."

## AFRAID OF TOM L. JOHNSON.

The following clipping from the New York Times, which will not be accused of leaning unduly toward a radical campaign, shows the power that comes from making an open and radical fight. Tom L. Johnson has from the first appeared before the people as an absolute free trader. He has made no excuses or apologies. The result is that in a district especially arranged to defeat him, it is almost impossible to find an opposing candidate. This is what the Times says:

The Republicans of the Twenty-first Congressional District are in a quandary for a candidate against Congressman Tom L. Johnson. The district comprises the first twenty-five wards of this city, together with the Twenty-seventh, including the choicest residence section, and has a normal Republican plurality of 2,000.

Yet, ex-Senator George H. Ely declines to allow his name to be used for the place, "because of ill health," and Postmaster Anderson, who is universally recognized as one of the most popular men in the party here, emphatically refuses to allow his name to go before the convention. Others are quite as shy. Ex-Congressman T. E. Burton would like to try his chances again, but the party leaders throw cold water on his feverish ambition because they know his weakness.

Four years ago Burton ran against Johnson in a district that was 3,000 Republican and was elected by barely 1,000, and two years ago Johnson defeated him in a gerrymandered district by 3,500. In both cases Johnson ran over 2,000 ahead of his ticket. The Republicans are fearful that he will do so again, and though the last legislature put him in a staunch Republican district, they are casting about for a man who will, in their opinion, be sure to beat him, and casting in vain.

The probabilities are that O. J. Hodge, a veteran Republican lobbyist, will receive the nomination. If he does he will make a hard fight, as he is a crafty politician, but it will be against one of the cleanest and most popular men who ever ran for office in Ohio, and the odds will be in favor of Johnson.

The Democrats of the city gave Congressman Johnson an ovation last night on his return to the city from a long business trip, and the preliminary campaign is warming up. Republican caucuses will be held in two weeks, and Johnson will be formally renominated about the same time.

If Hodge and Johnson are pitted against each other, it will be one of the prettiest fights of the year. Johnson is an outspoken and most radical tariff reformer, and his re-election would be a signal victory for tariff reform in a manufacturing stronghold.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

—J. G. Malcolm writes from Hutchinson, Kan. In THE STANDARD of July 27, W. E. Brokaw has an article on money, in reply to mine in the July 6th issue. I would like to say to Mr. Brokaw, and other readers of THE STANDARD, that I am not one of those who believe the money question to be a fundamental one, like the single tax question. If Mr. B. had proposed to do away with the use of money entirely, I would hardly have thought it necessary to reply. But since he has, instead of pointing out any defect in the system that I proposed, only offered another that he thinks is better, I hope he will excuse me if I point out some of its defects.

His system is simply to pay out money in order to get it into circulation. Now, I suppose it is not worth while proving to the readers of THE STANDARD that no system of money can be honest or just that does not provide for regulating the number of dollars per capita, so that they shall always be the same. Suppose, then, that we could start now to pay money into circulation by having the Government engage in work now done by corporations. I do not object to this plan of getting money into circulation, but it is not in itself complete. Let us suppose that we should decide to put \$50 per capita in circulation, and no more. At the end of from one to ten years it would be found that we had that sum in circulation. Then, what would the Government do with the public works? It would make a bad break to stop them until the people should lose enough money to warrant starting them up again. That might take twenty-five years, and to go on paying out money would sometime end in getting a million dollars per capita in circulation. Then Mr. B. would have to pay \$1,000 to get his boots blacked: and the proper relation of debtor and creditor would be destroyed.

The circulating medium must run in a circle, and it must not be allowed to run out faster than it runs in. Every student of money admits that the value of the dollar is changed by changing the sum per capita in circulation. But I fail to see in Mr. B.'s system any provision for maintaining a uniform sum per capita in circulation.

He speaks about the "redemption" of money. What does he mean by that? I have heard of schemes of redemption when I was a boy, but I cannot see any need of the redemption of money. If money is a legal tender for debts it can need no other redemption. The man holding it will be permitted to buy any commodity he wishes—even gold—at its market value. Is that not good enough redemption?

Mr. B. seems to think that people should not borrow money, and if they do borrow they should go to the pawnbroker or to the loan agent. Does he ever expect to see the time, or can he imagine a condition, in which people would not wish to borrow money? I cannot. If so, what can be wrong about the government establishing a system of loaning?

Let me suppose a case: A young couple wish to marry and start house-keeping. But they have only \$500 to build the house with, and they wish a better house than that. Suppose that the government agent should say to this man: Go on and build your house and when done we will appraise it, and if it is appraised at \$800 we will give you a loan of \$300 on it. What harm would come out of that? Can Mr. B. show how this young couple could manage under his system? Would he send them to the loan companies' agent and have them pay three or four times the worth of the money?

I claim that the government could do a great deal of good, and no harm to any one, by opening up pawnshops where people could borrow at very low interest. This would drive the three golden balls from the country.

On the plan which I set forth the government could engage in public works—even war—without borrowing a dollar of any one. We could simply give checks on the great national bank. It might cause a rise of interest temporarily. Nothing more.

## PERSONAL.

If some fine morning you step into the city of Toronto and see a man in middle life, with glasses, proceeding at a leisurely gait on a pneumatic bicycle, with a flat grip sack well stored with single tax literature; or if you see this same man scudding before the wind on the bay in a sailing canoe, you may say: "There goes Robert Tyson." He is true and earnest



in the faith and determined in the propaganda of the gospel of human rights and human freedom. Robert Tyson is a court reporter by profession, a canoeist and cyclist for recreation, and single taxer by downright earnest conviction.

He is "English, you know," but that is not his fault. He was born so. He could not help it, nor would he have helped it if he could; for like most Englishmen he believes it was a kind dispensation of Providence that so ordered it. However, about twenty years ago he came to seek his home and fortune in Canada.

As an old newspaper man, he does admirable work in securing insertions of single tax matter in different papers, thus spreading the light; and as vice-president of the Single Tax Association, he has given invaluable assistance to the movement in Toronto, and throughout the province of Ontario.

In his canoe he takes special delight. It has an attachment, called a "proa," after the manner of the South Sea Islanders, so that he can venture out in weather dangerous to ordinary small craft.

Genial in disposition, pugnacious in contending for the truth, indefatigable in the distribution of literature, and the addressing of meetings, the cause in Toronto is much indebted to him for his self-sacrificing labor, and earnest zeal.

In his comfortable home he enjoys the community of congenial spirits, for his admirable wife, Isabel Tyson, is a believer in the glorious gospel of St. George—"God's gifts for God's children."

W. I. Boreman writes from Parkersburg, West Virginia, asking for free trade and single tax books and papers, and promising that they shall be placed where they will do most good.

Andrew D. Best, the master workman of D. A. 75, Knights of Labor, the car drivers assembly, recently made a clean cut and well-defined denunciation of protection, which was enthusiastically received by the members.

James B. Connell is the master workman of Local Assembly 7,212, K. of L., which holds that "our protective tariff is a robbery of the poor for the benefit of the rich;" that it is a "class legislation which lowers wages and throws men out of employment," and that it is a "deadly knife to all organized and unorganized labor." The organization offers a prize of \$25 to any Knight of Labor or Trade Unionist who can prove that it is of any benefit to those who live by their labor.

## NEWS OF THE WEEK.

## DOMESTIC.

Nancy Hanks, a mare belonging to J. Malcolm Forbes, of Boston, lowered the trotting record at Chicago when she made a mile in 2.07½, or one and one-half seconds faster than the record of Maud S.

Armed miners captured and sent to prison the convict miners at Oliver Springs, Tenn. The guards and a few militiamen marched from the stockade and surrendered without firing a shot. Militia subsequently overawed the miners, who are warring against convict labor in the mines. Several militiamen and two or three miners were killed in a fight growing out of an ambush of the militia by the miners.

The President, learning from the United States Consul-General in the Dominion of Canada that discriminating tolls on the Welland canal would not be abolished until the end of the season, has issued a proclamation announcing like tolls against Canadian shipping passing through the St. Mary's Fall canal.

No United States cruisers have gone to Turkey to demand the punishment of Turkish subjects who burned an American missionary's house in Asia Minor.

Militia from various parts of the State were sent to Buffalo to help maintain order during the progress of the switchmen's strike, and late indications seem to show the strike broken. In all, 475 switchmen were on strike, including 128 New York Central men, some of them non-union switchmen who took the place of Knights of Labor after the strike of two years ago. Some of the Knights who lost their places then have applied for the places left vacant by the non-union men now on strike.

Hal Pointer paced a mile at Chicago in 2:05½, which is three-quarters of minute better than the best previous pacing record.

## FOREIGN.

The new British Government is: Lord Privy Seal and First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Gladstone; Foreign Secretary, Earl Rosebery; Lord Chancellor, Baron Herschell; Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Vernon-Harcourt; Home Secretary, Herbert H. Asquith; President of the Local Government Board, the Right Hon. Henry H. Fowler; Secretary of State for War, the Right Hon. H. Campbell-Bannerman; First Lord of the Admiralty, Earl Spencer; Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Right Hon. John Morley; President of the Board of



old "Baby Beth" had a frame stained a delicate blue at the inner edge, shading to a marine blue on the outer. Across the upper right hand corner, and down the right side, was painted the continuation of a tangle mass of daisies begun on the wide mat.

Some frames of two-inch pine were silvered, others painted in cream enamel, with delicate traceries picked out in gold.

Oil paintings are now often covered with glass, but a mat is always out of order. Gilt frames are not so extensively used as formerly; ebony, bronze and dark woods being frequently seen.

To avoid grooving the moulding to hold the glass, mat and picture, four very narrow strips of wood may be glued, or, in the case of large pictures, nailed on the back an inch from the inner edge. Hold glass, mat, and picture in place by lightly driving small brads into these strips of wood; then put in a backing of thin boards for large, heavy pictures, holding this by larger brads. Over all, paste stout brown paper to exclude dust. A layer of very heavy brown paper will do instead of the thin boards for small pictures, but an outer covering of brown paper must be pasted almost to the edge of the frame. Always buy your metallic paints from a reliable dealer in artist's colors, as the inferior grades tarnish quickly.

It requires an artistic eye to hang, as well as to frame and select pictures. A common error is to hang them too high. They are the right height when they are about opposite the eyes of a person of medium height—that is to say at from 5 feet to 5 feet 8 inches from the floor. It is generally necessary to hang an oil picture so that it slopes outward from the bottom to the top, but almost every other kind of a picture looks best when hung flat.

Remember, too, that a picture should hang so that the shadows turn from the windows whenever it is possible to make such an arrangement; that figures hung in juxtaposition should never turn their backs on each other and that small pictures containing minute figures should be hung lower than larger and bolder subjects and in such a spot that the spectator can get near enough to examine it in detail.

Another, although perhaps a minor matter is that pictures should not be hung in "pairs." If you have two pictures of corresponding size and subject try not to place them on wall spaces that apparently call for pictures of the same size. Or, if it is necessary to do this, break up one of the wall spaces with several small pictures hung one above the other to the right or left of one of the large pictures.

Many of these hints and suggestions I obtained in an interview with a large publisher of rare etchings and photographs.

## UNEARNED INCREMENT.

### THE EVER PRESENT CRISIS.

James Russell Lowell.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide

In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side;

Some great cause, God's new Messias, offering each the bloom or blight,

From the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,

And the choice goes by forever, 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Careless seems the great avenger: history's pages but record

One death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the word;

Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne—

Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown

Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

Then to side with truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,

Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just:

Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,

Doubting in his abject spirit till his Lord is crucified,

And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

For humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands

On the morrow crouches Judas, with the silver in his hands;

Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,

While the looting mob of yesterday in silent awe return

To glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires,

Smothering in their holy ashes freedom's new-lit altar fires;

Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we, in our haste to slay,

From the tombs of the old parties steal the funeral lamps away

To light up the martyr fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties: Time makes ancient good uncouth;

They must upward still, and onward who would keep abreast of Truth:

Lo, before us gleam our camps; we ourselves must pilgrims be,

Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate sea,

Nor attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key.

### PARAGRAPHS.

The world is full of people who pray with a loud voice that God will convert the whole earth, and then put ten cents or a nickel in the basket to help him do it.—*Ram's Horn*.

"For the love of heaven, Amanda," said the Rev. Dr. Fourthly, calling to his wife in tones of thunder, "come and take this squalling baby out of the room before she drives me crazy! I'm writing a sermon on 'Bearing One Another's Burdens!'"—*Tit-Bits*.

Wearry-Looking Man: "Doctor, can insomnia be cured?" Doctor: "Nothing is easier. Any one can fall into a sound sleep by simply trying to count a thousand." Wearry-Looking Man: "Y-e-s, but baby can't count."—*Street & Smith's Good News*.

This world is but a fleeting show:  
Admission 's free, no doubt.

But, goodness gracious! how it costs  
Before a man gets out.—*Judge*.

Things Which One Would Rather Have Expressed Differently: "The anxiety caused by the illness of the Duke of Clarence recalls that which existed twenty years ago in the case of the Prince of Wales. Would that the final issue in both cases had been the same!"—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Sweet-Tempered Wife: "Don't you know, Jim, it looks very bad for you to come home so late every night?" Jim: "Looks bad? How?" S. T. W.: "The neighbors will think you are dissipated." Jim: "Why, that's the very reason I come home so late. So they won't see me."—*Boston Post*.

It is very cheap wit that finds it so droll that a woman should vote. \* \* \* If she wants, the passions, the vices, are allowed a full vote, through the hands of a half brutal, intemperate population, I think it but fair that the virtues, the aspirations, should be allowed a full voice as an offset, through the purest of the people.—*Ralph Waldo Emerson*.

Mrs. Schley: "Doesn't that lot across the way belong to you? Then why do you allow those billposters to stick up those horrid pictures of ballet dancers on it? I should like to know what you gain by it, anyhow?" Deacon Schley (meekly): "I got two tickets."

Citizen (with two revolvers and Winchester): "Did you view the body o' th' nigger we lynched last night?" Coroner (trembling): "Y-e-s." Citizen (threatingly): "Wot's y'r verdict?" Coroner (hastily): "Committed suicide at the hands of persons unknown."—*New Orleans Times-Democrat*.

"I am sure George is fond of me. He said he said he loved the ground I walked on." "No doubt he meant it," returned her experienced confidante. "You know, dear, you own that ground."—*Washington Star*.

### WHEN THE TIME CAME.

Thomas Winthrop Hall, in *Harpers' Weekly*.

"Oh, if Dick would only do something!" sighed Millicent, very softly, to herself. "I do believe if it were nothing more than getting run over by a carriage—a very light carriage with nobody in it, so he would not really be hurt very much—that papa would be so pleased he would let us marry each other, after all. But Dick won't. I'm afraid he'll never do anything. He never has." And then she looked over at Dick, who sat very meekly on the other side of the room twirling his gloves listlessly, and she pouted.

"I suppose you are pouting at me!" said Dick. "Yes," she answered.

"I'm sorry," he continued. "I suppose it's because I don't amount to anything?"

"Of course it is, Dick," she answered.

"Well, what in the world can I amount to?" asked Dick, dejectedly. "I cannot go and make a fortune, for I'm rich already. I can't found a great family, because ours has been as good a one for centuries as a fellow can wish, and, besides, that would take too long. I haven't the talent to be an artist. I haven't brains enough to be a professional man. Every one agrees on that. I am too small to be a soldier. And if I went into business, it would only be a question of time before I'd lose my money instead of making any. They all agree on that too. All I can be is a gentleman, and no one seems to care anything about a gentleman any more. I believe your father would like me better if I were an adventurer."

"Oh, no, he wouldn't," interrupted Millicent. "But the Colonel would like to see you once in a while without such awfully good clothes on. Papa has had a hard struggle in this world, and he doesn't seem to have any confidence in any one who has not had. He is always talking about the duty a man owes to the world to do something for it."

"I would be willing to do anything for the world I could, Millicent, but I don't know what to do, and I don't believe I could do it if I did know."

"I believe if you had got angry and called him names when he refused to let me marry you, he would have turned right around and said yes. But all you did was to pick up your hat and gloves and bow very politely, and say good-evening, and walk out. That's no way to handle papa; he needs an iron hand, and he gets it occasionally from his only daughter, too." Here Millicent shook her head emphatically.

"But I respect your father too much, Milly, to say anything mean to him, and if I had, then he wouldn't have let me come to see you any more, and that would have been more than I could have stood."

"You're not like other men, Dick."

"No, I'm afraid not. I suppose that's why they call me a dude. But I'm not a dude; I'm not silly. I can't get my clothes soiled, no matter how I try, and as I never seem to wear them out, I haven't got any that look like old ones. The fact is, I can't help looking like what I am—a boy who has been brought up in a kid glove. If I wore blue jeans and a flannel shirt they'd always look new."

"Why couldn't you get into a fight with some one?" suggested Millicent, desperately.

"I'm afraid no one would fight with me, I'm so small," he answered.

"Papa was awfully delighted with the butcher's boy and the grocery boy the other day when they got into a fight in our back yard. It frightened me; but the colonel went out and gave them each a dollar, and laughed all the rest of the afternoon about it."

"I might get the boxing-master at the club to give me a black eye; I don't suppose it would hurt very much. But if I did, the colonel would find out that I didn't get it in a fight, and he would think that I had been trying to deceive him."

"Dick," said Millicent seriously, "I wonder if you are afraid?"

"I don't know what you mean."

"Afraid of the dark or of danger, of anything like that—for instance, I'm afraid of the dark."

"No," answered Dick; "I don't think I am afraid of the dark. I don't know about anything else, for I don't believe I've had anything to be afraid of."

Millicent sighed again very softly to herself. It was rather a hard state of affairs. Here was the man she wanted to marry; just the kind of a man she, with her imperious ways, could get

along with beautifully; a boy whom she had known all her life; whose father had been her father's friend; whose mother had been her dead mother's friend; and a man, too, whom she loved—and always had—since she was a little girl in short dresses and he a boy in knee-trousers, and they could not get married because, in the eyes of her father, he didn't amount to anything. Would he ever amount to anything? What did she care? Was he brave and manly? What did she care? Was he brave and manly? The question gave her an inspiration. It wouldn't be much of a trial, but it would at least be a little bit of fun; and all they had done in all their courtship was to sit on opposite sides of the parlor and talk to each other. She rose and went out into the hall. Dick eyed her as she went out, but he never questioned anything she did, so he said nothing. She walked back to the stairs leading to the basement and looked down. Everything was satisfactorily dark. The light in the lower hall had been turned out, and from this she knew that the servants had gone to bed. It was nearly midnight she noticed by the dining room clock. With a satisfied smile she walked on tiptoe and with a great pretence of fright back to the parlor.

"Dick," she said, in a whisper that seemed quite terrified, "I heard some one down stairs, and I'm afraid it's a burglar. Would you just as lief go and see?"

"With pleasure," he said, in that calmly polite way he never forgot.

She smiled as she noticed that he carried his gloves in his hand just as he would on the street, and felt unconsciously of his necktie to see if it were adjusted correctly. Dick walked to the head of the back stairs, while she remained in the parlor peering out, half hidden by the portiere. He leaned far over and listened intently.

"Do you hear anything?" she asked in a whisper.

"Yes," he answered.

She smiled. "What does it sound like?" she continued.

"Like a man sawing," he answered.

She had hard work to prevent herself from laughing outright. She had been in the identical spot where Dick now stood but a moment before, and she knew that the basement was as still as the grave. It was his frightened imagination; that was all. She would see the thing out. Perhaps Dick was afraid, after all. She whispered again.

"Do you want a revolver?" she asked.

"No," he answered. "I wouldn't know what to do with it if I had one." Then she saw him disappear down the stairs.

She went back into the parlor, and picked up his hat. She smiled as she noticed how new it looked, just like everything else he had. Then she tried it on, and stood before the glass wondering if it wouldn't make a pretty riding hat. She remembered that if any other man were to come back into the parlor, and find her with his hat on her head, he would promptly demand a kiss, after the good old custom. But Dick—no, Dick would never think of such a thing, or dare to do it if he did. Presently she wondered why he was gone so long. He wasn't afraid of the dark, after all. He must have decided on a very thorough search. She wished her father would come downstairs, and discover that Dick had at least done that much in the world. But no; she could hear her father walking up and down the room immediately above her, thinking of all sorts of things that he called important, but which did not interest her at all. She was just beginning to feel lonely, and to wish that Dick would get through and come back, when she heard a dull sound as though something heavy had fallen in the kitchen. There was silence for a moment after that, and then she heard a great crashing of glass, and she heard Dick calling lustily for the police. Her heart leaped up into her throat. She wanted to call to him to come back to her, as he loved her, but she could not utter a word. She ran to the front window in her fear, and threw it open. A stockily built fellow, who looked gigantic in the half-light of the street lamps, was just making his escape through the gate and down the street, while right underneath her, bareheaded, but still with his immaculate gloves in his hand, ran Dick after him, still calling at the top of his voice for a policeman. She saw them go, forty feet apart, down the street at the best speed they could make. She saw them disappear from the light of one street lamp and come out into the

light of another twice, and then she saw the stockily built fellow wheel quickly around; she saw a little sharp line of flame; she heard a loud report; and then—she fainted.

It was but half an hour later that a cab drove up to the Colonel's door, and Dick alighted—not the immaculately clad Dick that he usually was, but Dick with a bloody handkerchief tied around his head, and with much dirt on his trousers, and his necktie all awry, and with no gloves at all. He did not have to ring at the door, for it was opened ere he was half-way up the front steps by the Colonel himself, who came out with his great grizzled hand outstretched toward him.

"I came back to get my hat and overcoat," Dick began to apologize.

"No, you didn't," said the Colonel, shaking his hand heartily. "You came back to see Millicent. Did you get the fellow?"

"Yes, sir; a policeman caught him eventually, and he's in the station-house now."

"We'll attend to him to-morrow," said the Colonel. "In the meantime, come in and see your sweetheart. She fainted; and I'll tell you right here that if you expect to wear a hat away from this house to-night, it will have to be one of mine, for she has hugged that one of yours ever since the alarm was given, and it's rather out of shape."

Millicent, still very pale, was reclining in an easy chair when Dick entered, and a maid was rubbing her temples. She looked very much as though she wanted to cry. Undoubtedly, she had been crying.

"Good evening Milly," said Dick.

"Oh, Dick! did he hurt you?" she asked.

"He hit me over the head with something, down in the kitchen, just as I discovered him. But don't worry; the doctor said it wouldn't amount to anything."

And then, of course, Millicent did cry. And Dick stood staring at her, and looking very foolish, and very much as though, as usual, he did not know what to do. And probably he would still be standing there if the Colonel, in his gruff voice, hadn't said to him:

"Go over and kiss her, my boy. Don't you see that's what she wants?"

"But I'm all blood and dirt," apologized Dick.

"Blood and dirt!" roared the Colonel. "Blood and dirt! You ought to be proud of it. Why, you're the first member of your line who has had any blood and dirt on him since your great-grandfather was wounded at Bunker Hill. Go and kiss her."

And Dick did; and it seemed to him that fortune had suddenly concluded to shower on him all her blessings, when he heard the Colonel saying, as he went out of the room:

"I'll give you two just half an hour to decide when you are going to get married, and then you must say good night."

#### NEGROES AND THEIR CHURCHES.

Henry Loomis Nelson in Harper's Weekly.

Like the conventional New England, the life of many of the negroes of Washington centres around the Church. The preacher is not always respected for himself, but his gift of speech and his power of lung are objects of great admiration. As for the church buildings, they are always spoken of affectionately and warmly as "she," even when they are designated by men's names. "How's de John Wesley been a-gettin' on sence I's ben away?" asked one old woman of another.

"Oh, she done got her old wooden front tore out, and done got herself a new brick front."

"An' what's John Wesley 2d ben a-doin' wif herse'f?"

"She done got herse'f painted red."

#### CLAY AS A STUMPER.

E. Jay Edwards in New York Sun.

Clay was, perhaps, a more popular orator than Webster. He was loved, while Webster was feared. In some of Clay's political circuits, extending frequently through a dozen States, enormous throngs gathered, impelled not so much by the desire to be impressed with Clay's argument as with the feeling which led so many of them to seek to touch his hand and to receive the kindly glance of his eye. No political orator of his generation, perhaps none since, has swayed great masses with charming personality and with affection as Clay did during his political tours.

#### THE SLAVES OF ANTS.

Property.

Certain warlike species of ants, as *Formica sanguinea* and *Formica rufescens*, have subjugated a negro species, *Formica fusca*. Here, again, ants, while behaving like men, have never allowed themselves the abuses of force to which men are accustomed. They never enslave adult ants; they seize upon the pupæ, bring up the young, treat them gently, and thus turn them into docile and zealous servants.

The slave ants, who have never known the city from which they sprang, do all the inferior work of the community with eager alacrity, care for the larvae, carry their mistresses, feed them, barricade the approaches in case of siege, receive the victorious amazons with joy when they return from a fruitful expedition, and relieve them of the pupæ captured in the raid. They are so thoroughly on the side of their employers that it is believed they molest those who return from an expedition with empty mandibles.

As for these slaves, their labor is purely domestic. In some English ant hills, the slaves never leave the nest. In Switzerland, some go aphis hunting, a business scorned by the warrior ants. The warriors always seem to consider the black ants who serve them as their property, and though they may allow themselves to be carried by their slaves, these soldiers, in their turn, do not disdain to carry their servants, for safety's sake, when changing house, or, in case of a siege, to drag them hastily down into the depths of the subterranean dwelling.

This system of slavery has certainly lasted for many centuries in the ant world, but it has not existed always, as is attested by certain survivals, because, in certain species, that pampered progenetrix, the queen, participates in the labors of the community, exactly like a humble worker.

#### PROTECTION PUDDING.

New York Times.

"What do you call this, Mary?" demanded the husband as the wife served him his dessert, something in a saucer that he was to eat with a spoon.

"Protection pudding," answered the wife, "made after a receipt that Mrs. Harrison gave me."

"What Mrs. Harrison? The President's wife?"

"No, nor no relative of hers; else her husband would have an office, wouldn't he?"

"Well yes, I suppose so. But what Harrison is it?"

"Mrs. Charles Harrison, James."

"Mrs. Charles Harrison? Who's Mrs. Charles Harrison?"

"Why, James, you've seen her fifty times. She irons your shirts and things."

The husband said nothing more for a minute. Meanwhile he made an investigation, prying about in the saucer with his spoon.

"Protection pudding, after a colored washer-woman's receipt!" he muttered after a while, and then, looking up, he demanded: "Say, wife, what is this pudding made of?"

"Made out of dried apples, James—dried apples, eggs and sugar. Receipt came originally from the American Protective Tariff League."

"Pshaw, Mary, what are you talking about?"

"It's so, James. Mrs. Harrison went to a political meeting where somebody told her and the other darkies how much the Government had done for the poor people of the country by passing the—the—what was it, James, that the Government passed anyhow?"

"The McKinley bill? Is that what you mean?"

"Yes, James, that's it. Well, after the speaking was over, a white woman stood up and asked the colored ladies to stay a bit, and form a protection club. They all staid, of course, and when the women had the hall to themselves, the white woman told what she wanted."

"My dear friends," said she, "we are only women, you and I, but we can do something for our country in the campaign that is just opening, if we only will. We can throw the home influence in favor of that great party which has done so much for the cause of liberty, humanity, and American industries. Let us form a "Protection Club," the fundamental principle of which shall be that it is the duty of Americans to stand by America, to wear American goods, to eat American food!"

"And they formed the club, of course?"

"Yes, indeed, James, and the white woman sent the secretary a big bundle of 'Protection Cook Books' the next day, and one of the receipts is what I have followed in making this pudding. Soon Mrs. Harrison told me about it I said at once to Jennie, 'hurry home and get your cook book. My husband's the greatest protectionist in America, and he'll be delighted to have me make him a protection pie or pudding.' I took the pudding receipt because it was easiest made."

"But why do you call it, 'protection pudding'?"

The cook book calls it that. It says that everything that goes into it is protected. Here's the receipt:

PROTECTION PUDDING.

Dried apples, protected, 2 cents a pound.

Eggs, protected, 5 cents a dozen.

Milk, protected, 5 cents a gallon.

Take two large bowls soaked and dried apples, ten fresh eggs and three quarts of milk. Beat them all up together and bake in a hot oven until fit to eat.

"Say, Mary."

"Well, James, what is it?"

"Mary, I've lived with you twenty-five years, and have eaten everything that you've ever cooked for me, and have never made a wry face at anything, but I can't eat 'protection pudding.' I'm a protectionist, and am willing to stand by the dried-apple industry with my pocketbook, but I never ate a piece of dried apple in my life, and never will. Say, Mary, you just buy a dollar's worth of dried apples every week and burn 'em up. That'll ease my conscience and won't hurt my stomach."

Then James walked 'round to Mary's chair and gave her a kiss. As he strolled down town, smoking his cigar, he caught himself wondering if it was'n't carrying protection a little too far to put a tax on dried apples.

"Seems to me," said he, "it ought to be just the other way; a man ought to get a bounty for eating them."

A REMINISCENCE OF THE LATE CENSUS.  
Harper's Bazar.

Census-taker (to the queen of a certain kitchen on Maryland avenue, Baltimore): "What is your name?" Queen of the Kitchen: "My name's Ma'y 'Liza Jones." Census-taker: "Where were you born?" Ma'y 'Liza: "I was born in Glouster Cote-House, Faginla." Census-taker: "How old are you?" Ma'y 'Liza: "I reckon I's 'bout twenty-three years ole." Census taker (examining the elderly black countenance before him with a puzzled expression): "Were you born before the war, or since the war?" Ma'y 'Liza (indignantly): "I was born 'fo' de wah. I ain't no sence de wah nigger. Dese here sence de wah niggers ain't no 'count. I's a 'fo' de wah nigger." Census-taker: "Are you married?" Ma'y 'Liza: "I reckon I is; I got a married daughter where got one chile." Census-taker: "How long have you been married?" Ma'y 'Liza: "I speck I been married 'bout twenty years. I got seven chillen, an' all dem's grown." Census-taker (reading aloud): "'Mary Eliza Jones. Born before the war at Gloucester Court-House, Va.; aged 23 years; been married twenty years, and the mother of seven grown children.'"

THE SHE-DEVIL OF CHALEUR.

St. Louis Republic.

Several writers, among them the eminent Samuel de Champlain, tell awful stories of the work of a supernatural monster that formerly inhabited the islands of the Bay of Chaleur. To the Indians of the Chaleur region of this terrible being, which always appeared in the form of a woman, was known as the "gon-gou." As printed the word is usually divided, and pronounced with a quick, guttural sound, not wholly unlike the "goo-goo" of a baby.

This monstrous Amazonian, the legend tells us, lived on human flesh. She caught Indians by the dozen and stowed them away in pouches at her hips, the pouches being large enough, so an old Indian told Champlain, to hold "fifty ponies." Hundreds of the Indians living around the bay declared to both Willis and Champlain that they had often seen the horrid monster step from island to island, and that her head was "higher than a cloud." "From what they say," Champlain writes, "I should say that Chaleur is the dwelling place of some devil that torments them in the above-named manner."

AN OLD MAN'S DREAM.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Oh, for one hour of youthful joy!  
Give back my twentieth spring!  
I'd rather laugh a bright-haired boy  
Than reign a gray-haired king!

Off with the wrinkled spoils of age!  
Away with learning's crown!  
Tear out life's wisdom written page,  
And dash its trophies down!

One moment let my life-blood stream  
From boyhood's fount of flame!  
Give me one giddy, reeling dream  
Of life all love and fame!

—My listening angel heard the prayer,  
And calmly smiling said,  
"If I but touch thy silvered hair,  
Thy hasty wish had sped."

"But is there nothing in thy track  
To bid thee fondly stay,  
While the swift seasons hurry back  
To find the wished-for day?"

—Ah, truest soul of womankind  
Without thee, what were life?  
One bliss I cannot leave behind—  
I'll take—my—precious—wife!

—The angel took a sapphire pen  
And wrote in rainbow dew;  
"The man would be a boy again,  
And be a husband, too!"

—And is there nothing yet unsaid  
Before the change appears?  
Remember, all their gifts have fled  
With those dissolving years!"

Why, yes; for memory would recall  
My fond paternal joys;  
I could not bear to leave them all;  
I'll take—my—girl—and—boys!

The smiling angel dropped his pen;  
"Why, this will never do;  
The man would be a boy again,  
And be a father, too!"

And so I laughed—my laughter woke  
The household with its noise—  
And wrote my dream, when morning broke,  
To please the gray-haired boys.

RURAL CRITICISM.

Youth's Companion.

Uncle Comfort Pettingill was a man whose opinions were considered well worth listening to by the people of Bushby, and when he returned from a month's visit to his married daughter, who lived "daown b'low" in Boston, everybody was anxious to hear what he had to say about the city.

"I want t' know, Comfort," said Mr. Augustus Fawcett, a near neighbor, who "dropped in" the night after Uncle Comfort returned, "I want t' know ef ye passed inter Gimp an' Hardtack's shop whilst ye was daown b'low?"

"Suttin, suttin—a number o' times," replied Mr. Pettingill.

"Well," said Mr. Fawcett, "I sh'd like t' know ef they didn't set up fer a dry goods store ten years or so back? Or hev I got th' wrong name?"

"They called themselves a dry goods firm, an' do naow," said Uncle Comfort.

"Well, well," remarked Mr. Fawcett, "haow does it happen they're advertisin' farmin' tools for sale? Hes some r'lotion died an' left 'em a lot on hand? I see their circ'lar in th' 'Farmers' Guide,' when it come las' night. I was pooty sure that was th' place where niece Idylly got m' wife's dress pattern, but m' wife she said there must be a mistake somewher's."

"Ther' ain't any mistake. I 'cal'late, Gus," replied the returned traveler. "Ye see, times hev changed sence you was t' Boston twenty-five years ago. Gimp an' Hardtack keeps everythin' ye ken think up, fr'm rubber boots t' painted furnit'oor sets. It's nough t' make a man crazy t' step foot inter their place, an' its full as big as Square Follet's pasture piece."

"I want ter know!" ejaculated Mr. Fawcett.

"Yea, full as big," reiterated Uncle Comfort. There was a moment's pause, and then Mr. Pettingill from his seat in front of the fire reached forward, took up the tongs and turned

the forestick over, giving it a whack which started up a bright blaze.

"It ain't but a few years," he said, turning to his guest with the tongs still in his hands, "sence th' city folks was pokin' fun at th' kentry stores, on accaount o' their keepin' all kinds o' merchandise."

Mr. Fawcett nodded sagely, in acquiescent silence.

"I may be all off'n th' track," remarked Uncle Comfort, in a tone that belied his modest sentiments, "but it appears t' me as ef Gimp an' Hardtack was kinder copyin' after th' kentry stores naowadays!"

And with that he replaced the tongs and turned the conversation to the present state of the Bushby crops.

TRUTHFUL HANNAH.

Detroit Free Press.

"Now, Hannah, when I do not wish to see any one that calls, I expect you to say, 'Not at home,'" said the model mistress.

"But wouldn't that be a lie, ma'am?" asked Hannah.

"Not at all. It means 'Not at home to you,' which is quite different from saying that I am out. Do you understand?"

"Yes'm," said Hannah, "I think I see what you are driving at."

She soon had an opportunity to put her new learning into practice. A lady called whom Hannah's mistress did not wish to see, and the girl met her with the very bearing and front of truth as she said:

"Not at home to you, ma'am."

POE'S RAVEN.

Maurice Thompson in Independent.

When Poe wrote "The Raven" he captivated the world with it. The most accomplished critics of Europe were frank and vigorous in praise of it, and everywhere the announcement was made that a strange and powerful genius had disclosed itself in America. It doubtless was not just the most enchanting thing in the world to Longfellow, Bryant, Lowell, and the rest, to realize that no American, save Poe, could win in the Old World the meed of the absolute artist, the recognition of the master critics. In those days we valued the good opinion of London and of Paris more than we do even now. We literally panted for foreign praise. Poe got it; and in the eyes of Boston folk, whom he had treated so shabbily, it was the crowning of a vagrant Philistine which implied the outright snubbing of the elect.

SIMPLE SIMON.

J. W. Bengough.

Twass summer time; along the country road  
Simon the Simple indolently strode;  
The gentle zephyrs played about his form,  
And stirred his heart's blood into currents warm.  
The little birds on every twig and fence  
Sat carolling their songs of innocence;  
Still on he went—and on, and on, and on  
With sweeping gait toward yon market town;  
Is robbery in his heart? Is murder there?  
No, Simple Simon's going to the fair!

But see! upon the brow of yonder hill  
An apparition! Still, my heart—sit still!  
A figure comes: a towering, gloomy form,  
Whose scowling face betokens passion's storm;  
Behold him—mark him! Ah—our terrors fade—  
The Village Pie-man, with his stock in trade.

"I'd taste your wares," said Simon. "Gimme pie."

"A penny," was the Pie-man's gruff reply;  
"I haven't got one," said the simple lad,  
Then scowling dark the awful Pie-man said:  
"When starving creatures, famishing and gaunt,  
Cry out for bread, to pass them by I can't;  
But those I spurn who, indolent and fly,  
Come in the guise of want, yet ask for pie!"

PLAN FOR CUTTING IRON RAILS.

English Mechanic.

An ingenious method is followed in some German steel works to secure rails of exactly the same length. During the process of cutting it often happens that, even with the same gauge, one rail will be longer than the others, owing to the different heat at which they enter the saws. Those which were the hottest when cut are the shortest when cold, having contracted more than

the others after cutting. In the German mills the workmen look at the heated rail through a dark glass, so tinted that when the metal has cooled to a certain temperature the rails can not be seen at all. A dark blue or orange yellow glass will make a red-hot rail invisible. It may be considered a fact that any two rails looked at through the same pair of glasses will disappear at the same temperature. If every rail is allowed to cool until it is just invisible through a certain pair of glasses all will be of the same temperature, and their length will be the same.

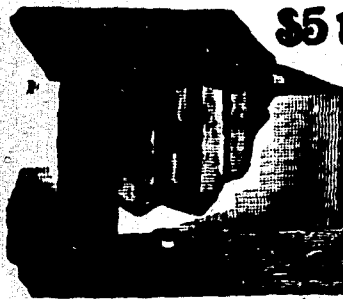
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## SINGLE TAX LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES.

### 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 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 place 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 con-

tribute 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 blessings to all, and cause such an enormous production as 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.

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MERIDEN.—Meriden single tax club. Meets second and fourth Fridays of the month at 7.30 p. m. at parlors of J. Cairns, 72½ E. Main st. President, John Cairns; secretary, Arthur M. Dignam.

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

### DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington single tax league. President, Edwin Gladman; treas., R. J. Boyd; sec'y, Wm. Geddes, M.D. 1719 G. st., n. w.

### IOWA.

BURLINGTON.—Burlington single tax club. First Saturday of each month, 805 North 6th st. Pres., Wilbur Mosena, 980 Hedge av.; sec. treas., Frank S. Churchill.

### ILLINOIS.

CHICAGO.—Chicago single tax club. Every Thursday evening at 206 La Salle st. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey, 219 Lincoln av; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 723.

SOUTH CHICAGO.—Single tax club of South Chicago and Cheltenham. Pres., John Black; sec., Robt. Aitchison, box K. E., South Chicago.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

BROCKTON.—Single tax club. Meets Friday evenings corner Glenwood av. and Vernon st. Pres., Wm. A. McKindrick; sec., A. S. Barnard, 64 Belmont st.

### MINNESOTA.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, at the West Hotel. Pres., H. B. Martin, Woods' block; sec., Oliver T. Erickson, 2203 Lyndale av., N.

### MISSOURI.

STATE.—Missouri single tax committee. Henry H. Hoffman, chairman. This committee is pushing a State single tax petition. Blanks sent on application. It is also forming syndicate for publication of local single tax papers throughout the United States at little or no expense. Write for circulars to Percy Pepon, sec., 513 Elm st., St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS.—Single tax league.—Meets every Friday evening 8 o'clock in Bowman Block, n. e. cor. 11th and Locust sts. Pres. J. W. Steele Sec'y, L. P. Custer, 4233 Connecticut st.

### NEW YORK.

BROOKLYN Woman's Single Tax Club meeting third Tuesday of each month at 3 p. m. at 198 Livingston street. Pres., Eva J. Turner, 506 Carlton avenue; Cor. Sec. Venie B. Havens, 219 DeKalb avenue.

### OHIO.

DAYTON.—Free land club. Pres., J. G. Galloway sec., W. W. Kille, 106 East 6th st.

### PENNSYLVANIA.

GERMANTOWN.—Single tax club. Cor. Sec., E. J. Bur-

leigh, 19 Willow av. Meets first and third Tuesdays of each month at 463 Main st., at 8 p. m.

PHILADELPHIA.—Single tax society. Meets every Thursday and Sunday at 8 p. m. Social meetings second Tuesday, No. 30 South Broad st. Cor. sec., A. H. Stephenson, 240 Chestnut st.

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

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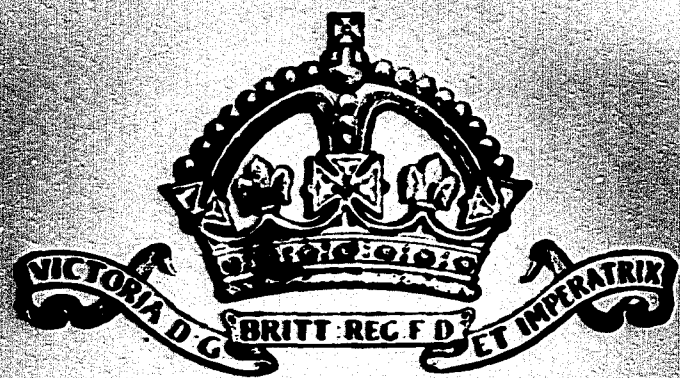
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